Conditions and Politics in Occupied Western Europe 1940~1945

Selected from PRO CLASS FO 371



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CONDITIONS AND POLITICS IN OCCUPIED WESTERN EUROPE 1940-1945

Selected from PRO CLASS FO 371
(General Correspondence. Political)

PART 6, Section B, 1945 (Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and Vatican)

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Attention should be drawn to the nature of the original material. Modern records within the Public Record Office often consist of faintly legible correspondence written with a variety of inks - some of which have faded badly - and poor carbon copies which are similarly difficult to read in the original. These original characteristics present difficulties of image and contrast which stringent tests and camera alterations cannot entirely overcome. Every effort has been made to minimise these difficulties though there are some few pages or documents which have proved impossible to reproduce satisfactorily. Conscious of this we have chosen to include these pages in order to make available the complete volume, bundle or file. The Public Record Office has exercised the most responsible care in the filming of this unique collection and this microfilm publication meets the standards established by the Association for Information and Image Management (AIIM) and the American National Standards Institute (ANSI).

CONDITIONS AND POLITICS IN OCCUPIED WESTERN EUROPE 1940 - 1945

PART SIX. 1945, SECTION B

(Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Vatican)

Selected from PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE CLASS FO 371
(General Correspondence. Political)

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This collection of original documents, each annotated with commentary by the British Foreign Office, provides a unique documentary source for the study of the war in Europe and the diplomatic and propagandist strategy of the Foreign Office.

Part 6, Section B, completes this major programme, making available the most significant files from the Public Record Office FO 371, relating to conditions and politics in Occupied Western Europe in 1945. Already published are Part 1, dealing with files from 1940, Part 2 with 1941, Part 3 with 1942, Part 4 with 1943, and Part 5, Sections A and B, with 1944.

Part 6, like Part 5, has been split into two sections. Section A contains 77 files on Belgium, Denmark, General Europe and France, and Section B contains 113 files on Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the Vatican. Together the two sections document in detail the state of Europe as Hitler's Third Reich collapsed and the allied nations prepared to redraw the map.

In all cases complete files have been filmed. The general condition of the files is good but there are occasions when very poor duplicated copies or manuscript notes have been difficult to reproduce. Every care has been taken and the best possible image obtained.

1

WESTERN

1945

F.O.
371

SPAIN

FILE No. 89

PP. 12889 TO END

CLOSED
UNTIL
1972

49578

84

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 12889

21 NOV 1945

2

Registry Number Z12889/89/41

TELEGRAM FROM

Sir.V.Mallet, Madrid

No. 773

Dated 20th Nov, 1945.

Received in Registry 21st Nov, 1945.

Political prisoners held by Spanish Government, conversation with Senor Artajo

Refers to Madrid despatch 539 (Z12972/ 89/41) Senor Artajo stated that charge against Catala was serious and the Fiscal was demanding death sentence He emphasized that Spanish Government were tired of all these enquiries about cases in which there were no direct British interests. As regards Cadiz prisoners there were 39 and not 22 arrested. Cases were not serious and it is not likely death sentence will be asked for.

Last Paper.

Z 12888

References.

Z 12463.

Z.12499

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Lucia Harris Nov 19.
Nov 28

Tel.) Madrid 2268 Sav.
Nov 26.

49578

(Action completed.) 8 Dec 1945

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 12936

(Minutes.)

Copied Miss Harris (R.of I.)

In a country where justice functions properly, the remarks now expressed by Sen. Artajo and Señor would deserve attention. The trouble is that in Spain men are arrested and kept waiting for trial so long - often with a dose of maltreatment thrown in - that intervention is required at an early stage to prevent injustice.

Nevertheless, I think we would do well to hold off for a little unless we hear of any particularly deserving case

Case has calls for an ~~appeal~~ likewise call
support. Otherwise, in addition to the
arguments advanced in Z12888, there
is the danger that we ~~may~~ may provoke
the Spaniards into executing a prisoner
just to spite us, ~~as the other happens~~
to show us that they remain masters in
their own house and to see how we
would react. If they did, I see
nothing short of a major step, such as
withdrawal of Sir V. Mallet, which
might teach them the price of their
folly.

A.E.W. Shaw
22/6

Research/Sept. WHC 13/12

We have realised all along that in instructing Sir Victor Mallet to make representations to the Spanish Government respecting persons reported to be in danger of execution on political charges we were to a certain extent interfering in Spanish internal affairs. Our action was, however, justified by our considerations of humanity. The representations were in each case of an informal character and they were carefully phrased. In the past, our practice was to ask the Embassy in Madrid to investigate ~~in~~ each specificacase, and if they were satisfied that there were adequate grounds for intervening, to make informal representations to the Spanish Government on humanitarian grounds. In the recent cases of Alvarez and Zapirain, the 22 (or now as it appears 39) persons arrested at Cadiz, and the 5 men arrested in Barcelona, in view of the alleged urgency in each case we instructed Sir V. Mallet (a) to request the Spanish Government for information and (b) to warn the Spanish Government of the unfortunate impression which would be created in this country if the men were to be executed on a political pharge. As it has turned out, however, the cases have proved to be much less urgent than was indicated by the floods of telegrams we have received, seeing that as the dates of the trials of the persons in question have

not/

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

not even yet been fixed. Nor does it now appear that either Alvarez or Zapirain or any of the 39 arrested in Cadiz are in serious danger of execution. Moreover, the cases would not appear to have been very deserving of our intervention (see minutes in Z 12888). The one serious case, regarding which we had sent instructions to Sir Victor Mallet, but in respect of which he had already taken action in anticipation of instructions (see Z 12199) is that of Sigfrido Catalá, who now appears to have been condemned to death, but whose sentence is now to come before the Council of Ministers for consideration and the Minister for Foreign Affairs has told Sir Victor Mallet that he is prepared to recommend that they should commute the sentence. As I said above, our action in instructing Sir Victor Mallet to intervene is justified by considerations of humanity. We would be entitled to remind the Spanish Government of the very large numbers of political prisoners who have been executed in Spain since the Civil War (though executions have so far as we can ascertain, fallen off very considerably in recent months), but I agree with Mr. Sloan that we should be careful to avoid going too far and provoking the Spanish Government into executing a prisoner just in order to show their independence.

As pointed out in the minutes on Z 12888, we want to do everything possible to help genuine cases, but to avoid appealing on behalf of persons who do not really deserve our support, and thereby weakening our chances of taking effective action in genuine cases. On that paper we sent instructions to Madrid in the case of a certain Ricardo Escrig ~~to act~~ Gonzalvo, on the lines followed in earlier cases, namely to investigate the case before approaching the Spanish Government, and I think it would be well to follow this procedure for the time being. I think, however, that we might give Sir Victor Mallet in a SAVING telegram some additional material to answer the Minister for Foreign Affairs if he complains again of our interference in Spanish cases which are still sub judice.

Draft telegram to Madrid.

R. G. Garran

23rd November, 1945.

I don't think we can do more without letting the Spanish Govt. always

provision we desire thereby
prejudice the prisoners' chances
thereby. But clearly we
ought to give Dr. Walker
consideration discretion in these
cases.

H Thoyne Bateman
24.11

Murray
25/X.

ab.
Nov. 25. 1925.

See within :—
1) Do. 295 Law. Nov 28

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

2 6

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

[Cypher] CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Z 12889

21 NOV 1945

Sir V. Mallet.
No. 773.
20th November, 1945.

D. 8.45 p.m. 20th November, 1945.
R. 9.30 p.m. 20th November, 1945.

" " " " " "

My despatch No. 539. N/P. not rec'd

I gave Minister for Foreign Affairs on 12th November an aide mémoire on all outstanding cases of prisoners about whom I still await information.

Z 12199/89/41.

2. As regards Catala (see my despatch No. 507 of 23rd October) Senor Artajo said that although he was unable to tell me what the charge against Catala was, it was a serious one, and the Fiscal was demanding the death sentence. If the death sentence was passed the case would go for revision to the Captain General, and if the latter did not decide in favour of commutation the case would then go to the Council of Ministers. Senor Artajo indicated that he was prepared to recommend to the Council that they should grant commutation in this case. I now learn that death sentence has been approved by the Military authorities and that it must now go before the Council of Ministers.

3. Senor Artajo politely emphasised that the Spanish Government were getting tired of the appeals from foreign countries about Spanish cases which were still sub judice. While they were sub judice, and until sentence had been passed and the case had come up to the Council of Ministers, it was impossible for the Government to interfere with trial in order to prevent sentence of death being passed. This was the case in other countries as well.

Z 12463.

4. As regards Cadiz prisoners (see my despatch No. 514 of 29th October) Senor Artajo said that there were in fact 39 and not 22 men arrested in Cadiz and Algeciras. Many of the cases were not particularly serious, but some had received money from guerillas in the hills for political agitation. Senor Artajo understood that the maximum penalty being asked for by the Fiscal for the more serious cases would be imprisonment, and he did not think there was any question of the death sentence being asked for. As regards civil cases (paragraph 3 of your telegram No. 828 of 1st November) Senor Artajo said that he had no information to give me.

The 5 Republicans in Barcelona.

5. The

5. The Counseller also raised these cases with the Permanent Under-Secretary on 16th November. Senor Suner repeated in more forcible language that the Spanish Government were getting very irritated with all these enquiries about cases in which there were no direct British interests. These cases were all in the hands of the military, and it was becoming more and more difficult for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to press them to divulge information for the benefit of other governments whose interference and curiosity were resented. Mr. Howard said that our direct interest was to prevent Anglo-Spanish relations from rapid deterioration and that it was therefore our duty to inform the Spanish Government of the effect which executions of these prisoners would have in the United Kingdom. Senor Catala replied that he appreciated this, but that these frequent appeals on behalf of arrested Spaniards could only be interpreted as interference in internal Spanish affairs. He was sure that we were only doing this under pressure from organisations both in England and on the continent but our action was causing resentment and annoyance.

Suñer

6. Senor Suner undertook to try and get the information we had asked for and only hoped in the meanwhile we would not make any further appeals.

O.T.P.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No. Z 12889/89/41

8

November, 1945

OUT FILE

I.P.G.

Date

Despatched 6.30 p *M.* 26/11

Draft.

H.M. Ambassador,
MADRID

Telegram.

No. 226. SAVING

Date Nov. 26

Cabinet Distribution.

BY BAG

Your telegram No. 773 of November 20th: arrested Spaniards in danger of execution.

I appreciate that repeated intervention in respect of persons reported to be in danger of execution on political charges may irritate the Spanish Government, but ~~I do not think we need~~ I should not be deterred by that, provided the prisoners' chances are not prejudiced by our efforts on their behalf. The present régime's record of political executions since the Civil War is a black ~~one~~ (though there has ~~certainly~~ been an improvement in recent months) and that being so we feel under no obligation to observe the legal niceities referred to by Sr. Artajo and Sr. Suner. ~~I consider that~~ His Majesty's Government are fully entitled to make informal representations on humanitarian grounds in respect of any cases which may be brought to their notice, provided such intervention is likely to have the desired effect and that charge is believed to be political. Our intervention has ~~afterall~~ been confined to requesting the Spanish Government for information and warning them of the unfortunate impression which would be made in this country if the persons concerned were to be executed on political charges.

2. His Majesty's Government are not acting under pressure from organisations either in England

25/X.

England or other countries, though admittedly reports received in the cases of Alvarez and Zapirain and the persons arrested in Cadiz led us to believe that the cases were more urgent than has in fact proved to be the case. We have long been concerned over the question of political executions in Spain and we shall continue to be interested so long as danger of such political executions persists. I shall, therefore, continue to send you instructions in all apparently deserving cases brought to my notice, but you have of course discretion to make investigations into each case before approaching the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, with a view to satisfying yourself that such intervention is both justified and not likely to prejudice the interests of the prisoner.

3. You may be guided by the above in any future conversations at the Ministry. A.D.A.

AB.
Nov 25/45.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

10

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Z 12889/89/41

[EN CLAIR] CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO MADRID

No. 226 Saving 26th November 1945.

I I I I

Your telegram No. 773 [of November 20th: arrested Spaniards in danger of execution].

I appreciate that repeated intervention in respect of persons reported to be in danger of execution on political charges may irritate the Spanish Government, but I shall not be deterred by that, provided the prisoners' chances are not prejudiced by our efforts on their behalf. The present régime's record of political executions since the Civil War is black (though there has been an improvement in recent months) and that being so we feel under no obligation to observe the legal nicéties referred to by Sr. Artajo and Sr. Suner. His Majesty's Government are fully entitled to make informal representations on humanitarian grounds in respect of any cases which may be brought to their notice, provided that charge is believed to be political and that such intervention is likely to have the desired effect. Our intervention has been confined to requesting the Spanish Government for information and warning them of the unfortunate impression which would be made in this country if the persons concerned were to be executed on political charges.

2. His Majesty's Government are not acting under pressure from organisations either in England or other countries, though admittedly reports received in the cases of Alvarez and Zapirain and the persons arrested in Cadiz led us to believe that the cases were more urgent than has in fact proved to be the case. We have long been concerned over the question of political executions in Spain and we shall continue to be interested so long as danger of such political executions persists. I shall, therefore, continue to send you instructions in all apparently deserving cases brought to my notice, but you have of course discretion to make investigations into each case before approaching the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with a view to satisfying yourself that such intervention is both justified and not likely to prejudice the interests of the prisoner.

3. You should be guided by the above in any future conversations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

With the compliments of the Under Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

DEC 1945

SVGL AON 3 16

11

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

EN CLAIR

O.D.

FROM: D.O.

TO: CANADA (GOVT.)
AUSTRALIA "
NEW ZEALAND "
SOUTH AFRICA "

Sent 28th Nov., 1945.

INDEXED

D No. 295 SAVING SECRET

My telegram 25th September D No. 1808. Spain.

Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs recently expressed irritation at representations by His Majesty's Government in United Kingdom on behalf of Spanish prisoners-charged with political offences. For his own guidance, therefore, His Majesty's Ambassador, Madrid, has been told that in view of present Spanish régime's black record of political executions since Civil War (though there has been an improvement in recent months), we consider ourselves fully entitled to make informal representations on humanitarian grounds in respect of cases brought to our notice, provided that charge is believed to be political and that such intervention is likely to have desired effect. Our intervention has been confined to requesting Spanish Government for information and warning them of unfortunate impression which would be made in this country if persons concerned were to be executed on political charges.

2. We have long been concerned over question of political executions in Spain and shall continue to be interested so long as danger of such executions persists. We shall continue to instruct Ambassador regarding apparently deserving cases brought to our notice, but Ambassador has discretion to make local investigations into each case before approaching the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Copy to:-

Foreign Office Sir B. Newton
Mr. C.B.B. Heathcote-Smith
Mr. R.K.W. Sloan

95

1945

Z

SPAIN

12

Z 12936

Registry Number Z 12936/89/41

FROM

Dover and District Trades Council.

No.

Dated 18th Nov, 1945.

Received in Registry 23rd Nov, 1945.

Request for the release of Santiago Alvarez and Sebastian Zapirain.

Transmits the resolution of the Dover and District Trades Council urging the support of His Majesty's Government for the release of the above persons.

Last Paper.

Z 12889

(Minutes.)

L.1.D.5

24/11

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Ldelw 27/11

(Index.)

17/6

Next Paper.

Z12972

29082 F.O.P.

Enclosure 13

DOVER & DISTRICT TRADES COUNCIL

Treasurer:
Mr. D. EGGOR,
c/o Mrs. Burniston,
109, Mill Road, Deal.

President:
Ald. E. A. BUSHELL,
14, Hardwicke Road,
Dover.

Secretary:
Ald. J. H. BRAZIER, J.P.,
125, St. Radigund's Road,
Dover.

18th November, 1945.

The Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Secretary,
Foreign Office,
Whitehall,
LONDON, S.W.1.

7 12936
ACKNOWLEDGED
21 NOV 1945
Western
2

Dear Sir,

I am directed by the above Trades Council to forward to you the following resolution:-

"That this Trades Council urge the release of Santiago Alvarez and Sebastian Zapirais who have been imprisoned by Gen. Franco and request that the British Government do all in their power to secure their release."

Yours faithfully,

J. H. Brazier

Secretary.

86.

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 12972

24 NOV 1945

14

Z12972/89/44
Registry Number: Sir V. Mallet Madrid

FROM

No. 539 (88/179/45)

Dated 12th Nov. 1945

Received in Registry 24th Nov. 1945

Political prisoners in Spain.

Refers to publicity in Press during October regarding reports of arrests, and letter written to Times by Count Marsal stating these reports were campaign of mis-representation. Señor Torres replied to this. Encloses copy of memorandum by Mr. Malley who investigated this matter. Encloses also reply to Sir V. Mallet's letters about 5 men imprisoned since December 1944 without trial, and reply to letter regarding arrest of Sigfrido Catalá. There is no more information about 22 men at Cadiz. Reports announcement by Minister of Justice that conditional freedom has been granted to 1,047 persons. Discusses number of prisoners in Spain.

Last Paper.

Z 12936

References.

Z 11677/234/44 Z 12199.
Z 12463. Z 12381.

PP - Dept

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.) Enq 27/12

(Index.) 1/8

Next Paper.

Z 12999

(Minutes.)

This despatch should, I think, be printed.

It calls in question the whole basis of our intervention on behalf of persons arrested in Spain.

The Spanish M.F.A maintains that, in arresting those Spaniards in whom we have shown interest, & in trying them and condemning them, the Spanish authorities are simply observing the law of Spain. Since we, for our part, have never contested - nor have we a right to contest - the law of Spain, we should logically conform with orders; and, as our policy

politely aims as much at preserving order in Spain as in ruling France, we should logically take our stand against subversive elements in Spain.

Though the arrested persons have uncritically been opponents of the Polanyist régime — Monarchists, Republicans and Communists — I have seen no good evidence to suggest that their arrests were "political" i.e. in the sense that the knowledge of arrests immediately after the Civil War of 36, for their letters, in England after Monmouth's rebellion were "political." The distinction may be difficult to draw. But a "political" arrest, by my mind, is one inspired by party passion (especially vengeance) and executed outside of the law. The recent arrests in Spain are probably to some extent inspired by party feeling, but, on the evidence available to us, they appear to have been executed within the law. The difficulty is to ascertain the circumstances of each arrest and there is always a danger

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

danger that, if the subversive elements erupt it, the Spanish authorities will arrest innocent persons among the opposition just to make an example and show their strength.

Arrest is, in any case, only the first possible process of injustice. More serious is the tendency to imprison arrested persons for a long time without trial, and eventually the possibility of sentence being passed from political rather than legal motives.

This all suggests that we should go very warily about intervening on behalf of persons arrested in Spain, ~~we should choose~~ should only ~~choose~~ act when we have reason to suspect the cause of the arrest, and should choose our moment for intervention with due regard to the progress of the case.

case. It does not our object should be lost to save subversive elements from justice, but to ensure that anyone arrested in Spain is dealt with justly.

This may confuse Sir V. Keller to a less distasteful role. But para. 7 of his despatch contains encouraging evidence that Franco is giving effect to his anxiety of 9th October; and, if by our abstention our doubtful cases, we can convince sceptics that our object is not to promote Civil War, we may not only accelerate the process of amnesty and evolution: we may also lend confidence to those who we hope to see leaving France.

P.L.H. Sloan

28/x

Research Dept: WHC 13/12

see within :—

1.) Spanish Liberation Movement

DOW 20th

P.L.H. 3/12

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

The point raised by the Sloan is dealt with in the minutes and our telegram to Madrid no Z 12889.

The principle point of interest in this despatch is that 1,047 prisoners have now been given conditional liberty under the new amnesty. Presumably there will be more to follow. ~~At~~ the same time we are given have from the M.F.A. a new estimate of the number of persons in prison :- 23,000 for rebellion & plotting against the State and 20,000 for common criminals. It is not clear whether this includes the 'detenidos gobernativos'.

R. Gannon
8/XII

B.U. December 20th

Hum.
8.12.

192.

Z 12972

24 NOV 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

No.539
(88/179/45)

12th November, 1945.

Sir,

It will not have escaped your notice that on October 5th last at the height of a period during which the British press had been devoting considerable space to reports of extensive political arrests in Spain, Count Marsal, President of the Spanish Government Institution for the Care of Prisoners and their Dependents, wrote a letter to the Times stating that the reports published in the press were part of a campaign of mis-representation of the administration of justice in Spain and that they distorted the facts "beyond recognition". The letter was immediately reproduced in all Spanish newspapers with appropriate propaganda headlines hailing Marsal as an upholder of truth who had entered the lists against the enemies of Spain.

2. On October 15th the Times published a reply to Marsal's letter signed by Antonio Torres. This was not reproduced in the Spanish press but a disparaging personal reference to Sr. Torres was inserted. It seemed to me that in his letter Torres invalidated the assertions made by Marsal, but in my desire to obtain a fair estimate of the truth of the claims made by the latter I asked Mr. Malley to investigate the matter. He reports in the minute of which I enclose a copy.

3. Mr. Malley's minute points out that it is in the nature of things very difficult to arrive in Spain at an accurate estimate of the number of imprisoned persons in view of the absence of statistics. He shows however that Count Marsal's figures are not borne out by what he says about his own organisation the "Patronato de Penados" namely that it cares for one and a half million persons while he puts the number of prisoners at the close of the Civil War at a quarter of a million and the present number at 23,000. The Count further weakens his case by omitting altogether to mention the so-called "penas accessorias" or civil disabilities under which so many prisoners although released still labour. Finally Mr. Malley's information in the latter part of his minute on the internal economics of the "Patronato" deserves special attention, and it is hardly surprising that no word of this appeared in the Count's letter.

4. My despatches Nos.507 and 514 enclosed copies of letters I addressed privately and informally on the 23rd and 26th of October to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: the first in regard to a group of five Spaniards imprisoned since December 1944 without trial and to Sigfrido Catalá, Secretary General of the Committee of the National Federation of Labour, under sentence of death (please see also your telegram No.841 of 6th November subsequently received); the second in regard to the further group of 22 Spaniards arrested at Algeciras and awaiting trial at Cadiz. To the first letter Sr. Martin Artajo has replied in the terms of the translation enclosed herein and his contention is that the arrest and detention are not due to political activities but that the detained persons are charged with constituting "a revolutionary committee in union with other subversive elements" and thus they came within the scope of Articles 238 and 244 of the Common Penal Law and of Article 50 of the Law of the Security

/of ...

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W.1.

of the State all of which were in force at the time the offences were committed. The Minister claims that these men are properly subjected to legal procedure and that the judicial authority is proceeding with their cases entirely in accordance with the laws of the country. As to Catalá the Minister's promised report has so far not reached me but as Catalá has yet to be tried on another charge I have reason to hope that the death sentence will not be carried out.

5. My United States colleague and I took an opportunity of broaching this subject with the Minister when he lunched with me on the 30th October. He told us that he had been carefully into the figures of prisoners and found that there were 23,000 in prison for crimes of rebellion or plotting against the State and about 20,000 common criminals. He then explained once more that persons who had been found guilty of rebellion or subversive activities could not in his opinion properly be classified as "political prisoners" in that they were not imprisoned for their political opinions but because they had been found guilty of activities likely to endanger the security of the State. He maintained that any Government was justified in imprisoning after proper trial individuals who attempted subversive action against the State. He knew that activities of this kind on a large scale did not occur in Great Britain or the United States but unfortunately such activities were endemic in Spain under any régime. He went on to state that he believed that over 12,000 out of 23,000 were likely to be granted conditional freedom under the recently published amnesty. Señor Martin Artajo did not succeed in justifying to our satisfaction the prolonged detention of persons prior to trial.

6. I have not yet received the promised information about the twenty-two men awaiting trial at Cadiz (see paragraph 2 of my telegram No. 730 of November 2nd) nor concerning the five men at Barcelona referred to in paragraph 3 of the same telegram (who are of course distinct from those mentioned at the beginning of paragraph 4 above). I expect to be seeing the Minister on the 12th November together with my United States colleague when I intend to ask for news on all the outstanding cases.

7. Since the foregoing was drafted it has been announced that by an order of the Ministry of Justice conditional freedom has been granted to 1,047 prisoners serving sentences for offences committed prior to April 1st, 1939. These all belong to the category known as political prisoners. Since November 8th their names have been published daily in the Official Gazette. Coincident with the announcement of this order a decree signed by General Franco has been published in the Official Gazette. Its object is to facilitate the working of the recent amnesty promulgated by a decree of October 9th 1945. The

previous /

previous amnesty (December 17th 1943) established certain conditions without which no prisoner could be released. They were (1) ill health, (2) the completion of a term of five years and (3) good conduct. These conditions are now abolished so that all prisoners, affected by the amnesty whatever their circumstances have the same right to clemency. This seems to me to be a genuine attempt to make General Franco's recent amnesty a practical measure which will free all those persons still suffering imprisonment for their behaviour during the civil war.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant.

Vallmarcé

MINUTE BY MR. MALLEY

1. Marsal ruins his case by affirming that 250,000 people were found guilty of crime against "the common law of civilised nations" and that he had "studied many sentences and had not found one for which the reason was political". Apart from the fact that it is a terrible thing to have to state that at a given date a quarter of a million people were found to have committed crime (Marsal's critics put the figure at more than two millions), it is an absolutely false statement. The Count he says he has "studied many sentences"; they must have been selected for him - I have read not many, but many hundreds. Among them there were indictments of monstrous crimes, it is true, but the majority were purely political. In many, sentences were pronounced because, service for the Republican government in any capacity was interpreted as responsibility or complicity in connection with common offences committed by third persons generally unknown to the accused. Marsal must be mad to rush into print with a statement like that - a crude attempt - which cannot/believed by /be anybody, to hide the juridical monstrosity brought into being by the Republican "Popular Courts" and continued by Franco's military judges.

2. Marsal makes a significant omission when he fails to mention what is known as "penas accesorias "i.e. persons who have been set free are not allowed to exercise their professions or normal occupations. Even in Franco's recent amnesty there is a clause making it quite clear that the amnesty does not affect "penas accesorias". This constitutes a dire punishment; it is what Spaniards call "la muerte civil". I have known men who have asked to be allowed to return to prison as they were starving and desperate because they could find no employment. Lawyers, doctors, architects, engineers, schoolmasters and thousands of civil servants are suffering "civil death".

3. Marsal's admission that 1.500.000 persons are dealt with by his organisation would seem to indicate that his original figure of 250.000 in prison at the close of the civil war was a low estimate It must be remembered that "immediately after the civil war" every soldier - unless he could prove he had been imprisoned by the "Reds" - was imprisoned by Franco, or sent to a concentration camp to await interrogation,enquiry or trial. There is no means of checking statistics; part of modern methods of "propaganda" is to falsify figures. But to be impartial, I should say, that both the figures given by Marsal and those given by the other side are exaggerated. One must draw a line between them to get anywhere near the truth.

4. The figure of 23.000 people in prison to-day is in consonance with the official figures obtained from the Ministry of Justice from time to time. Unless one could count them personally I do not see how these figures can be challenged.

5. The following details of prison life bearing upon the organisation "Patronato de Penados" directed by the Conde de Marsal, have been communicated to me by a priest who has served as a prison chaplain for some years. They have been confirmed independently by a doctor and a bank manager who have spent three years in the Madrid prisons.

(a) Every convict who wishes to post a letter - or send a letter out of the prison, must pay pesetas 1.65 (40 centimos pays for the stamp, the remaining 1.25 goes to the Patronato.)

(b) For each visitor outside regulation days for visiting, the convict must pay 1.25. This goes entirely to the Patronato.

/On ...

On ordinary visiting days relatives in hundreds have to talk to those inside, behind bars and wire netting. The din of so many voices make an absolute bedlam and in most cases it is impossible to converse. Therefore those who can afford 1.25, give their money to the Patronato. Considering the many thousands within prison walls, the Patronato must have made a large income from these visits.

(c) For each parcel of food brought to the convict by his family, a sum of 1.25 is paid to the Patronato.

(d) Convicts who are skilled workmen are allowed to be employed in private workshops. There are quite a considerable number. They are down on the pay sheets as receiving the standard wage (12,15,17 etc., pesetas). Of this the convict receives 1.50 pesetas, and the wife 2 pesetas. The rest goes to the Patronato. The victim receives the prison food and sleeps in his cell.

(e) In every prison there is an "Economato" ("cooperative" society). The prices are usually higher than those prevailing outside. The whole concern is run by the Patronato - no dividends are paid. It is logical to assume, therefore, that profits accrue.

(f) Convicts are only allowed one hair-cut per month and one shave per week. If they require the services of the hair-dresser oftener they must pay 25 centimos for each time they use him. The hair-dressers are, for the most part, convicts themselves.

(f) For the privilege of what is called "visita extraordinaria" once a week the convict must subscribe to the newspaper "Redención" published under the auspices of the Patronato.

This information does not cover the labour camps. There are 2.000 convicts employed in building the new Military Academy at Toledo.

My informants point out that a simple arithmetical calculation will show that whatever benefits come to the dependents of the convicts from the Patronato are really paid for by the prison population itself.

The testimony of three independent honourable witnesses - each personally known to me - is as far as we can get - their names, of course, cannot be made public.

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO H.M. AMBASSADOR DATED 25th OCTOBER, 1945.

My dear Ambassador and Friend,

With reference to your kind letter of yesterday's date I have the pleasure of sending you enclosed a memorandum containing the antecedents furnished by the Directorate General of Security concerning the individuals arrested in December 1944. As you will see there is absolutely no question of political activities nor is it a matter of wrongful arrests indefinitely prolonged without trial. On the contrary the arrests are due to the fact that these persons had constituted a revolutionary committee. This being proved they are responsible for an offence which is punishable by Articles 244 in relation with 238 of the Common Penal Code and Article 50 in relation to the second chapter of the Law of Security of the State of March 29th 1941 all of which were in force at the time the acts were committed.

They are accused then of a concrete offence, punishable by the laws of Spain and therefore they have been subjected to legal procedure and placed at the disposal of the judicial authorities who in entire accord with the laws are directing the proceedings. All the requisites of the most absolute legality are then being fulfilled. There are proofs of the aacusation, the procedure is regular and the authority in charge is competent.

Concerning the concrete case of Sigfrido Catalá whose family - not by any means an impartial source of information - seems to state that they fear the sentence of death has been passed, I have asked for the necessary data and I promise to inform you as soon as I receive it.

(Signed) ARTAJO.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

25

TRANSLATION OF MEMORANDUM DATED

25th OCTOBER,1945.

The Directorate General of Security furnishes the following antecedents relative to the individuals referred to by H.E. the British Ambassador in his letter of the 23rd October (88/152/45).

REGULO MARTINEZ SANCHEZ: 49 years of age, single, ex priest, unfrocked by ecclesiastical jurisdiction before the 18th July 1936 because of his continual attacks on the Catholic Church. Was condemned to death for assisting the rebellion at the time of the liberation of Madrid. The sentence was commuted to one of 30 years imprisonment, later reduced to 20 years and released on conditional freedom on February 23rd, 1944.

VICENTE OTERO LASO: 36 years of age, single, elementary schoolmaster, sentenced by courtmartial to 12 years and one day's imprisonment for assisting the rebellion. Received the benefits of conditional freedom on November 7th, 1942.

ADOLFO DE PRADA VAQUERO: 61 years of age, married. Before the 18th July 1936 he was a captain of infantry on the reserve. In October 1936 he returned to active service with the rank of colonel of the same Arm and took part in military operations on different fronts in command of units of the Red Army. At the liberation of Madrid a court martial of general officers sentenced him to death. Like Regulo Martinez Sanchez this sentence was commuted by the Government to one of 30 years' imprisonment later reduced to 20 and released on December 17th 1943.

JOSÉ CARREÑO ESPAÑA: 56 years of age, single, lawyer. Sentenced by court martial to 30 years' imprisonment for the offence of adherence to the rebellion, subsequently reduced to 12 years and finally released on September 26th, 1941.

ANTONIO SAN MIGUEL TARAZONA: 41 years of age, physician, was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment for assisting the rebellion. Conditional release on May 8th 1943.

VICENTE VALLS ANGLES: 48 years old, married, elementary school inspector. Was condemned to 20 years and one day's imprisonment for adherence to the rebellion and was released conditionally on January 24th 1944.

SOCRATES GOMEZ PEREZ: 31 years of age, married, journalist. Was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment but with recommendation for commutation to that of six years and one day. Conditional release May 22nd 1941.

The arrest of the said individuals together with JUAN GÓMEZ EGIDO and SIGFRIDO CATALÁ TINEO carried out in December 1944 was due to the fact that proofs existed of their having constituted a revolutionary committee in union with other subversive elements an offence that is defined and punished in Articles 244 in relation with 238 of the Common Penal Code and in Article 5 in relation to the second chapter of the Law of Security of the State of March 29th 1941, all of which were in force at the time the acts were committed.

Once the enquiry by the agents of the Directorate General of Security was complete, they were placed at the disposal of the judicial authority who is directing the proceedings through the relevant legal channel.

87

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 12999

26 NOV 1945

26

Registry Number Z 12999/39/41

FROM
Miss E. Wilkinson
(Ministry of Education)
No.
to Mr. Noel Baker
Dated

Received in Registry 26th Nov.1945

Spanish persons in concetnration camps.

Encloses letter from L. Dobos Gibodi, who until recently was in prison himself. States that he has probably met all important political prisoners belonging to all parties. The FALANGE is openly promising in leaflets distributed in Madrid streets that before they go all political prisoners will be massacred. Asks if anything can be done.

Last Paper.

Z 12972

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Off) Miss E Wilkinson
From Min of Ed.

(Minutes.)

Draft.

H.K.W. Sloan
30/11

KG
1/XII

I attach a minute above.

H Dalton
4.12.

Thank you.
9.12.
6/XII

(Action completed.)
Ld o/w
22/12

(Index.)
17/12

Next Paper.

Z 13028

29082 F.O.P.

1. Adk
2. Minister of State
3. Western Dept.

27

Ministry of Education,
14, Belgrave Square,
London, S.W.1.

Z 12999
28 NOV 1945

Dear Phil,

I know this meanwell.

He is (or was 10 years ago) a member of the C.P. but
is a very good fellow with
many international connections.
Is there anything that can be
done re Spanish prisons.

Yr Ellen.

COPY

(Z 12999/89/41)

L Dobos Gibarti
Unitarian Service Cttee
61, rue Jouffroy
Paris.

August 29th, 1945.

Dear Comrade Wilkinson,

Permit me to offer you first of all my heartfelt, although belated congratulations to British Labours' victory and your high functions in the new cabinet.

During the last few years I have written you many times from the different Spanish prisons and concentration camps, asking different British fellow prisoners to take those messages to England.- I have no doubt that some of those letters arrived, as I am learning now that my unexpected liberation was mainly due to efforts undertaken in London. May I say that I feel the deepest gratitude and indebtedness for your never failing solidarity and kindness. They have saved me from a situation that was - without exageration more than precarious, as my second detention on Dec. 28th, 1944 has been made on the charge of having contacts with the underground resistance in Spain. Such a charge -- with much less evidence they had in my case -- has been sufficient to send many foreigners and, still more Spaniards, before the firing squads... But that has been my second imprisonment already. It lasted until few weeks ago. Previously I have been detained in Spain in May 1941, after I have crossed the French frontier in order to avoid extradition by the Vichy government to the Germans who were asking for it. I spent in prison in Figueras, Gerona and in the camp of Miranda de Ebro 28 month. During that time I have met probably all the important political prisoners belonging to all parties and organisations.

Presently, I would like to inform you that during my stay in the underground prison of the Direccion General de Seguridad in Madrid in the month of March and May of this year I have been together with the National Executive Committee of the Spanish Socialist Party who were there in full number. I only mention here the name of Juan Gomez, chairman, Valls, General Secretary and Socrates Gomez, a youth leader. They were arrested for the illegal continuation of the Socialist Party and technically charged with high treason. The National Executive Committee, the Madrid Provincial Committee and the Committee of the very important industrial city Bilbao were in detention. The printshops of the illegal "El Socialista" were found and everbody in connection arrested. All in all there were about 220 prisoners of the socialist group.

Another five hundred were imprisonned and tortured for contacts with the Junta Supremade Union Nacional. At the same time all republican leaders like Carreno Espana, Col. Prádas etc. were also with me. They have been transferred nearly simultaniously with me to the Model Prison of Carabanchel Alto and put at the disposal of the "Alto Tribunal del Ejercito", like myself at that time. Lately they have been transferred to the Alcala de Henares prison notorious for frequent executions of political prisoners. There is every reason to believe that they are -- in a sense hostages, as we have been often told by Falange members that the political prisoners will be executed should any emergency situation arise with regard the Franco regime.

/The

COPY

(Z 12999/89/41)

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Unitarian Service Cttee
61, rue Jouffroy
Paris.

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/The

The Falange is openly promising in leaflets they distribute in the Madrid streets that before they have to go all the political prisoners will be massacred in the prisons.

All our imprisonned friends hope that the British Labour Party will undertake something for them. Before leaving Madrid I have been asked by them to put before you their proposal that the LP or the T.U. Congress should ask for the admission of delegation to inspect the prisons and inquire into the situation of the political prisoners.

Immediately, after my return I spoke to Comrade Llopis, one of the Spanish Socialist leaders in France who promised me that he will bring this suggestion to the attention of the British Labour delegates who participated in the Socialist Congress in Paris recently.

Knowing your warm interest in Spain from the time when we have been together with Barbusse in Madrid in 1933; -- I turn to your dear comrade Wilkinson, asking you to use your influence for the liberation of our Spanish friends. I might add that in Carabanchel Alto and in Alcala de Henares there is a great number of prisoners belonging to all European nationalities...

However discutable are the complexities of the Spanish political situation, every fairminded person will agree that Franco must be compelled to stop killing political prisoners after seven years passed the termination of the civil war. As to the "new crimes" we have to say that they all consist in efforts to continue such organisations which are admitted and flourishing in any democratic state.

A British Labour delegation to Spain would be of great consequence for the fate of the political prisoners of that country and is likely to advance the cause of their liberation. I hope therefore that you will be able to use all your influence in order to help our Spanish friends in this respect.

Thanking you for your kindness and understanding, I remain,
with best personal wishes
yours very sincerely

(Sgd.) L. Dobos Gibarti.

30

Enter

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

November 17th 1945.

Dear Private Secretary,

Would you please let your Minister know that Mr. Noel-Baker has received her letter enclosing one from Senor Dobos Gibarti, and will be replying as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

B.J.N.

Private Secretary to
Minister of State.

The Private Secretary,
Ministry of Education.

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Registry
No.

Z 12999/89/41

F.R.H.M.

Draft. H.S.

Miss Ellen
Wilkinson, M.P.

from
Secretary of State

Letter + original
Keep copy for our
files.

Mr Tahourdin.

Minister of State.

1

2M. 20M
31

X O
OUT FILE

20 December, 1945

Thank you for your recent letter, enclosing one dated August 29th, from Dobos Gibarti, ~~regarding~~ about conditions in Spanish prisons. I return Gibarti's letter herein; we have kept a copy for our files.

There can, I am afraid, be no doubt but that the position as regards Spanish prisons is very far from satisfactory - both as regards the numbers of persons imprisoned and as regards their actual treatment. The Foreign Office have been concerned about the question for a long time past and our Embassy in Madrid has made frequent representations on the subject to the Spanish authorities. A good deal of information has reached us from our Embassy and from other sources on the whole question, but even so it has not been easy to form a very clear picture of the situation at any given time. The general position at the present time would seem to be the following :

The number of persons in the prisons administered by the Ministry of Justice is understood to be rather more than twenty thousand. In addition to these there is understood to be a large number of prisoners held as "detenidos gubernativos" by the "Direccion General de Seguridad" which comes under the Ministry of ~~Information~~ Interior.

The/.....

The maltreatment of prisoners, for which the Seguridad seems to be mainly responsible, has formed the subject of strong representations by our Embassy. It has unhappily always been a feature of prison administration in Spain and perhaps must be regarded as characteristic of a people who, whatever their other qualities, are still very indifferent to cruelty.

I see that Gibarti's account relates to the earlier months of this year. Since then there have been signs of some improvement in the situation. Under the Amnesty of October 9th, we are told that some ten to twelve thousand prisonersmay expect release. We have heard from the Embassy that two prominent Socialists have in fact already been let out of prison, together with over four thousand other prisoners. I may add that our Ambassador has told us that, although numbers of reports have reached him during the past two or three months of the imposition of the death sentence, no information has been received of such sentences having been actually carried out.

I confess that in the face of it, Gibarti's suggestion that a delegation from the Labour Party should visit Spain to inspect the prisons has certain attractions. I am very much inclined to doubt whether the present Spanish Government would be prepared to agree to such a proposal. Even if they did agree, for fear of putting themselves still further in the wrong with

British/....

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

OUT FILE

33

British opinion, I am afraid that it is only too probable that the Delegation would be carefully shown round some of the show pieces of Spanish prison administration - and there are some, such as the Central Prison of the Ministry of Justice in Madrid which was inspected last summer without warning by the local correspondent of "The Times" - or would only be allowed to see prisoners in other places under conditions calculated to make a fairly favourable impression. I fear that such a visit would be unlikely to achieve very much for the prisoners. On the contrary it might only have the effect of making their lot still worse. And If Franco did allow the visit to take place, he would certainly do his best to turn it to his own account and see that it was exploited to his own advantage by the Spanish papers.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

34

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(Z 12999/89/41) OUT FILE

20th December, 1945.

My dear Ellen,

Thank you for your recent letter, enclosing one dated 29th August, from Dobos Gibarti, about conditions in Spanish prisons. I return Gibarti's letter herein; we have kept a copy for our files.

There can, I am afraid, be no doubt but that the position as regards Spanish prisons is very far from satisfactory - both as regards the numbers of persons imprisoned and as regards their actual treatment. The Foreign Office have been concerned about the question for a long time past and our Embassy in Madrid has made frequent representations on the subject to the Spanish authorities. A good deal of information has reached us from our Embassy and from other sources on the whole question, but even so it has not been easy to form a very clear picture of the situation at any given time. The general position

at/

The Right Honourable

Ellen Wilkinson, M.P.

at the present time would seem to be the following:

The number of persons in the prisons administered by the Ministry of Justice is understood to be rather more than twenty thousand. In addition to these there is understood to be a still larger number of prisoners held as "detenidos gubernativos" by the "Seguridad" a service which comes under the Ministry of Interior.

The maltreatment of prisoners, for which the Seguridad seems to be mainly responsible, has formed the subject of strong representations by our Embassy. It has unhappily always been a feature of prison administration in Spain and perhaps must be regarded as characteristic of a people who, whatever their other qualities, are still very indifferent to cruelty.

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prisoners/

OUT FILE

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I confess that on the face of it, Gibarti's suggestion that a delegation from the Labour Party should visit Spain to inspect the prisons has certain attractions. I am however very much inclined to doubt whether the present Spanish Government would be prepared to agree to such a proposal. Even if they did agree, for fear of putting themselves still further in the wrong with British opinion, I am afraid that it is only too probable that the Delegation would be carefully shown round some of the show pieces of Spanish prison administration - and there are some, such as the Central

Prison/

Prison of the Ministry of Justice in Madrid which was inspected last summer without warning by the local correspondent of "The Times" - or would only be allowed to see prisoners in other places under conditions calculated to make a fairly favourable impression. I fear that such a visit would be unlikely to achieve very much for the prisoners. On the contrary it might only have the effect of making their lot still worse. And if Franco did allow the visit to take place, he would certainly do his best to turn it to his own account and see that it was exploited to his own advantage by the Spanish papers.

If Mr. Gibarti or you have further comments on what I say above, I shall of course be very glad to have them.

Yours ever,

(sd.) Philip Noel-Baker.

88

Z

39

Z 13028

26 NOV 1945

1945

SPAIN

Z13028/89/41

Registry Number Z13028/89/41

FROM Parliamentary Questions Mr. Loot.

No.

Dated 21st Nov, 1945.

Received in Registry 26th Nov, 1945.

General amnesty for political prisoners in Spain

Mr Loot asked Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what progress had been made in connection with above. Mr Bevin replied Spanish Government's decision to grant pardon to offenders guilty of rebellion before April 1st 1939 has been embodied in a Decree. There is no information as to extent to which amnesty is already being instrumented ~~by~~ fact that two members of socialist party have been released. Pardon does not cover "accessory punishments."

Last Paper.

Z 12999

(Minutes.)

See within.

29/XI

References.

Z 12468/233/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Tel.) No. 222 Saw. Nov 23

Now see Sir V. Mallet's despatch no: 539 (in Z 12972) para: 7, which shows that 1,047 prisoners have been granted conditional freedom. There will presumably be more to follow.

B.U. December 20th.

8/XII

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

18/0

Next Paper.

Z 13039

WESTERN

Z 13028

40

Parliamentary Question

Lab

* 33. Mr. Foot,—To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he has any information to give the House on the progress of his efforts to secure a general amnesty for political prisoners in Spain. [*Wednesday 21st November.*]

ANSWERED 21 NOV 1945
REPLY ATTACHED.

This question is a sequel to the question which Mr. Foot asked in the House on the 22nd October (see Z 12050 - Flag A).

We have since received from H.M. Ambassador, Madrid, a fuller report on the decree about the amnesty, which is dated the 9th October (Z 12466 - Flag B) which shows that, under the terms of the decree, total pardon is granted to those persons condemned for military rebellion and other offences committed up to the 1st April 1939. The Minister for Foreign Affaris has informed Sir Victor Mallet that 10,000 to 12,000 persons will benefit from the decree. The pardon does not, however, cover accessory punishments (penas accessorias). This is a serious qualification as these accessory punishments include such formidable disabilities as the debarring of the persons concerned from the exercise of their professions or from returning to their previous domicile to live.

(Z 12464 - Flag C)

Sir Victor Mallet has also reported that two prominent Socialists, Teodomiro Menendez and Rafael Henche (Mayor of Madrid during the Civil War), have been released. We have no other information, however, as to the extent to which the amnesty is being implemented and I think it is time to ask Sir Victor Mallet for a further report.

I submit draft reply.

R. Garran.

20th November, 1945

Th. Brimelow
20.11

Mallory
20/xi

with Mr Mitchell

545

NOV 1945
REGISTRY

WESTERN

Z 13028

40

Parliamentary Question

Lab

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R. Garran

20th November, 1945

H. Howard Smith

20.11

Mallory

20/xi

545

NOV 1945
REGISTRY

41

22 NOV 1945

Parliamentary Question

SPAIN (POLITICAL PRISONERS)

Mr. Foot asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any information to give the House on the progress of his efforts to secure a general amnesty for political prisoners in Spain.

Mr. Bevin: The Spanish Government's decision to grant a general pardon to offenders guilty of rebellion or other offences committed before 1st April, 1939, has been embodied in a Decree. His Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid has reported that, according to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, 10,000 to 12,000 persons will benefit from this Decree. I have not yet any information as to the extent to which this amnesty is already being implemented, beyond the fact that two prominent members of the Socialist Party have been released.

The pardon does not, however, cover "accessory punishments." This is a serious qualification, since these "accessory punishments" include such disabilities as the debarring of released persons from exercising their professions and returning to their previous domicile to live. I am continuing to watch the matter.

21 NOV 1945

5.

* 33. Mr. Foot,—To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he has any information to give the House on the progress of his efforts to secure a general amnesty for political prisoners in Spain. [*Wednesday 21st November.*]

DRAFT REPLY.

* 33 Mr. Foot.

~~Yes Sir.~~ The Spanish Government's decision to grant a general pardon to offenders guilty of rebellion or other offences committed before April 1st 1939 has been embodied in a Decree.

His Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid has reported that, according to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs 10,000 to 12,000 persons will benefit from this Decree. I have not yet any information as to the extent to which this amnesty is already being implemented, ~~except~~ beyond the fact that two prominent members of the Socialist Party have been released.

The pardon does not, however, cover "~~the~~ accessory punishments", ~~and~~ This ~~represents~~ is a serious qualification, ~~seeing that~~ since ~~the such~~ these "accessory punishments include (such disabilities as) the debarring of released persons from exercising their professions and returning to their previous domicile to live.

I am continuing to watch the matter.

CRM
20/xi

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry No. Z13028/89/41.

R.K.W.S.

Draft.
MADRID

Telegram.

No. 222 Saw.

Dated. Nov. 23.

SAVING

Departmental No. 1

43

OUT FILE November, 1945

Despatched 8.0 P.M. 23/11

My telegram No. 798.

In reply to a further Parliamentary Question on 21st November regarding the Amnesty for political prisoners in Spain, I said:

"The Spanish Government's decision to grant a general pardon to offenders guilty of rebellion or other offences committed before 1st April, 1939, has been embodied in a Decree. His Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid has reported that, according to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, 10,000 to 12,000 persons will benefit from this Decree. I have not yet any information as to the extent to which this amnesty is already being implemented, beyond the fact that two prominent members of the Socialist Party have been released.

"The pardon does not, however, cover 'accessory punishments'. This is a serious qualification, since these 'accessory punishments' include such disabilities as the debarring of released persons from exercising their professions and returning to their previous domicile to live. I am continuing to watch the matter."

P.L.B.S. 23/11

OUT FILE

Z /89/41.

[EN CLAIR] DEPARTMENTAL NO.1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO MADRID.

No. 222 Saving. 23rd November 1945.

00000

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89

45

Z

SPAIN

1945

Z 13037

26 NOV 1945

Z 13037/89/41

Registry Number Z 13037/89/41

FROM Mr. Parish
Tunis.

No. 166

Dated 12th Nov. 1945.

Received in Registry 21st Nov.1945

Arrests of Spanish Republicans : request for His Majesty's Government's intervention.

Transmits copy of letter from Spanish Republican Colony Tunis to His Majesty's Consul-General of 7th November requesting intervention on behalf of Spanish Republicans.

Urges that diplomatic relations be broken off with Franco.

Last Paper.

213028

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

213054

(Minutes.)

R.L.W.S.
29/11

No. 166.
12962/571/10.

Z 46

HIS Majesty's Consul General at Tunis presents his compliments to His Principal Secretary of State for Foreign affairs and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Consulate General
Tunis

12 November, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy letter from Spanish Republican Colony, Tunis, to H.M. Consul General d. 7.11.45.	Condemnation of Republican Spaniards.

Z 13037
26 NOV 1945

Tunis le 7 novembre I945

Monsieur le Consul de l'Angleterre à Tunis

Les républicains espagnols de Tunis réunis aujourd'hui neuvième anniversaire de la glorieuse défense de Madrid face aux hordes hitléro-phalangistes, s'adressent à vous pour que c vous transmettiez à votre Gouvernement ce qui suit:

Etant arrivé à notre connaissance l'arrestation de 22 autres patriotes espagnols, desquels leur vie court imminent danger, celle de cinq autres, anciens combattants des F.F.I., Francisco Serrat, Juan Fortuny, Juan Arévalo, José Trave et Eduardo Segrilla avec lesquels le régime franquiste veut perpétrer un nouveau crime, et la condamnation à mot de l'ancien républicain, lui aussi F.F.I. Esrich Gozalbo, nous demandons que le Gouvernement que vous représentez intercède en faveur d'eux et ainsi que de tous ceux qui gémissent dans les prisons et camps de concentration phalangistes.

Après les tortures infligées à nos compatriotes Santiago Alvarez, Sebastian Zapirain, Ventura Marquez et autres, qui ont soulevé la conscience universelle, le fait que le régime franquiste continue à ensanglanter le sol espagnol nous fait diriger la présente demande, réclamant des mesures plus énergiques contre les hommes qui représentent les réminiscences du fascisme international coupable de l'énorme catastrophe d'où l'humanité vient de sortir.

En même temps que la libération de tous nos frères et leur sortie d'Espagne pour un pays libre nous considérons que tous les pays démocratiques doivent rompre les relations diplomatiques et commerciales avec Franco et aider le peuple espagnol à se liberer d'accord avec les principes qu'animent les accords de San Francisco et de Potsdam.

Recevez Monsieur le Consul l'expression de notre considération la plus distinguée

Pour la Présidence

Ismael Chico — Lino Santos

Hotel de la Tranquillité,
Rue Zarkoun
Tunis

Tunis le 7 novembre

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Recevez Monsieur le Consul l'expression de notre considération la plus distinguée

Pour la Présidence

Ismael Chico — Lino Santos

Hotel de la Tranquillité,
Rue Zarkoun
Tunis

90

Z

SPAIN

50

Z 13054

27 NOV 1945

1945

Registry Number: Z 13054/89/41

FROM: Mr. Duff Cooper, Paris

No. 1225 (126/97/45)

Dated 23rd Nov. 1945.

Received in Registry 27th Nov.1945.

Intervention by His Majesty's Government on behalf of Republican elements.

Transmits copy of letter from British Consulate-General Marseilles No. 138 P of 14th November reporting two representatives of the "Comité Regional de Provence de la Junte Espagnole Republicaine" requested attention be drawn to present reign of terror in Spain with a view to further intervention by His Majesty's Government.

Last Paper.

Z13037

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Arabs are, I think, in the anti-Franco Campaign.

R.H.G. Shan

30/x

RG

30/x1

(Action completed.)

Sdeclwf 1/12

(Index.)

18/0

Next Paper.

Z13153

No. 1225 (126/97/45)

Z.
51

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Paris

presents his compliments to

and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Paris.

23rd Nov., 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of letter from British Consulate General, Marseilles, No. 138 P. of 14.11.45.	Intervention by H.M.G. on behalf of republican elements.

Z 13054
27 NOV 1945

3479A 28518—1 (8)

British Consulate General,
Marseilles.

14th November, 1945.

No.138 P.
BJ/CL.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that two representatives of the "Comité Regional de Provence de la Junte Espagnole Republicaine" called at this office today and were received by Mr. Judd.

2. They requested that your attention should be drawn to the present "reign of terror" in Spain, with a view to further intervention by His Majesty's Government on behalf of republican elements, and stated that similar approaches were being made to British Consular Officers throughout France.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble
Servant,

S. E. KAY

Consul General.

His Excellency,
The Right Honourable
A. Duff Cooper, D.S.O.
etc., etc., etc.,
PARIS.

91

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 13153

30 NOV 1945

53

Registry Number Z 13153/89/41

TELEGRAM FROM
Jose Giral President Spanish Republican Government to Mr. Bevin.

Dated 23rd Nov, 1945.
Received in Registry 30th Nov, 1945.

Appeal for intervention on behalf of Dot and Jose Galdo, under trial at Barclona.

Requests intervention as above.

Last Paper.

Z13054

(Minutes.)

Ent tel detached & sent to Cypher Room.

P.K.C.S. 30/11

1/12

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Tel.) Madrid 23 Nov.
Nov. 30

(Action completed.)

Declared 10/12

(Index.)

18/6

Next Paper.

21328

This is another of those applications from the Municipality. Govt — agreement with — to supporting facts as also however — Deputation we'd like ask Dr. Mahler for — make enquiries

etc.

Thdeputation.

29.11

Yes. I subscribe on Council. Council can decide not on it time.

29/11

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

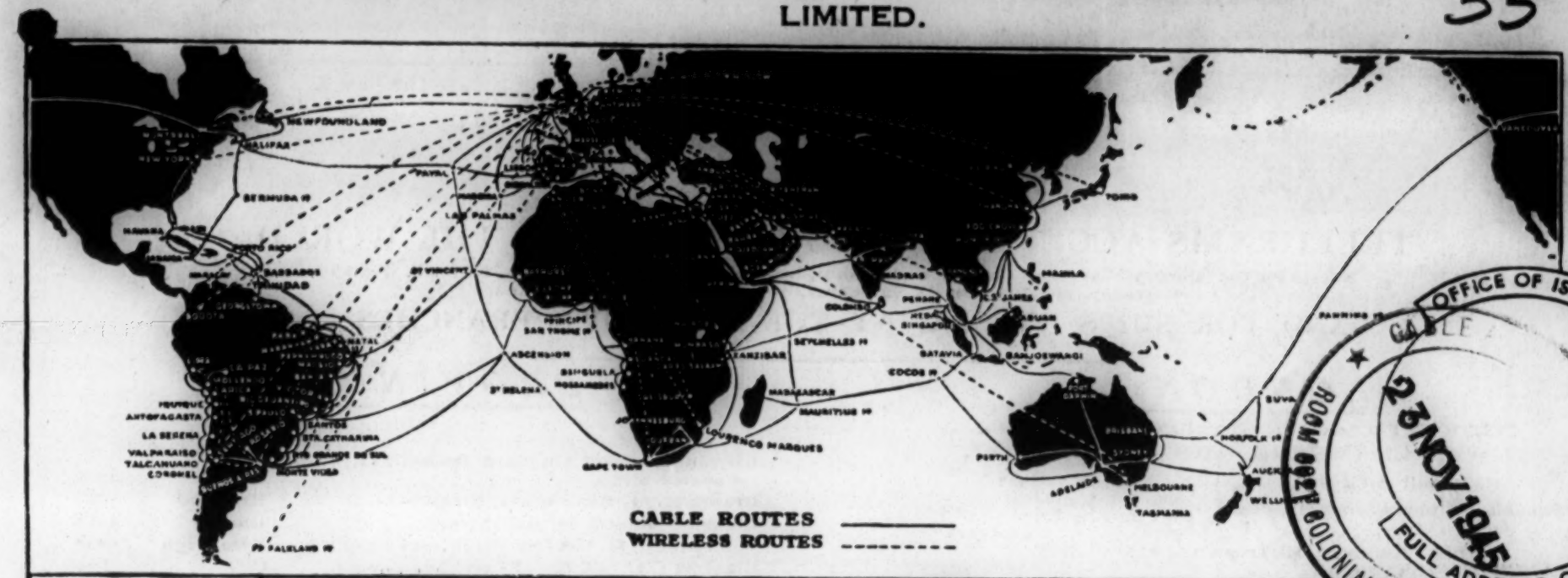
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7 13153

NOV 1945

BEG EARNESTLY USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO SAVE LIVES

SPANISH REPUBLICANS DOT AND JOSE GALDO NOW

BEING TRIED AT BARCELONA STOP RESPECTFULLY YOURS

= JOSE GIRAL

PRESIDENTE GOBIERNO REPUBLICA ESPANOLA

The first line of this Telegram contains the following particulars in the order named:—
Prefix Letters and Number of Message, Office of Origin, Number of Words, Date, Time handed in and Official instructions—if any.

L & P (C).

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20, Swallow Street, W.1	REGent 6244
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Hull: 76, Lowgate	Central 35811
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Leith: 64, Constitution Street	Leith 35787
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,, The Cotton Exchange	Bank 5020
,, The Fruit Exchange	
Manchester 2: 55, Spring Gardens	Central 3223
Newcastle: 31, Mosley Street	
,, Princes Buildings, 1, Queen Street	Newcastle 22321
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HEAD OFFICE OF THE COMPANY:—ELECTRA HOUSE, VICTORIA EMBANKMENT, LONDON, W.C.2.

Telegraphic Address: EMPIREGRAM ESTRAND. **Telephone: TEMple Bar 1222**

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No. 213153/89/41

I.P.G.

Draft.

H.M. Ambassador.

Madrid.

Telegram.

No. 230 (Saving).

Dated. Nov 30.

~~Cypher~~ En clair

~~Cabinet Dist.~~ Saving

No 1 Dept al

57

OUT FILE Despatched Saving 6a 1/ M. 12

My telegram No. 226 [Saving] of 26th November:

:Spanish Republicans under arrest

Telegram from Giral "Government"

appeals

appeals for intervention in the case of two Spanish Republicans whose names are given as Dot and Jose Galdo, said to be under trial at Barcelona.

2. Please investigate this report and if circumstances appear to warrant it, make appropriate representations on the usual lines to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

29/xi

58

OUT FILE

Z13153/89/41.

[EN CLAIR] DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO MADRID

No. 230 Saving.
30th November, 1945.

5555

My telegram No. 226 Saving [of 26th November: Spanish Republicans under arrest]

Telegram from Giral "Government" appeals for intervention in the case of two Spanish Republicans whose names are given as Dot and Jose Galdo, said to be under trial at Barcelona.

2. Please investigate this report and if circumstances appear to warrant it, make appropriate representations on the usual lines to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

B 92

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 13228

3 DEC 1945

59

Registry Number Z 13228/89/41.

FROM Mr. Parish. Tunis.

No. 174 (3090/571/10).

Dated 22nd November, 1945.

Received in Registry 3rd December, 1945.

Petition from Spanish at Ferryville. on behalf of Republican prisoners.

Transmits copy of leter dated November 19th signed by Juan Munar requesting His Majesty's Governments intervention as above and that diplomatic relations be broken off with Franco Government.

Last Paper.

Z 13135B

(Minutes.)

F.E.D.S.

5/12.

References.

/

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed)

S de W

6/12.

(Index.)

18/6

Next Paper.

Z 13271

No. 174

3090/571/10

HIS Majesty's Consul General at Tunis presents his compliments to the Rt Hon Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

60

British Consulate General

Tunis

22nd November, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy 19.11.45.	Petition from group of Spaniards at Ferryville.

Z 13328
3 DEC 1945

Ferryville le I9 Novembre I945

61

Monsieur le Consul d'Angleterre

Tunis

Monsieur le Consul,

L'immigration républicaine espagnole de Ferryville réunie le I3 courant a considéré a l'unanimité fairevl'expression de sa solidarité avec nos compatriotes Alvarez Zapirain et 28 autres espagnols condamnés à la peine de mort par le régime franquiste et qui sont le symbole des souffrances de l'Espagne démocratique et républicaine amie consciencieuse de la cause de la liberté que défendent les Nations Unies

En nous adressant à vous pour vous demander de bien vouloir faire arriver au Gouvernement anglais que si dignement vous représentez nous exprimons le désir de votre intervention pour sauver les vies desdits espagnols soldats aussi de la cause pour laquelle l'heroique peuple anglais a fait des sacrifices nous voulons vous faire savoir l'enthousiasme et la reconnaissance du peuple espagnol dans le cas où vous et les autres puissances démocratiques rompent les relations diplomatiques et commerciales avec le régime franquiste que par lui meme c'est l'inspiration et contenu hitlérien et qui persiste comme force rétrograde à vivre dans le Monde Libre et que par contre est la cause de la catastrophe par ou vient de passer l'humanité

Veuillez recevoir Monsieur le Consul les preuves de notre considération la plus distinguée avec les salutations de l'immigration espagnole adressées au magnifique peuple que vous représentez.

Pour l'Assemblée signé: Juan Munar, Café de Spartes

Avenue de France, Ferryville

Ferryville le I9 Novembre I945

62

Monsieur le Consul d'Angleterre

Tunis

Monsieur le Consul,

L'immigration républicaine espagnole de Ferryville réunie le I3 courant a considéré a l'unanimité fairevl'expression de sa solidarité avec nos compatriotes Alvarez Zapirain et 28 autres espagnols condamnés à la peine de mort par le régime franquiste et qui sont le symbole des souffrances de l'Espagne démocratique et républicaine amie consciencieuse de la cause de la liberté que défendent les Nations Unies

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Veuillez recevoir Monsieur le Consul les preuves de notre considération la plus distinguée avec les salutations de l'immigration espagnole adressées au magnifique peuple que vous représentez.

Pour l'Assemblée signé: Juan Munar, Café de Spartes
Avenue de France, Ferryville =

93

1945

Z

SPAIN

63

Z 13271

1 DEC 1945

Registry Number Z 13271/89/41.

FROM Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 550 (88/190/45).

Dated 20th Nov.1945.

Received in Registry 1st Dec.1945.

Sigfrido Catala: 22 citizens at Algeciras: 5 Republicans at Barcelona.

Refers to Madrid telegram 773 (Z 12889/89/41) Transmits copy of aide mémoire 12th November to Ministry of Foreign Affairs requesting information regarding three matters mentioned above.

Last Paper.

Z 13288

References.

RP - DGR

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Adelwt 3/12

(Index.)

18/12

Next Paper.

Z 13286

(Minutes.)

P.K.W. Sloan.

2/12.

RG

3/XII

64
Z

No. 550 (88/190/45)

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid,
presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A.
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Madrid.

20th November, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:
Reference Madrid tel. No. 773 of 20th November, 1945.

2128 Z

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of an Aide-Memoire dated 12th November, 1945, to Minister of Foreign Affairs.	Sigfrido Catalá under sentence of death. 22 citizens under detention at Algeciras on political charges. 5 Spanish Republicans about to be tried at Barcelona.

713271
1 DEC 1945

AIDE - MEMOIRE

—————oOo—————

In his letter of the 25th October to the British Ambassador Sr. Martin Artajo undertook to be so good as to inform Sir Victor Mallet as soon as possible of the precise position with regard to the case of Sigfrido Catalá under sentence of death allegedly on a political charge.

On the 26th October Sir Victor Mallet on instructions from the Foreign Office addressed an enquiry to Sr. Martin Artajo in regard to twenty-two citizens of Algeciras said to be under detention andawaiting trial also allegedly on political charges at Cadiz.

On the 2nd November Sir Victor Mallet handed to the Under-Secretary, Señor Suñer an Aide-Mémoire in regard to an appeal received by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in behalf of five further Spanish Republicans about to be tried at Barcelona, again allegedly on political charges.

Sir Victor Mallet would be most grateful to learn as soon as possible the present position with regard to the three separate matters above-mentioned.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
M A D R I D.
12th November, 1945.

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94

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 13286

3 DEC 1945

66

Registry Number } Z 13286/89/41.

TELEGRAM FROM
Sir V. Mallet, Madrid.

No. 806

Dated 3rd Dec. 1945.

Received in Registry } 3rd Dec. 1945.

Z: Spain.

Resumption of trial of 22 Spaniards at Cadiz: reply to Parlaimentary Question.

Refers to Foreign Office telegram to Madrid 898 (within) having heard that death penalty was to be asked for matter was mentioned unofficially to Minister of Foreign Affairs who replied that death sentences were unlikely. Suggests reply to Parliamentary question. As representation have no official ~~locus~~ standi consider it undesirable to quote statements by Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Last Paper.

213271

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Tel.) Madrid 894. Dec 15th.

Tel.) Madrid 907. Dec 6.

Rptd WTOn 12291 Dec 4th

(Action completed.) Sdelchwt 10/12

(Index.) 18/6

Next Paper.

213303

(Minutes.)

Despite Sr. Artajo's interpretation, the first para. strikes me as a little ominous.

Draft reply submitted separately

A.K.W. Shaw
4/12

P.K.W.S.
7/12

see within :—1) h/Health command. R+S 9878 of Dec 20.

2) Warsaw. Telegram 2 Dec 9th.

P.K.W.S.
2/2.

67

[CYPHER] DEPARTMENTAL No: Z 13286

3 DEC 1945

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V Mallet
No: 806
3rd December 1945

D. 12.47.p.m.3rd December 1945
R. 1.25.p.m.3rd December 1945

X:X:X:

IMMEDIATE

Your telegram No: 898.

Having heard from Consul, Cadiz, that the prosecutor was expected to ask for the death penalty in certain cases, I mentioned the matter unofficially to Minister for Foreign Affairs on November 30th and he at once replied that the prosecutor was asking for a penalty of "from 12 years up to death". He explained that this meant that death sentences were most unlikely.

2. As my representations in this matter have no official locus standi it seems undesirable that you should quote in the House of Commons these statements by Minister for Foreign Affairs as if they had been given officially. On the other hand, I am sure that my unofficial representations have been useful. See also my telegram No: 805 today regarding Catala.

3. I suggest therefore that reply should be drafted as follows: "I understand from His Majesty's Ambassador Madrid that he has good reason to believe that the death penalty in any of these cases is most unlikely. The Embassy will, of course, continue to watch this matter closely."

OTP.

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FO371/49578
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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry No.

I.P.G.
Draft.

MADRID.

Telegram.

No. 898

Dated Dec 1.

Cypher

Departmental No. 1.

OUT FILE

68
2
12

Despatched 1st December, 1945. 12.50 M.

IMPORTANT.

Parliamentary Question down for December 5th asked whether I am aware that the trial of 22 Spanish anti-Fascists suspended in October following representations by you is about to be resumed; and whether I will make a further approach to the Spanish Government.

2. In the light of your telegram No. 773 I propose to reply as follows:-

"I understand that it is the intention of the Spanish Government ~~do intend~~ to open the trial of these men in the near future. His Majesty's Ambassador has reported that he has been assured that it is unlikely that there will be any question of the death sentence being imposed on any of them. He will, however, continue to watch the matter closely."

3. Do you agree?

W

[CYPHER]

OUT FILE

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

69

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO MADRID

No. 898.
1st December, 1945.

D: 12.5 a.m. 2nd December, 1945.

5 5 5 5

IMPORTANT

Parliamentary Question down for December 5th asks whether I am aware that the trial of 22 Spanish anti-Fascists suspended in October following representations by you is about to be resumed; and whether I will make a further approach to the Spanish Government.

2. In the light of your telegram No. 773 I propose to reply as follows:-

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3. Do you agree?

O.T.P.

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Registry
No.

I.P.G.

Draft.

H.M. Ambassador,
Madrid.

Telegram.

No. 907

Date. Dec 6th.

En Clair.

Departmental No. 2.

OHMS FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

December 1945.

Despatched 6 DEC 1945 P.M. 7/12

Your telegram No. 806 [of 3rd ~~November~~ December: prisoners in Spain].

Following is text of reply which I gave to question in House of Commons on December 5th.

(Begins) I understand that it is the intention of the Spanish authorities to open the trial of these men in the near future. His Majesty's Ambassador has reported that he has good reason to believe that the death penalty in any of these cases is most unlikely. He will of course continue to watch this matter closely. (Ends).

2. Following supplementaries were asked.

Question. Can the right hon. Gentleman explain to the House how it comes about that General Franco, who was so worried about his position at the end of July, has now regained confidence to such an extent as to thumb his nose in this way at His Majesty's Government?

Answer. The mercurial habits of this dignitary are very difficult to explain.

Question. Is the right Hon. Gentleman aware that the recent arrival in this country of a new Ambassador from Spain is being interpreted in Spain and elsewhere as implying His Majesty's Government's political support for the present régime, and what steps can be taken to prevent that?

Answer. It is surprising what hon. Members can read into a question. Our attitude to Franco

was/

was made quite clear in the speech I made a short time ago; it has not changed; we detest the régime.

Question. Is it in order for the right hon. Gentleman to refer in that way to the Head of a State with which His Majesty's Government seem to be on reasonable terms?

Answer. You can be friendly with a person and frank with a person. In this case it is the régime, it is not merely the man; the whole régime is one with which His Majesty's Government have no sympathy.

RG
6/XII

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OUT FILE

[EN CLAIR] DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO MADRID

X No. 907. D.6.45 a.m. 7th December, 1945.

6th December, 1945.

rrrrrr

Your telegram No. 806 [of 3rd December: prisoners in Spain].

Following is text of reply which I gave to question in House of Commons on December 5th.

[Begins] I understand that it is the intention of the Spanish authorities to open the trial of these men in the near future. His Majesty's Ambassador has reported that he has good reason to believe that the death penalty in any of these cases is most unlikely. He will of course continue to watch this matter closely. [Ends].

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Answer. You can be friendly with a person and frank with a person. In this case it is the régime, it is not merely the man; the whole régime is one with which His Majesty's Government have no sympathy.

Printed in England. July. 1944.
(5,000 Pads.)

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CONGRATULATIONS ON OUTSPOKEN STATEMENT

RE SPAIN = WAIKARA ✠

Z 13286 89 461

15 DEC 1945

L & P (c).

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Manchester 2: 94, Mosley Street	Central	3223
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Telegraphic Address: EMPIREGRAM ESTRAND. Telephone: TEMple Bar 1222.

.3286 89 K1

75
1

Ministry of Health,
Whitehall, London, S.W.1.

Ref. RLB 9878

20. Dec. 1945

To The Foreign Office

The accompanying communication is transmitted for such action as you may deem necessary.

The writer has been so informed.

Form 13 Reg. (revd.)

76

INDEXED

HEALTH
E18DEC1945
R.

Brunswick Street,
Leamington Spa.

Sixteenth,
December,
1945.

Mr. Aneurin Bevan,
Foreign Secretary,
London.

Sir,

It ill becomes a Foreign Secretary to make public remarks for, or against any other country's form of government.

These are matters that do not concern him. It may be added that Franco Spain does not want a repitition of 1936 for which the Bolsheviks are ready for now, if they can bring it off.

Yours faithfully,

Elizabeth Stansfeld

Mrs

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 13303

4 DEC 1945

77

Registry Number 13303/89/41.

FROM Mr. J.M. Addis
No. 10. to Mr. Henderson.

Dated 27th November, 1945.
Received in Registry 4th December, 1945.

Appeals on behalf of 22 Republican prisoners at Cadiz.

Encloses for action two letters 306 cards received by Prime Minister as above.

Last Paper.

Z13286.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

P.L.S. 6/12.

(Action completed.)

Selected 7/12

(Index.)

18/6

Next Paper.

Z/13308

29082 F.O.P.

Registrar 2. 78

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

27th November, 1945.

Dear Henderson,

I am enclosing for appropriate action two letters and *306 cards* which the Prime Minister has received from foreign parts.

Yours sincerely,

J M Adams

~~* entered "Z" with copy of letter from N°10~~

* cards sent to Z Div. (re Spaniards)

J. N. Henderson, Esq.,
Foreign Office.

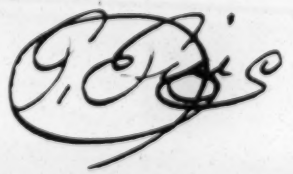
Mr. the President

FO 79

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.



80

CARTE POSTALE



Mr. ATLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

81

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

Vicente Aparicio

82

CARTE POSTALE



Mr. ATTLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

Mr. the President

FO 83

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

F. Roces

84

CARTE POSTALE



Mr. ATTLEE

Premier Ministre

10 Downing St

LONDRES

85

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

Jose Pledell

CARTE POSTALE

86



Mr. ATTLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

87

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

Pilar Antonio

88

CARTE POSTALE



Mr. ATLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

89

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand again Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

Cecile Biffe

CARTE POSTALE





PARIS
NOV
45

90

Mr. ATTLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

91

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

El pueblo Español
os pide Justicia

Francisco Tomadelles
November 18 - 1945

92

CARTE POSTALE

Mr. ATLEE

Premier Ministre



LONDRES

93

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

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We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

Angel Jové

CARTE POSTALE



94

Mr. ATTLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

95

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

Pablo Rodriguez
Unidad Espanol En Francia

96

CARTE POSTALE



Mr. ATLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

97

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.



98

CARTE POSTALE



Mr. ATLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

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99

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

J. Fairfax

100

CARTE POSTALE



Mr. ATTLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

101

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

J. Faes

102

CARTE POSTALE



Mr. ATLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

Mr. the President

103

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

L. Jacques

13 rue Leure - 17-11-45

104

CARTE POSTALE



Mr. ATTLEE

Premier Ministre

LONDRES

86

105

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 13308

4 DEC 1945

Death sentence on Catala remitted by Council of Ministers.

Registry Number Z13308/89/41

TELEGRAM FROM
Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 805.

Dated 3rd Dec.1945.

Received in Registry 4th Dec.

Refers to Madrid despatch 559 (Z).

Death sentence was remitted 2nd December.

Last Paper.

Z13303

References.

pp : Dept

(Print.)

(How disposed of)

Amended Dis. to Sofia

(Minutes.)

P.K.H.Shan.
4/12

Made Cabinet Dist =

According to the Armour, his sentence has been commuted to life imprisonment. There is nothing more we can do about it.

Darman
5/XII

5.12

(Action completed.)

Sdelivt 6/12

(Index.)

18/6

Next Paper.

Z13383

29082 F.O.P.

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213308/89/41. 106

2

AMENDED DISTRIBUTION

(4.12.45.)

[CODE R]

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet.
No. 805.

D. 3.00. p.m. 3rd December 1945.

3rd December 1945.

R. 4.50. p.m. 3rd December 1945.

.....

IMMEDIATE

My despatch No. 559 of 26th November paragraph 7.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs have informed me on 2nd December that death sentence passed on Catala had been "remitted" by the Council of Ministers.



107
2

[CODE R]

FILES
715508

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFIICE.

Sir V. Mallet
No. 805.

D. 3.00.p.m. 3rd December, 1945.

3rd December, 1945.

R. 4.50.p.m. 3rd December, 1945.

kk kk

IMMEDIATE

not yet rec'd

My despatch No. 559 of 26th November paragraph 7.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs have informed me on 2nd December that death sentence passed on Catala had been "remitted" by the Council of Ministers.

108

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Group ..... FO .....

Class ..... 371 .....

Piece ..... 49578 .....

Following document(s) retained in the

Department of origin under Section 3 (4)

of the Public Records Act, 1958

Z 13383/89/41

98

109

Z

SPAIN

1945

7.13409

8 DEC 1945

Registry Number Z 13409/89/41

FROM P.Q. Mr. Mikardo.

No.

Dated 5th Dec. 1945.

Received in Registry 10th Dec. 1945.

Suspension of trial of 22 Republicans at Cadiz: request that further representations be made.

Mr. Mikardo asked Secretary of State whether he is aware trial suspended in October is about to be resumed, and whether he will make further approach to Spanish Government.

Mr. Bevin Replied that His Majesty's Ambassador has reported he had good reason to believe that death penalty is most unlikely. Matter will be watched supplementary questions were asked by Mr. Mikardo, CAPT NOEL BAKER AND MR MAXTON.

Last Paper.

21383

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

P.K.W.S.
12/12.

(Action completed.)

Sdeehy
12/12

(Index.)

S 18/6

Next Paper.

21458

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WESTERN

110

Parliamentary Question

Lab.

*129. Mr. Mikardo.—To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he is aware that the trial of twenty-two Spanish anti-fascists, which was suspended in October following representations by His Majesty's Ambassador in Madrid is about to be resumed; and whether he will make a further approach to the Spanish Government on the subject. [*Wednesday 5th December.*]

ANSWERED 5 DEC 1945
REPLY ATTACHED.

Z 13409

In his telegram No. 773 of 29th November Sir V. Mallet reported a conversation with the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs in which the latter had said that there were in fact 39 and not 22 men arrested in Cadiz and Algeciras. Many of the cases were not particularly serious, but some had received money from guerillas in the hills for political agitation. Senor Artajo understood that the maximum penalty being asked for by the Prosecutor for the more serious cases would be imprisonment and he did not think that there was any question of the death sentence being asked for.

Sir V. Mallet raised the matter again with the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the 30th November when the latter admitted that the Prosecutor was asking for a penalty of "from 12 years up to death", but explained that this meant that a death sentence was most unlikely.

In the light of this most recent conversation and in view of the unofficial basis on which our representations can only be made, H.M. Ambassador suggests that the reply to Mr. Mikardo's question should follow the lines of the attached draft.

R.K.W. Sloan.

4th December, 1945.

The Ambassador's proposed reply (in Z 13286) will not quite do as it stands as it does not answer the first part of the question. I submit a revised draft reply re-inserting the first sentence of our own proposed draft reply.

4/XII/45

4.12.

R.I. Campbell
4/12/45

2327/8

30 NOV 1945
F.O. REGISTRY

7 DEC 1945

Parliamentary Question

SPAIN
(ANTI-FASCISM)

35. **Mr. Mikardo** asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware that the trial of 22 Spanish anti-Fascists, which was suspended in October following representations by His Majesty's Ambassador in Madrid, is about to be resumed; and whether he will make a further approach to the Spanish Government on the subject.

Mr. Bevin: I understand that it is the intention of the Spanish authorities to open the trial of these men in the near future. His Majesty's Ambassador has reported that he has good reason to believe that the death penalty in any of these cases is most unlikely. He will, of course, continue to watch this matter closely.

Mr. Mikardo: Can the right hon. Gentleman explain to the House how it comes about that General Franco, who was so worried about his position at the end of July, has now regained confidence to such an extent as to thumb his nose in this way at His Majesty's Government?

Mr. Bevin: The mercurial habits of this dignitary are very difficult to explain.

Captain Noel-Baker: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the recent arrival in this country of a new Ambassador from Spain is being interpreted in Spain and elsewhere as implying His Majesty's Government's political support for the present régime, and what steps can he taken to prevent that?

Mr. Bevin: It is surprising what hon. Members can read into a question. Our attitude to Franco was made quite clear in the speech I made a short time ago; it has not changed; we detest the régime.

Mr. Maxton: Is it in Order for the right hon. Gentleman to refer in that way to the head of a State with which His Majesty's Government seem to be on reasonable terms?

Mr. Bevin: You can be friendly with a person and frank with a person. In this case it is the régime, it is not merely the man; the whole régime is one with which His Majesty's Government have no sympathy.

5 DEC 1945

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F 8,35

* 80. Mr. Mikardo,—To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he is aware that the trial of twenty-two Spanish anti-Fascists, which was suspended in October following representations by His Majesty's Ambassador in Madrid, is about to be resumed; and whether he will make a further approach to the Spanish Government on the subject.

Draft Reply

+ 129. Mr. Mikardo

Wednesday 5th December.

I understand that it is the intention of the Spanish Authorities to open the trial of these men in the near future. His Majesty's Ambassador has reported that he has good reason to believe that the death penalty in any of these cases is most unlikely. ~~We~~ He will, of course, continue to watch this matter closely.

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99

Z

1945 SPAIN

Z 13458/89/4

113

Registry Number } Z 13458/89/4

FROM Mr. Addis, ~~H.M.~~ No.10 to Mr. Henderson

No.

Dated 4th Dec: 1945.

Received in Registry } 10th Dec: 1945.

Appeals on behalf of 22 Republicans at Cadiz: Request for end of "reign of terror" in Spain.
Encloses for action, 1,645 post cards recieved by Prime Minister as above.

(Minutes.)

P.L.65
13/12.

Last Paper.

213409

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.) Rel 14/11

(Index.) 18/6

Next Paper.

213554

29082 F.O.P.

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Mr. Garran

I presented yr letter with one example to-day. J.K.H.

Enclosed

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

4th December, 1945.

S.X.ii

114

Dear Henderson,

I enclose for appropriate action 1,645 post cards which the Prime Minister has received about conditions in Spain.

Yours sincerely,

J.N. Henderson, Esq.,
Foreign Office.

717458

Mr. the President

The war is over. Democratic nations consider themselves as victorious. In Spain however Franco keeps on murdering the patriots who are fighting for the freedom of the Spanish people. In Cadiz 22 patriots have been sentenced to death because of their antifascistic ideas.

Fascism cannot be considered as beaten as long as a personal, criminal dictatorship exists in Spain.

We require the end of the reign of terror in Spain and claim that the civilized peoples should stand against Franco and his phalange's barbarity.

Julio Houbalbar

150

Telegr

1945

Z

SPAIN

713554

12 DEC 1945

117

::

Registry Number Z 13554/89/41

FROM Home Office.

865004/148
No.

Dated 6th Dec.1945

Received in Registry 13th Dec.1945

Request that right asylum be granted in British Isles to Santiago Alvarez and Sebastian Zapmain.

Encloses note from International Brigade attaching copy of resolution adopted at meeting held on 12th November as above .

Last Paper.

213554

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Sd a Clerk 21/12

(Index.)

18/6

Next Paper.

213092

(Minutes.)

These are, of course, the two Communist agents who were arrested in Spain for having arrived with false or alien passports on a subversive mission. I know of no reason why the grant of asylum to them in "his Eyland" should be considered

A.K.W. Sloan.

18/12.

I agree. This was acknowledged on receipt and I do not think any further reply is necessary.

X

20/XII

29082 F.O.P.

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Telegrams: ALIDEP, LONDON.
Telephone: CENtral 5272

All communications should be addressed to:—

THE [redacted] SECRETARY OF STATE

Home Office,
(Aliens Department),
10, Old Bailey,
London, E.C.4

Please quote the reference:—

865004/148

6th December, 1945

Your reference:— Z 13554

13 DEC 1945

Sir,

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Ede to return herein a letter from the International Brigade Association with which was enclosed a note of the resolution which had been adopted at a London meeting of the Association held on 12th November, 1945. As there is no trace of either of these aliens in this country, it is assumed that they are imprisoned in Spain. The resolution calling upon H.M. Government to intervene and grant asylum to them in this country to prevent political persecution in their own, is therefore in the first place for the consideration of Mr. Secretary Bevin.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

P W St Chapman

The Under Secretary of State,
Foreign Office,
Whitehall,
S.W.1.

Z 118

Eustis
119

SAM WILD (President I.B.A.)
Commander British Battalion
MALCOLM DUNBAR (Vice-President I.B.A.) *Chief of Staff, 15th Brigade*
JACK BRENT (Secretary I.B.A.)

FREEDOM PEACE HONOUR

International Brigade Association

London Branch.

113 HOLBORN, E.C.1
(Entrance in Brooke Street)
Holborn 2583

ACKNOWLEDGED
14-11-45.

2 Western

113, Gloucester Road,
London, S.W.7.
13.11.1945.

To the Minister for Foreign Affairs,

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin,
Whitehall,
S.W.

Sir,

The attached resolution was adopted unaminously at a public meeting held in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London W.C. on Monday, November 12th.1945. I have been instructed by my Committee to forward the resolution to you with a request that H.M. Government will give it their most earnest consideration.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Frank Ayres

Hon.Secretary, London Branch, International Brigade Association.

Z 12782
7 NOV 1945

120

SAM WILD (President I.B.A.)
Commander British Battalion
MALCOLM DUNBAR (Vice-President I.B.A.) *Chief of Staff, 15th Brigade*
JACK BRENT (Secretary I.B.A.)

FREEDOM PEACE HONOUR

International Brigade Association

London Branch.

144 HOLBORN, E.C.1
(Entrance in Brooks Street)
Holborn 2583

RESOLVED -

That this meeting calls upon H.M.Government to grant the right of asylum in the British Isles to SANTIAGO ALVAREZ and SEBASTIAN ZAPIRAIN both of whom are at present imprisoned and in danger of execution by the Spanish Government on account of their anti-fascist activities.

101

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 13592

14 DEC 1945

121

Registry Number Z 13592/89/41

FROM Chancery Madrid to Western Department

No. 88/214/45

Dated 7th Dec.

Received in Registry 4th Dec. 1945

Ricardo Escrich Gonzalvo

Refers Foreign Office telegram 215 Saving. (Z 13584/89/41) Gonzalvo is awaiting trial on same indictment as prisoners at Barcelona mentioned in Madrid telegram 773. No reply to representations has yet been received, but Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be reminded at earliest opportunity.

K D.

Last Paper.

Z 13554

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

R. W. Sloan. 18/12.

P. Garran 28/XI

Sir T. Thompson. 15-1-46 28/XII. The Secretary of State might like to know his action which is being taken at the telegram addressed to Lisa above by H de Los Rios is

Z 12 SSP.

Aston. 20.12

(Action completed.) 1/1

(Index.) 18/1

Next Paper.

Z 13626

Z
122

BRITISH EMBASSY,

M A D R I D.

88/214/45 7th December, 1945.

Z 12888/89/41

Dear Department,

With reference to your saving telegram No.215 of November 21st, we have received information to the effect that Ricardo Escrich Gonzalvo is awaiting trial on the same indictment as the five prisoners at Barcelona mentioned in paragraph 4 of our telegram No.773 of November 20th on whose behalf the Ambassador handed a memorandum to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Effectively, if not explicitly, we have intervened with the Ministry already on his behalf. These men are all accused of entering Spain clandestinely and of plotting against the security of the State. No reply to our representations has yet been received and it is probable that we won't get one to judge by the irritation displayed by Sr. Suñer when the Counsellor last adverted to the question. However we will look for an early opportunity of reminding the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of their promise to enquire into the matter. At the same time we will add the name of Escrich.

Z 12889/89

Yours ever,

Chancery.

Z 13592

16 DEC

Western Department,
FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W.1.

103

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 13615

14 DEC 1945

123

Registry Number Z13615/89/41

FROM FEDERATION of Organisation Aid to European Refugees to Mr. Beirn.

No.

Dated

Received in Registry 14th Dec. 1945.

Ricardo ~~Enrique~~ Gonzalvo

Transmits letter dated 7th November José Mancisidor and Dr. Enrique Arrequis President and Secretary of Federation of Organizations for and to European Refugees, draw attention to fact that Gonzalvo has been arrested in the Pyrenees, and sentenced to death. Requests intervention.

Last Paper.

213/92

References.

(Minutes.)

P.K.B.J. 17/12.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed)

18/12

(Index.)

18/6

Next Paper.

213694

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Z 124

Precis.

In a letter to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated November 7, José Mancisidor and Dr. Enrique Arreguin, Jr., President and Secretary respectively of the Federation of Organisations for Aid to European Refugees, Paseo de la Reforma 9, Despacho D., Mexico, D.F., draw Mr. Bevin's attention to the fact that Franco and his Government are continuing with their terrorist methods in Spain. They have learned that Ricardo Escrig Gonzalvo has been arrested in the Pyrenees and sentenced to death, his crime being that he fought for the same cause as that of the United Nations.

They request that Mr. Bevin will use his good offices with the Spanish Government in order to obtain the repeal of this sentence.

Z 13616
14 DEC 1945

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125

Federación de Organismos de Ayuda a los Refugiados Europeos

Paseo de la Reforma 9 Desp. D

F. O. A. R. E.

Teléfonos: 10-12-61 y L-68-44

MEXICO, D. F. 7 de Noviembre de 1945

Sr.Secretario de Relaciones
Exteriores de la Gran Bretaña
Londres (Inglaterra)

Honorable Señor:

Como V.E. no ignora, el régimen de Franco y su Falange continúa con sus métodos de terror,queriendo de esta manera,supervivir.

Hoy recibimos noticias de que otro antifascista español, Ricardo Escrig Gonzalvo, ha sido detenido en los Pirineos y condenado a muerte; su delito es el de luchar por la misma causa que defendieron y defienden las Naciones Unidas.

Rogamos de V.E. interponga sus buenos oficios cerca de su Gobierno y del de Franco,con el fin de que esta sentencia no sea llevada a cabo.

En la seguridad de que hará todo lo posible por evitar este nuevo crimen del fascismo en España, le saludan muy atentamente,

F.O.A.R.E.

El Presidente — El Secretario General

José Manaisidor — Dr.Enrique Arreguin,Jr.

Federación de Organismos de Ayuda
a los Republicanos Españoles
F. O. A. R. E.
Reforma 9, Desp. D
MEXICO, D. F.

12 NOV 1945
D. F.
SEGURO SO
MAYOR

The Secretary of State

126

Sr. Secretario de Estado de RR.EE.
de la Gran Bretaña
(Foreign Affairs)

Londres (Inglaterra)

Sw 1

Franco y la Falange no caben en el mundo Democrático.

127

¡ A R R O J A D L O S !



Sebastián
Zapiráin.



Santiago
Alvarez.

ESTOS DOS GRANDES PATRIOTAS ESPAÑOLES HAN SIDO CONDENADOS A MUERTE POR LA FALANGE. EXIGID SU RESCATE Y LA LIBERTAD DE LOS MILLARES DE OBREROS, CAMPESINOS, INTELECTUALES, MILITARES, ETC., PRESOS EN ESPAÑA.

103

1945

Z

SPAIN

128

Z 13694

19 DEC 1945

Registry Number Z 13694/89/41

TELEGRAM FROM
Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 146 Sav.

Dated 14th Dec.1945

Received in Registry 18th Dec.1945

Trial of political prisoners.
Refers to Madrid telegram 806 of 3rd December (Z.13286/89/41). 67 prisoners were tried at Cadiz 11th and 12th December, of 39 prisoners previously held at Cadiz. 5 death sentences were demanded by the prosecution but all were commuted to 30 years imprisonment. At trial of 28 prisoners recently transferred from Algeciras there were no death sentences but terms of imprisonment from 30 years down were imposed.

Last Paper.
Z13616

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)
Amended Distribution

(Minutes.)

Gen Cabinet Distribution.

It seems fairly clear that the absence of death sentences is due to our representations. Such susceptibility to foreign pressure is interesting. (I wonder how long it will be before we are pressed to save subversive elements from punishment altogether?).

R.H.W. Sloan
18/12.

[illegible]
18/XII

[illegible]
18.12

(Action completed.)
Dec 19/12

(Index.)
18/12

Next Paper.

Z13725

29082 F.O.P.

AMENDED DISTRIBUTION (18/12/45)

129

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

[EN CLAIR]

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet
No. 146 SAVING

14th December, 1945. R.4.35 p.m. 17th December, 1945.

Repeated to Seville No. 6 Saving
Cadiz No. 2

T T T T T

My telegram No. 806 of 3rd December.

A total of sixty seven prisoners were tried at Cadiz on 11th and 12th December. The President of the Court Martial [sic] gives the following information. Of the thirty-nine prisoners who had for some time previously been held imprisoned at Cadiz, five death sentences were demanded by the prosecution but all were commuted to thirty years imprisonment; the others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. At the trial of the 28 prisoners more recently transferred from Algeciras there were no death sentences but terms of imprisonment from thirty years down were imposed.

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2

[EN CLAIR]

Z 15894

DEPARTMENTAL NO.1

18 DEC 1945

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

No. 146 SAVING

14th December, 1945 R. 4.35 p.m. 17th December, 1945
Repeated to Seville No. 6 SAVING
Cadiz No. 2 Z - Z - Z

Z - Z - Z

My telegram No. 806 of 3rd December. 213286/89/41

A total of sixty seven prisoners were tried at Cadiz on 11th and 12th December. The President of the Court Martial [sic] gives the following information. Of the thirty-nine prisoners who had for some time previously been held imprisoned at Cadiz, five death sentences were demanded by the prosecution but all were commuted to thirty years imprisonment; the others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. At the trial of the 28 prisoners more recently transferred from Algeciras there were no death sentences but terms of imprisonment from thirty years down were imposed.

18 DEC 1945 MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

1884

1945

Z

SPAIN

131

Z 13725

19 DEC 1945

Registry Number: Z13725/89/41

FROM: No.10 communicated.

No.

Dated: 2nd December, 1945.

Received in Registry: 18th December, 1945.

Request for intervention on behalf of a arrested Spaniards.

Communicates copy of telegram to Mr.Attlee from Le Syndicat Des Aurriers Agrioles de Pollesre Pyreneers Orientales C.G.T.protesting against arrests by Franco Government and requesting intervention.

Last Paper.

Z 13694

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 13809

(Minutes.)

Lt.W.S. 20/12.

29082 F.O.P.

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F.O. LCA

Received at the Central Telegraph Office London, E.C.1.

From

POST OFFICE
OVERSEAS TELEGRAM

No. 518 132

Office Stamp

CR 339 POLLESTRES 704 6P 1 1715

M ATTLEE CHEF DU GOUVERNEMENT ANGLAIS LDN ENGLD

= LE SYNDICAT DES OUVRIERS AGRICOLES DE POLLESTRES PYRENEES ORIENTALES CGT PROTESTENT CONTRE LES CONDAMNATIONS ABUSIVES ET LES ARRESTATIONS MASSIVES DES ANTIFACISTES ESPAGNOLS OPEREES PAR LE GOUVERNEMENT DE FRANCO FAIT CONFIANCE AU CONCITOYEN ATTLE CHEF DU GOUVERNEMENT ANGLAIS POUR FAIRE PARVENIR NOTRE PROTESTATION ET QUE CESSE CE REGIME DE TERREUR =

LE PRESIDENT COMBE FRANCOIS ++

105

1945

Z

SPAIN

133

Z 13809

20 DEC 1945

Registry Number Z 13809/89/41.

FROM

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

Miscellaneous Messages.

Appeals for intervention on behalf of Spaniards condemned to death.

Last Paper.

Z13725

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Dft. The General Secy. Clerical & Administrative Workers' Union, 30, Clowston St. Glasgow N.W.

Dft. [illegible]

(Action completed.)

Idecht 8/1.

(Index.)

8/6

Next Paper.

file 7/1946.

(Minutes.)

1. No 10. enmd. Tel. (Minutes.) from Torras to P.M. Dec 4
2. " " " " " Royan to P.M. Dec 4
3. Letter to P.M. from General Union of Spanish Workers Dec 23. B.A.
4. Sp. Repubs. Bonnes to P.M. Nov 17.
5. Lord President P. Lee. Tel. from Senor Ruiz.
6. Clerical & Admin workers Union Dec 7th
7. Trade Union Dft to Delegation Nov 26
8.
9.
10.

Acknowledge 6. & resubmit with ref. P.K.C.S. 21/12.

Dft: reply submitted. P.K.C.S. 29/12.

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(43611) Wt. 22714 10/38 T.9686

Charges to pay
_____s. _____d.

RECEIVED

No. 134

POST OFFICE TELEGRAM

OFFICE STAMP

7 13000

HOUSE OF COMMONS 4 DEC 1946

Prefix. Time handed in. Office of Origin and Service Instructions. Words.

41 0845 HRS CHATELAILLON 18

From 11.35 m CTPO

To 2 1 m

CS

NLT- PREMIER ATLEE LONDRES ANGLETERRE =

PRENONS INTERVENTION AUPRES FRANCO POUR ARRESTATION

ASSASSINAT ANTIFASCITE ESPAGNOL MOUVEMENT LIBERTAIRE CHATELAILLON

TORRAS + 11 DEC 1946

Pam to F.O.
7/12 JMA
6/12

For free repetition of doubtful words telephone "TELEGRAMS ENQUIRY" or call, with this form at office of delivery. Other enquiries should be accompanied by this form and, if possible, the envelope.

B or C
C

Précis. 13804 89 91 2135

In a letter to Mr. Attlee, dated November 23, the President and Secretary of the General Union of Spanish workers in the Argentine of No.2110 Rivadavia, Buenos Aires, draw the Prime Minister's attention to the fact that Sebastian Zapirain and Santiago Alvarez are to be tried by a Franco military court in a few days. In Franco's régime it is a capital offence to be a democrat and to fight for liberty, but these two deaths will only be a drop in the ocean among all the crimes of present-day Spain.

Spanish Republicans consider it wrong that in the year of victory the satellite of the Axis should continue with crimes against Republicans. The Spanish people, first in the fight against fascism feel that they have a right to help from the democratic Powers against Franco tribunals.

They ask that His Majesty's Government will do what they can to save Zapirain and Alvarez.

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136

Exmo. Señor.

Clement Attlee
Londres. R 8/12

Exmo. Señor:

Dos luchadores republicanos españoles, Sebastián Zapirain y Santiago Alvarez, serán juzgados por un tribunal militar franquista dentro de pocos días. En un régimen en el que ser demócrata y luchar por la libertad es un "delito" penado con la muerte, el resultado de tal parodia de justicia no es difícil prever. Para el franquismo, dos nuevas vidas sacrificadas a la insaciable rerocidad falangista, no serán, al fin y al cabo, más que dos nuevas gotas en el océano de crímenes que cubre nuestro país, la España inmortal.

Sin embargo, los republicanos españoles, y con nosotros el mundo entero, nos rebelamos ante la idea de que en este año de la Victoria, después de la derrota de las fuerzas del mal, sigan los satélites del Eje cometiendo crímenes y segando vidas de [illegible] de la democracia.

El pueblo español, el primero en levantarse en armas contra los agresores siente en el fondo de su corazón que tiene derecho a reclamar la ayuda de las democracias victoriosas, para evitar que los tribunales franquistas sigan inmolando nuevas víctimas.

Esta es la razón de que la representación de la Unión General de Trabajadores de España en la Argentina, que se honró contando en sus filas a Sebastián Zapirain y Santiago Alvarez, acuda a V.E. en súplica de que en estos días decisivos para la suerte de nuesros compañeros, se activen las gestiones de ese gobierno, en la confianza deque la presión internacional logrará arrancar de las garras falangistas esa nueva presa.

Buenos Aires 23 de Noviembre de 1945.

Francisco R. Rodríguez
Presidente.

UNION GENERAL DE TRABAJADORES ★ R. ARGENTINA ★ ESPAÑA

Ricardo Luciaga
Secretario.

Received at the Central Telegraph Office London, E.C.1.

0540 ..... m

From ..... Hall

P.S.

POST OFFICE
OVERSEAS TELEGRAM

=73 ROYANPONTAILLAC 875 31 3 1150

No. 3

Office Stamp: PARLIAMENT ST S.W.1 4 OCT 45

137

6/12 Pars to F.O. JMFS 4/12 R. 4.12.

ELT MR ATTLEE 1-O MINSITRE BRITANNIQUE LDN =

10 Downing St SW1

FROM No. 10

TOUS ANTIFACISTES DE ROYAN FRANCAIS ESPAGNOLS

PROTESTONS CONTRE CRIMES ET ARRESTATION POLITIQUE DE

FRANCO HOMMES HUMANITAIRES EXIGENT LIBERTE POUR DEMOCRATE

D ESPAGNE ANTIFASCISTES ROYAN = =

F.3809/89 41

1945

51-5844

This form and, if possible, the envelope should accompany any written enquiry

Précis.

2.
138

In a letter to the Prime Minister dated November 17, 1945, a group of Spanish Republicans at Rennes (France) appeal for intervention by His Majesty's Government with General Franco's Government on behalf of Alvarez and Zapirain and also on behalf of the 22 anti-Fascists of Cadiz who have been sentenced to death at Barcelona.

Put file

3809 89 41

1945

RECEIVED F.B.I. -1 DEC 1945 FROM NO. 80

Rennes (Francia), a I7 de noviembre de 1945.

Al Sr. Attlee Primer Ministro del Gobierno Britànico

Un grupo de republi
canos españoles de Rennes (Francia), le ruegan que interceda el
Gobierno Inglés acerca del General Franco para que Alvàrez y Za
rain sean puestos ràpidamente a disposicion de uno de los bast
tes paises amigos de la Repûblica Española que se han prestado
para tal cosa. También le pedimos que se efectuen las gestiones
necesarias para salvar los 22 antifascistas de Cadiz, de Francis
co Escrich Gonzalvo y Francisco Serrat, Juan Fortuny, Juan Aréva
José Travé y Eduardo Seguila que han sido condenados a muerte en
Barcelona.

Esperando que seremos atendidos en nuestro ruegos, le de
seamos una larga vida para bien de la càusa de la democràcia de
pueblo inglés.

F. Martos
Tdo. Alcantara
Domingo Lopez
A. Contreras
Luis Rodriguez
A. Delgado
Andrés Fontanals
Blas Bravo
Gonzalez Flores
Jose Silva

Granada
Jose Bolaños
V. Vega
Antonio Arroyo
Perez Antonio
Arjona Antonio
Jiménez
Zamora
Navarro Manuel
Lazario
Victorio Alcaraz

Put with Western Dept. — 2

140

89 41

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF

THE LORD PRESIDENT'S

PRIVATE SECRETARY

Charges to pay [redacted] s. _____ d.

RECEIVED at Central Telegraph Office 7.43 PM

From CPD ER m

By

POST OFFICE

TELEGRAM

Prefix. Time handed in. Office of Origin and Service Instructions. Words.

79 6.20 WEST LONDON T 57

To _____ m

By

LCS No. 01201

OFFICE STAMP

MORRISON PRESIDENTCY COUNCIL WHITEHALL = 141

46 SPANISH ANTI FASCISTS NUMBERS RESISTANCE MOVEMENT AWAIT TRIAL 27 TH CADIZ STOP IMMINENT DANGER MAJORITY RECEIVE DEATH SENTENCE STOP APPEAL YOU TAKE URGENT STEPS SAVE LIVES OF PROVED FIGHTERS FREEDOM STOP ONLY SALVATION LIES IN STRONGEST QUICKEST INTERNATIONAL ACTION = RUIZ SPANISH LIBERTERIAN MOVEMENT GARCIA GENERAL UNION WORKERS UGT 5 FAIRFAX RD MAIDA-VALE 2939 +

For free repetition of doubtful words telephone "TELEGRAMS ENQUIRY" or call, with this form at office of delivery. Other enquiries should be accompanied by this form and, if possible, the envelope

B or C / C

Wt. 45225/44698. J. D. & Co. Ltd. T. 51-5633.

C.B query 2? 142

Registered Office: 70 ST. GEORGE'S SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

CLERICAL & ADMINISTRATIVE WORKERS' UNION

Incorporating the National Union of Clerks & Administrative Workers and the Association of Women Clerks & Secretaries

FCW/IM.

Trade Union No. 916
Approved Society No. 184
Tel. No. Maryhill 1612
Grams: "Uniclerkos, Glasgow"

30 CLOUSTON STREET,
GLASGOW, N.W.

General Secretary:
FRED. C. WOODS

Asst. General Secretary:
B. ANNE GODWIN

Our Ref. A/7/20/45. *Your Ref.* 7th December, 1945.

The Secretary of State for
Foreign Affairs,
The Foreign Office,
Whitehall, London, S.W.1.

Z 13809 / 89 / 41

19 DEC 1945

Dear Sir,

Spain.

1:5191 89

On the 8th November at the request of my Executive Council I forwarded a resolution to you concerning the imposition of the death penalty upon the eminent republicans, Santiago Alvarez and Sebastian Zapirain, by the Fascist government of Spain.

In my communication I enquired whether the British Government proposed to continue the representations as suggested in the latter part of our resolution, and in the absence of any reply from you I venture to enquire how this matter now stands.

Yours faithfully,

Fred C Woods

General Secretary.

Please write a separate letter for each subject dealt with

Put with
143

[boilerplate] 13 Feb 45 141 1945

Le 26 novembre 1945.

Chers amis.

Je vous envoie le texte d'un message que nous avons reçu en français et rédigé dans les termes suivants :

"Bagnères de Bigorre, le 22 novembre 1945,

"De Secrétaire Général Gines Navarro, Villa des Cèdres.

"A M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

"Communistes espagnols Bagnères vous prient intervenir libération 22 condamnés.Cadiz."

Il se peut que ce télégramme soit destiné à Mr. Bevin; je pense que s'il était destiné à M. Bidault, il aurait été envoyé directement à Paris.

Je ne peux donc que vous le transmettre à toutes fins utiles.

Amicalement à vous

Pierre Laroche

I.P. Garran, Esq.,
Foreign Office.

144

Registry
No. Z 13809/89/41

R.K.W.S.

Draft.

The General Secretary,
Clerical and
Administrative
Workers' Union,
30, Clouston
Street,
Glasgow, N.W.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

~~Dec. 1945.~~ 5th January 1946

Sir,

With reference to your letter A/7/20/45 of 7th Dec., I am directed etc. to inform you that, so far as can be ascertained, the two men Santiago Alvarez and Sebastian Zapirain, who are abroad & have entered Spain ~~for the~~ ~~subversive~~ purposes either without ~~passports~~ passports or with forged passports, are still awaiting trial, ~~but the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs indicated to H.M.Ambassador some weeks ago that, despite the serious nature of the charges against them, they were not threatened with the death penalty.~~ There is reason to believe that ~~H.M.Ambassador continues to watch~~ their case is being watched by the ~~case~~ of these two men closely, and, as in the case of other persons recently arrested in Spain, he has full instructions to intercede on their behalf should circumstances warrant such action.

British Ambassador at Madrid.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

145
ENP

Z 13809/89/41

FOREIGN OFFICE,

S.W.1.

5th January, 1946.

Sir,

With reference to your letter A/7/20/45 of 7th December, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Bevin to inform you that, so far as can be ascertained, the two men Santiago Alvarez and Sebastian Zapirain who are alleged to have entered Spain either without papers or with forged passports, are still awaiting trial.

2. There is reason to believe that they are not threatened with the death penalty. Their case is being closely watched by the British Ambassador in Madrid.

I am,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

F. R. Hoyer Millar

The General Secretary,
Clerical and Administrative
Workers' Union,
30, Clouston Street,
Glasgow, N.W.

1

WESTERN

1945

F.O.
371
[redacted]

SPAIN

FILE No. 119

CLOSED
UNTIL
1972

49582

1

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 119

4 JAN 1945

2

Registry Number } Z 119/119/41

FROM Censorship, (Communicated)

No. 9623

Dated 31st December, 1944.

Received in Registry } 4th Jan. 1945.

Z : Spain

Basque activities.

Intercept telegram from Luis Ortuzar to Eliodoro de la Torre, Hotel des Basques, Bayonne, regarding instructions from Senor Aguirre which the former claims he has never received.

Last Paper.

C 17916/309/41 - 1944

References.

(*Minutes.*)

F.O.E. 2096/1

F.O.E. 4/1

(*Print.*)

(*How disposed of.*)

49582

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

2396.

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REF HELD 9623

FROM CTO TO CTC H/O 1350 1/1/45

71 C ORD 9.51 ILFRACOMBE 152 31ST DECEMBER

ELIODORO DE LA TORRE HOTEL DES BASQUES BAYONNE =

HAVE RECEIVED ONE MORE WIRE FROM YOU ASKING ME TO ACCOMPLISH PRESIDENT AGUIRRES INSTRUCTIONS STOP CAN YOU TELL ME WHICH ARE THOSE INSTRUCTIONS STOP IF SO WOULD YOU ORDER ME TO FULFILL THEM STOP PLEASE ASK PRESIDENT AGUIRRE TO TELL YOU WHICH ARE THOSE INSTRUCTIONS WHICH I HAVE REFUSED TO OBEY STOP INSIST ONCE MORE HAVE NOT RECEIVED FROM PRESIDENT AGUIRRE ANY INSTRUCTIONS SINCE THIRTEENTH JUNE LAST STOP PREVIOUSLY HE HAS NEVER ANSWERED VANY QUERIES IN MY LETTERS STOP PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS TO THAT DATE CHILDISH ABSURD STOP THE WHOLE THING IS ABSURD COMPAIGN TRYING TO COVER IRUJOS BEHAVIOUR ALSO HIS PRIVATE DELEGATION HERE IN ORDER TO AVOID JUSTICE HERE STOP PLEASE OBTAIN FULL INFORMATION THROUGH OTHER QUARTERS IF YOU DO NOT BELIEVE WHAT I SAY STOP THIS TIME WILL NOT TOLERATE ANYBODY TO PLAY WITH ME STOP KIND REGARDS HAPPY NEW YEAR =

LUIS ORTUZAR ++

SENDER: LUIS ORTUZAR 10 BICCLESCOMBE PARK ROAD ILFRACOMBE DEVON ++

CENSOR NO. 36
CTC MEANING OF TEXT NOT CLEAR. F.O. NO TRACE OF TELEGRAMS AT CTO ++

DG.

Z 119 JAN 1945

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FO371/49582

2.

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 396

9 JAN 1945

4

Registry Number. Z 396/119/41

FROM Censorship communicated.

No. CW 2601

Dated

Received in Registry 9th Jan. 1945.

Z : Spain.

Basque activities -, proposed Cortes meeting in Mexico.

Intercept telegram from Manuel Irujo to Derotes Ziaurritz, Bayonne, saying that Dr. Negrin has issued a public statement regarding the proposed meeting of the Cortes in Mexico on January 10th, but that is illegal, and the meeting is confined to deputies attached to the Spanish Liberation Committee.

Last Paper.

2119

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

ATh 10/1.

FORD. SDGW/i

See within:-

1) Censorship comm'd (CW 3288 - Joan Jorda to Daniello Catalan State, Mexico City)

ATh 27/1.

2) Censorship comm'd. WU. 3942. Jose Aguirre to Jose Lizaso. 30/1)

3) Censorship comm'd. CW. 3711 Jesus Lejarcha to Irujo, Basque delegation.

ATh 3/2

4) Censorship comm'd. CW. 4252 (Comudella to Carles P. Sunyer of Zebb)

ATh 17/2

(Action completed.)

KAS 12/1

(Index.)

19/1.

Next Paper.

2 3143.

Keep Basket (Basque)

5

REF HELD CW.2601

SERIAL NO 755
FROM C AND W TO CTC H/O 1337 4/1/45
HEREWITH CW 2601 HELD PLEASE INSTRUCT
FOR F/O
COPY ALSO REQUIRED BY S E
LPH 690 LDN 32 3/1/45 1604
ELT DOROTEO ZIAURRITZ HOTEL DESBASQUES BAYONNE =
NEGRITN ISSUED PUBLIC STATEMENT MEETING CORTES MEXICO 10TH
JANUARY ILLEGAL STOP NEGRIN COMMUNISTS ABSTAIN ATTENDING STOP
MEETING CONFINED TO DEPUTIES ATTACHED SPANISH LIBERATION COMMITTEE =
MANUEL IRUJO ++

BASQUE DELEGATION
7 HOBART PLACE ++

2-

Z 396
JAN 1945

DG.

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Z 396 / 119 / 41 2 Part with 6

SERIAL NO 466
FROM [redacted] AND W TO CTC H/O
HEREWITH CW 3288

26 JAN 1945

REF HELD CW 3288
1035 22.1.45
HELD PLEASE INSTRUCT

QUERY TEXT

INDEXED

GK 212 GOLDERSGREEN LDN 25

NLT OANIELLO ESTAT-CATALA (CATALAN STATE) AVENIDA URUGUAY 49
MEXICO CITY

(Translation)

RECEI ED WIRE ALSO SURPRISED AT BARULLO SOLIDARITY STOP
WE ARE MAINTAINING LOYALTY TO COUNCIL WE HAVE WIRED
CORNUDELLA PERPIGNAN PLEASE COMMUNICATE DIRECT YOURSELVES =
JOAN JORDA+++++

(STPANISH)

JM

Z 396 / 119 / 41
1 FEB 1945
REF HELD WU.392

Put with 1

WESTERN UNION LONDON

504 NEWYORK 99 29 INDEXED 1945 JAN 30 AM 11 00

2

NLT JOSE LIZESO 7 HOBART PLACE EATON SQ. LONDON S.W.1. =

Translation from Spanish:-

PLEASE TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING TEXT TO PISUERGA:- "THEY ADVISE FROM PARIS THAT THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OVER WHICH YOU PRESIDE IS IN TOUCH WITH CATALAN SOLIDARITY IN PARIS IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT AN AGREEMENT STOP I AM INTERESTED TO KNOW THE DETAILS REGARDING THE PROGRESS OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE MUCH DESIRED UNION OF THE CATALANS WHILST WE CONTINUE THE SESSION OF THE BASQUE GOVERNMENT REITERATING OUR UNSHAKEABLE INTENTION OF JOINT ACTION WHICH NEGRIN'S JOURNEY AND MAURA'S ACTIVITIES (WHICH WE ARE CLOSELY FOLLOWING) RENDER NECESSARY STOP REGARDING POSSIBILITIES MEXICO THE SOLUTION IS BEING TRANSFERRED TO FRANCE ACCOMPANIED BY POSSIBLE HIGH INTERVENTIONS BENT UPON SEEKING A DEFINITE SOLUTION THE INEVITABLE FALL OF FRANCO STOP I BELIEVE YOUR PRESENCE IN PARIS NECESSARY HOPING TO SEE YOU SOON GREETINGS " =

JOSE ANTONIO AGUIRRE ++

1. "Pi Sunyer" (Copy for S.E.)
2. "Negrin" (Held for F.O. Copy for M.I.5.)

DG.

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7. 396/409/118/41

11 FEB 194[illegible] INDEXED

Put with 8.

2.

C T C

SERIAL NO 889 REF HELD CW 3711

FROM C AND W TO CTC H/O 1105 31/1/45

HEREWITH CW 3711 HELD PLEASE INSTRUCT

HOLD FOR F/O COPY FOR M I 5

60 PARIS 003598 46/45 30 1840

ELT IRUXO BASQUE DELEGATION 7/8 HOBARDPLACE EATON SQUARE LONDON S W 1

NEGRIN HA SIDO RECIBIDO POR ALTAS PERSONALIDADES PARECE AHORA CONDICIONALMENTE MAURA NO DESEANDO ENTREGAR PODERES LEGALIDAD REPUBLICANA STOP UNION NACIONAL PRESENTA AHORA PROGRAMA LEGALIDAD REPUBLICANA CONSTITUCION ESTATUTOS CON GOBIERNO NEGRIN.

JESUS LEIZAOLA

WMD

Part with 9

INDEXED REF HELD CW.4252

SERIAL NO 448
FROM C AND W TO CTC H/O 1003 12/2/45
HEREWITH CW 4252 HELD PLEASE INSTRUCT
HOLD FOR F.O. POSSIBLY ACTIVITIES SPANISH POLITICAL MOVEMENT =
761 PERPIGNAN 147 8/2/45 1705 1/50
CARLES PI I SUNYER 36 MORELAND COURT FINCHLEY ROAD LONDON NW2 =
DELEGATION RECU COMUNICATION CONSEIL CENTRAL
QUE NOUS VOUS RETRANSMETONS INTEGRALEMENT
STOP CONSEIL CENTRAL F N DE C EST D ACCORD
AVEC VOS POINTS DE VUE ET L ATTITUDE DE
GALEUZCA LA SIGNATURE DU TEXTE DE SOLIDARITE PAR NOS
DELEGUES EN FRANCE CONSIDEREZ LE COMME UN ACTE
DE TRANSIGEANCE COMPREENSIVE DANS UN CLIMAT D
EXILES ET EN TANT QU UN BON DESIR DE NE
PAS APPARAITRE COMME DES ELEMENTS EN DESACORD
CETTE SIGNATURE N OTE AUCUNE VALEUR A
L ATTITUDE ET A LA PENSEE DU FRONT TRES
CONCRETE SANS
SES DERNIERES DECLARATIONS TOUT A FAIT
REVISIONISTRES D ACCORD AVEC L ESPRIT
DE CES DECLARATIONS LE FRONT NE CROIT PAS QUE LA
CONSTITUTION DE SOLIDARITE TELLE QU ELLE A
ETE REALISE PUISSE AVOIR AUCUNE IMPORTANCE DANS
NOTRE PAIS STOP SUIVRA RAPORT DELEGATION ET
CONSEIL CHEZ NOUS =
CORNUDELLA ++

Z 396 / 119 / 41
14 FEB 1945

DG.

3

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 3143 10

9 MAR 1945

Registry Number Z 3143/119/41

FROM Postal and Telegraph Censorship, (Communicated).

No. LON/SE/5614/45

Dated

Received in Registry 8th March, 1945.

Z: Spain

Basque comments on British policy towards Spain.

Intercept letter from J.I. de Lizaso, London, to Jose de Aguirre, Basque Delegation, commenting on a recent article in "The Fortnightly Review" by Professor Atkinson, who advocates a Federal Spain. Senor Lizaso states that this view is not shared by the Foreign Office who tend towards a restoration of the Monarchy. He hopes Professor Atkinson's solution will prevail. He further comments on Basque activities and the varying policies of Spanish Communists in other countries. He refers to the activities of Miquel Maura.

Last Paper.

Z 376

References.

[redacted] (Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

I do not know who the writer mean by the personage who is to a certain extent connected with the policy of the F.O.

A J Hemmings 10/3

F.O.R.D.

R.G. 14/3

(Action completed.) Kws 15/3.

(Index.) 14/6

Next Paper.

23146

27437 F.O.P.

(34175D) Wt 26164/H676 100M 8/44 H J R & L Gp 51

Z 3143

8 MAR 1945

~~P.C.23.2.45.COPY.~~

P.C. 67 **POSTAL & TELEGRAPH CENSORSHIP**
UNITED KINGDOM

TYPE OF MAIL Registered Mail — Air

Submission No. : LON/SE/5614/45.

Date :

Reg. No. 9135 – London S.W. 11. *Taken off S.S. at (port)* *on (date)*

FROM: J.I. de LIZASO,
7, Hobart Place,
Eaton Square,
LONDON, S.W.1.

TO: EXCM.SR.D JOSE A. de AGUIRRE,
President of the Basque Government,
Basque Delegation,
30, Fifth Avenue,
NEW YORK - U.S.A.

Date of letter (or postmark) 12.2.45.

Language : Spanish

ORIGINAL LETTER: Retained

SUBMITTED TO:
Comment F.O. for action
" M.I.6.
" P.I.D.
" F.O.R.
" C.T.
Comment CAN
" D.R.W.
" S.E.

Seen by : Naval Adviser — Air Adviser — M.I.12

Operating Unit	Section	Examiner	D.A.C.	Date
~~S.E.London~~	Political Refugees	470	MA.N.	20 FEB 1945

SUBJECT: A Basque comments on British Policy towards Spain

In commenting on a recent article in "The Fortnightly Review" by Professor Atkinson, writer states that the latter advocates a Federal Spain, but that his views were not shared by the Foreign Office who tended towards a Monarchist restoration. Writer hopes that Atkinson's solution will prevail.

Writer comments on Basque activities and on the contradictory policy of the Communists in various countries.

"We are still without news from you since last September. Nor have I written to you since December. I really hope you will decide to come over. It is high time for us to be able to talk over our affairs calmly. Your cable to Pi would suggest that you intend to do so. Agirretxe has spent some weeks in Laburdi. He was married there to one of Camina's daughters. The news he brings does not agree too well with yours or Leizaola's. We always thought your presence in France would be most necessary at a time like this. I suppose that this time we shall not be disappointed and that at last there will be no obstacles in the way of your journey to Europe. Trifon Gomez has come to London again. Negrin has been in France for the last two weeks and is returning here within a few days. Lopez Olivan is here now. Gil Robles is already here or is expected to arrive at any moment. In view of these precedents, they can hardly object to your journey.

Reports from Paris - We know from Leizaola that you have succeeded in

/making

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making the necessary arrangements for corresponding directly with him. We are very pleased indeed.

Sr. Maura's activities - No doubt you know more about these than we do. What we knew we informed you of at considerable length. Since December there has been almost complete silence with reference to this matter, except for a few allusions to it in the weekly paper 'The Observer', which every Sunday devotes some space to comments on the political future of Spain. The articles are put together by a well-known writer. We know the name of the author and we are also aware of the at least semi-official share in them of a personage who is to a certain extent connected with the policy of the Foreign Office. It is not possible to judge how far what is said in these articles is officially inspired, but of course this is all that is being published in the British Press on the subject of Spain, during the last few weeks, with the exception of Vernon Bartlett's articles. All these articles in the 'Observer' have already been sent to you under separate cover. I have also sent you under separate cover a magnificent article which appeared in the February number of 'The Fortnightly', a monthly magazine, on a suitable British policy towards Spain. It is by Professor William C. Atkinson. I advise you to read it over slowly several times. It is written in a really kindly spirit, after much painstaking study, to judge from the numerous quotations contained in it. It is the best thing that has appeared in print since I have been in this country. The whole matter is studied with scholarly detachment. It is simply magnificent. We read it with the greatest satisfaction. God grant the Professor Atkinson's article may even at the eleventh hour, make the men responsible for British policy think. Mr. Atkinson's article could not have been published at a more suitable time. It has appeared precisely when, in the opinion of the writer in 'The Observer' the centre of gravity of the policy towards Spain has shifted to London. If this is so, all those who are anxious to make no mistakes have something which it behoves them to study. They will not be able to deny that before decisions were made, an exposition had been published establishing premises which it must be admitted are based on due consideration of past errors and the hope of a better future for relations between Britain and the Peninsular. Nor can it be said that the author of the article does not furnish documentary proofs of what he states. You know who he is. He was, until a few months ago, at the head of the Spanish section of the Advisory Department of the Foreign Office. It is a fact that his views were not at that time shared by the said official organisation. For that reason he had to resign. Will they listen to him? God grant they do. But we must not be too hopeful. The wind is not blowing in the direction that Atkinson would wish. Other currents and interests seem disposed to furnish Spain with other artificial solutions in the face of the fact of plurinationality which Professor Atkinson so wisely points out. Obstinately and with purely empirical judgment, a Monarchy is insisted upon which is based on armed forces and on vested interests of every kind. What a mistake!... Well, at all events, as I say, it can never be said that the mistake was due to ignorance of the problem, when the very Head of the Foreign Office 'Research Department' has stated it so clearly and with such authority.

Evolution of European policy - The progress of military operations compells a change of political orientation. The Russian military reality and the action of the Communist parties in every country, are forcing Great Britain and the United States to seek solutions which will guarantee an understanding as well as the political and social peace of the Continent and prevent an E.L.A.S. in every occupied country. The result of this policy

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is leading to a seeking for democratic solutions everywhere, in which in some way, the resistance forces in each country, and with them the Communists, shall have a certain amount of responsibility. This is happening in every State, from Greece and Yugoslavia to Belgium and Holland. The only country which appears to be relatively stable, France, must have already made this 'compromise', forestalling events, or facing facts. My own opinion with regard to the European panorama is that the aim of the Communist parties who are everywhere adopting strange, paradoxical or contradictory policies, is to serve the Russian plan to prevent the setting up in Europe of governments which might be the future foundation of International capitalist forces, whose purpose would be bound to be now as it was after the last war, to blockade and strangle the Russian Socialist regime. Russia needs all the economic and financial power of the United States and Britain, in the shape of credits, for the reconstruction of her ruined cities, the creating of new industries, equipment, etc. If she meets with understanding and guaranteed solidarity from her allies, she will not try to export Sovietism beyond her frontiers. I believe I have already said that in my opinion, the Communist parties throughout the world and the Comintern are merely the Russian interpretation of a modern intelligence service in the service of the Russian State. Russia, on the other hand, has ceased to be a Communist State and has become an immense country of State Socialism.

Spain cannot be an exception in this general panorama. Franco has been supported up to the very last minute. But Franco is incompatible with European reality strengthened by the armies of the United Nations and particularly those of Russia. It is necessary that a solution be submitted to Stalin which, without being a Communist one, shall give the required guarantees that the same policy that is advocated for the whole Continent shall also apply to Spain. Prieto and those who collaborate with him, by adopting an uncompromisingly anti-Communist attitude, have committed suicide politically. The way is open for Negrin because he is not anti-Communist. Neither is he the Anglo-Saxon solution, because he is the confidential man of Russia and of the Communists, for the present at least (I say this because the Communists would be the first to cast him aside when he no longer suits their purpose, on the score of his utterly amoral personal conduct). The 'compromise' must therefore be reached - as far as I can see - between the forces represented by Negrin and those other democratic forces which are not systematically anti-Communist and are socially progressive and are prepared to give to Spain a structure which will guarantee that this progress will really become a fact. Our significance within the Iberian Peninsula, to judge from the example of Jugoslavia is in perfect harmony with this. Our success would lie in our helping, within the policy of the Peninsular, to guarantee earnestness, tolerance, peace and social progress to Russia on the one hand and to the Western Powers on the other. We are in a splendid position to do this, strengthened as we are by our not having attended the Cortes in Mexico and by our refusal to form part of the Junta de Liberacion. Today we Basques are Republicans. We are associated with neither Negrin and the Communists, nor with Prieto and the anti-Communists. We are Democrats, socially advanced, and advocates of our self-determination. If we adhere to this attitude firmly and strongly united and closely linked with Catalans and Galicians and prepared to reach an understanding with tolerant and progressive Spanish Democracy, I believe we shall win, if not immediately - in view of the insistence on artificial, temporary and dangerous solutions - at least in the long run. That there is something in all this can be seen from the fact that you who were until a few months ago, a bourgeois who had nothing in common with Communists and were no representative of Euzkadi, are now said by these same Communists to be the President of our people. While this is going on in Mexico, the same is being hinted here. Your idea of seizing the first opportunity to give some responsible part in the Basque Government to every shade of opinion, and definitely to the Communists, is I think,

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both wise and necessary.

Confederation of Iberian Nations - In the series of Ibero-American lectures organised by Euzko-Etxea, the Portuguese refugee, Sr. Cortezao advocated the formation of a Community of Iberian Nations. His suggestion was enthusiastically received. At the suggestion of Sr. Araquistain, a Committee was formed composed of a Spaniard, Sr. Araquistain, a Portuguese, Cortezao, a Catalan, Pi Sunyer, and a Basque, Manuel. They have met several times. The usual difficulties have arisen. I have sent you under separate cover the voluminous correspondence which has passed on the subject. None of it is publishable up to the present except Sr. Cortezao's lecture which Euzko-Etxea's Committee of Basque Culture have had multigraphed and distributed here and abroad. I think it would be advisable for the Basque study groups to know of this and debate the matter. Of course nothing very important may come of it, but there is no harm in going ahead. The bases put forward by Cortezao in his lecture, which led to the forming of the Study Committee are interesting. Let us hope that a progressive British policy will not throw could water on a plan which would definitely be to Britain's interest, as she could count not only on Portugal's friendship but on that of all the States in the Peninsular Confederation.

Death of G. Steer - He died in Burma as the result of a motor-car accident. In your name and in that of the Government of Euzkadi, we sent our condolences to his widow. We have lost a good friend.

Financial position - You know it and I will therefore not enlarge upon it. We are living on the balance that remains and that you know about. We shall keep the Delegation open as long as we can. It seems Eliodoro and Alberro intend to come to this country. You will judge as to whether their coming will solve the problem. Laboa has written me again asking for his money. I told him I would tell you. It is hard to persuade him that there is any reason for non-settlement, as he knows quite well that the Continental Transit affairs were settled months ago."

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SPAIN

Z 3146

8 MAR 1945

Registry Number	Z 3146/119/41
FROM	Mr. Farquhar, Barcelona.
No.	14 (H/16/45) Confidential
Dated	19th February, 1945
Received in Registry	8th March, 1945.
Z:	Spain

Activities of Cataluna Separatist G[illegible].

Refers to his despatch 25 of the 25th [illegible] 1944 (C 2828/309/41). Encloses copy of a ma[illegible] recently in Barcelona, pertaining to be a declara of policy by the National Council of Cataluna, suggesting that the policy of the United Nations is linked with Cataluna Separatist aspirations and signed by Carlos Pi Sunyer, Josef Trueta, Josef M. Batista y Roca, Ramon Parera, and Fermi Verges, all resident in the United Kingdom. Is unaware of the extent to which such political refugees are encouraged in such activities.

Copied Madrid.

Last Paper.

Z 3143

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Letter put in daft.

R.L. Campbell 16/3

F.O.R.D. E.D.G. 16/iii

A few weeks ago I heard through friends of Trueta (the well-known surgeon now working at Headington) that he was anxious to get some one to take out a document he had prepared on the Spanish situation; but nothing transpired. This may be the same manifesto.

E.D.G. 16/iii

19/3

13/3

(Action completed.)	(Index.)
20/3	20/6

Next Paper.

Z 5663.

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SPAIN

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Z 3146

8 MAR 1945

Registry Number Z 3146/119/41

FROM Mr. Farquhar, Barcelona.

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Last Paper.

Z 3143

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(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Other papers in Left.

16/3

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D.G. 16/iii

19/3

(Action completed.)

Kwk 20/3

(Index.)

20/6

Next Paper.

Z 5603.

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Despatch No 14.
H/16/45.

British Consulate-General,
Barcelona.

Confidential.

19th February, 1945.

7 3146
9 MAR 1945

Sir,

In my despatch No 25 of 25th February, 1944, I had the honour to report on the activities of various Separatist groups in Cataluña, in particular on the "Front Nacional de Cataluña", and on the attention which was being shown to these political groups by the Spanish police authorities.

2. In the last few days a well-produced manifesto has been circulating widely in Barcelona, copy of which is transmitted herewith, from which it will be seen that it claims to be a declaration of policy by the National Council of Cataluña, the Headquarters of which are in London, published by the delegation of the Front Nacional de Cataluña in France and re-edited and published by the propaganda section of this Front Nacional in Barcelona. It is perhaps superfluous to make a detailed translation of this manifesto which follows well-known lines and which attempts, rather cleverly, to suggest that the policy of the United Nations is in some way linked up with Catalan Separatist aspirations. It is on the whole a sober and well-argued exposé of Catalan Separatist views and it would perhaps be unfair to describe it as a revolutionary document, though it is naturally contrary to the policy of the present Spanish regime and equally contrary to conceptions of Spanish unity.

3. It may perhaps be worth while drawing attention to this document since it is signed by Messrs Carlos Pi Sunyer, Josef Trueta, Josef M. Batista y Roca, Ramon Parera and Fermi Verges, all of whom are resident in the United Kingdom. I am of course unaware to what extent these political refugees in the United Kingdom are authorised to engage in political activities which the present Spanish Government might feel justified in stigmatising as prejudicial to the normal relations which should exist between Spain and Great Britain.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Harold Farquhar

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
Etc., etc., etc.
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

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Declaració del Consell Nacional de Catalunya

Londres, 1944

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Publicat pel

Front Nacional de Catalunya

Delegació de França

●

Reeditat a Barcelona per la Secció de Propaganda del FRONT NACIONAL DE CATALUNYA

Aquesta crida va adreçada a tots els catalans que sentin la dignitat d'ésser-ne i que no hagin perdut la fe en el seu poble ni hagin renunciat a la tradició democràtica de Catalunya. La fem amb el pensament posat sobretot en aquells germans nostres que perseguits, però no solmesos, sofreixen i esperen en la Pàtria ocupada l'hora de la deslliurança. La fem perquè al llindar d'unes hores decisives per a tot el món i més particularment per a Catalunya, el catalans que en sentim la suprema exigència, volem que la nostra voluntat coincident, però massa dispersa, s'estructuri en una acció orgànica i militant. La fem en el moment de quedar ampliat el Consell Nacional de Catalunya amb les representacions en terres d'Amèrica, de les comunitats catalanes i partits polítics. Molts són els que en la seva patriòtica impaciència troben que aquesta declaració s'ha fet esperar massa. Es perquè hauríem volgut que el moment democràtic que haurà de recollir, empènyer i endegar el redreç del nostre Poble s'hagués fet sota el signe d'una unitat encara més àmplia; i hem sacrificat esforços i temps per a procurar assolir aquest noble objectiu. No ens dol però haver-los esmerçat de cara al demà, no els creiem esforços ni temps perduts. Però davant la transcendència del moment, no podríem sense greu mancança dels nostres deures envers Catalunya, retardar més l'actuació resolta exigida per la voluntat catalana de recobrament. I és sentint-ho així, que amb els braços oberts i amb esperit d'unió, llençem aquesta crida a la consciència catalana per tal que es redreci en un nou alçament per la dignitat civil dels catalans i la llibertat Nacional de Catalunya.

Fem aquesta declaració en l'etapa final de la guerra a Europa, quan el cicle de destrucció i despotisme que s'inicià amb l'atac del feixisme espanyol per les Potències de l'Eix contra la República i contra les nostres Llibertats està pròxim a cloure's amb el triomf de les Nacions Unides. Diferir per més temps l'exposició del nostre pensament podria esser font de confusionismes, deixar creure que el nostre Poble renunciava al seu dret després d'haver vessat tantas vegadas la seva sang per les mateixes causes i en defensa dels mateixos ideals avui en lluita. Damunt del nostre poble caigué el trist privilegi d'haver d'en frontarse amb la moderna versió feixista de la bella tirania despòtica, quan encara el perill no era reconegut pels mantenedors responsables de l'estabilitat i de la pau. Per allargar la pau dels altres pobles fóren sacrificats i abandonats a la superioritat material dels agressors totalitaris; però amb el nostre sacrifici permetérem que es despertés la consciència universal fins que la mateixa violència agressora l'obligà a convertir-se en acció. Lluitàrem junts amb els demócrates espanyols i els patriotes bascs; i fórem momentàniament vençuts poc abans de començar l'actual conflicte. Aquesta manca d'aparent sincronisme pot ésser la causa que hi hagin encara

alguns que no comprenguin, o no vulguin veure, que una i altre són la mateixa lluita; pero malgrat els intents d'oblidar-ho o desfigurar-ho, ho són, i la Victória final no podrá mai deixar d'ésser la nostra Victória. En aquesta hora que l'extensió espanyola de l'Eix está próxima a quedar convertida en un illot feixista, dintre d'una Europa alliberada, volem fer sentir la veu dels catalans, la dels que encara es troben amb la boca emmordassada, peró que un dia proper tornará a parlar més fort, com també la d'aquells que ja no parlaran mai més i que, amb llur, silenci ens obliguen més encara a complir el nostre deure envers la Pátria per la qual caigueren.

En fer aquesta crida volem dir francament el que som i representem, el nostre pensament i propósits. No es hora d'habilitats o reserves; ho és d'afirmacions senzilles i clares; d'honestetat, de resolució, de fermesa. Som un estol de catalans que creiem representar avui la majoria dels que senten l'imperatiu del manament patriótic i, esperant ésser demá la majoria del nostre poble, ens trobem units i empesos a lluitar per la voluntat catalana de redreç. Aquest moviment que és, a l'ensems, comunió de fidelitat espiritual i FRONT de combat, s'articula entorn del Consell Nacional de Catalunya responent a insistents demandes dels que no volen que es perdi o es desdibuixi el sentit de tenaç persisténcia en l'afirmació catalana que, fins en les hores més incertes, ha representat, i la significació de l'aplec de voluntats exigents que, al seu estímul, fa temps que sorgia. No es tracta del desig de mantenir un determinat organisme, que això ben poc importaria davant de la magnitud i trascendéncia de les qüestions en joc; es tracta de recollir i endegar un alçament de la consciéncia catalana que si es relliga avui més concretament, no comença avui; i que pel mateix fet d'haver sorgit per instint espontani en els moments pitjors dintre i fora de Catalunya vé a representar una segona Renaixença. No som ni serem un grup de catalans que esmercin les energies en combatre altres catalans; venim només a servir la Llibertat de Catalunya. Representem la voluntat lleial i combatent d'aquells que ens donen la seva adhesió. Aquest moviment el mateix dels patriotes que combaten dins de Catalunya, *recolzat fora d'Ella en les Comunitats catalanes constituïdes en terres lliures, en representacions de partits politics que, sense renunciar a llurs respectives ideologies, creuen que en aquesta hora deuen subordinarse a l'afirmació catalana i en personalitats individuals i nuclis isolats que espontàniament s'hi adheriren. Es la nostra una empresa comú, oberta a tots els catalans que puguin sentir-se'n dignament, que aspira a eixamplar i enfortir la unitat catalana i de la qual cap català lleial podria ésser-ne exclòs. No hi seran només aquells que no vulguin ésser-hi. No afalaguem a ningù per a tenir amics; no prometem res per a guanyar seguidors. Qui vulgui venir amb nosaltres que ho faci lliurement; sabem per endavant que l'acció a emprendre ha de fonamentar-se en un esperit de desinterés, austeritat i sacrifici. El nostre propósit és el d'alliberar Catalunya; la nostra primera ambició, convèncer els catalans que no malgastin en lluites estèrils la resolució i energia que tots hem de concentrar en l'esforç constructiu de reconquerir, redreçar i refer la Pàtria.*

Ens articulem en un FRONT NACIONAL per a demostrar que l'afirmació catalana respon a una realitat i constitueix una força. La nostra acció no obstaculitza ni en pertorba cap altre dels que per diferents camins volguessin també treballar per Catalunya; al contrari, les recolza i enforteix totes. L'exemple del que ha succeït en els darrers anys així ho demostra. Era en les horas més difícils del 1940 quan tot semblava trontollar i els horitzons no podien ésser més foscos que, en constituir-se a Londres, el Consell Nacional de Catalunya fixà, com a fonament de la seva posició patriòtica i política el principi d'autodeterminació, el dret del poble Català a donar-se per ell mateix el régim que la seva voluntat democràtica determini. Aleshores s'ens va criticar i combatre desde diversos sectors; avui, el principi, encara que en forma condicionada, pot dir-se que es acceptat per tots ells i ve a constituir la base més àmplia de coïncidéncia que uneix ideologicament els catalans. Es la prova de la virtualitat de les idees fonamentals que són francament exposades amb respecte per les idees dels altres però amb la ferma resolució que han de mantenir-se les própies. Igualment avui l'afirmació de la voluntat catalana revestida d'un volum d'adhesions que posin en evidencia la seva indubtable realitat, potencialitza la força del nostre poble, no a profit de cap grup ni organisme, sinó únicament al servei de Catalunya. I és necesari i oportù que aquesta afirmació es faci i que aquesta força existeixi, ara que l'alliberament de França representa també l'alliberament — que saludem amb profunda emoció — d'un nombre de catalans que s'hi troben virtualment presoners i, entre ells, les personalitats representatives de les nostres institucions politiques. Sempre fou propòsit dels que han vingut constituint el Consell Nacional de Catalunya facilitar les solucions de conjunt que fonguessin i harmonitzessin el concepte de la continuïtat històrica amb el corrent actuant de la catalanitat que vibra en un gran impuls de redreç; i el fet de no haver pogut encara arribar-hi no canvia el fons del nostre pensament. Esperem que les representacions institucionals aviat podran i voldrà el seu alt patrocini a l'acció patriòtica de la majoria dels catalans; mentre aquest moment arriva és precis que el FRONT NACIONAL fixi la seva posició per tal que quedin degudament aclarits els fets i les perspectives politiques. La voluntat catalana que té un pensament ampli, obert i comprensiu no podria però acceptar que per interpretacions forçades de un legalisme, que els mateixos fets, tornant artificiosos, ja han superat, o per la conclusió de compromisos o pactes prematurs establerts contra el voler de la majoria dels catalans, hom hipotequés el futur de Catalunya, el seu dret natural a regir-se com el seu poble vulgui. Fixant aquesta posició — que es també la dels patriotes que amb referéncia a aquest punt, explícitament ens la expressen des de dintre mateix de Catalunya — *creiem prestar el millor servei a la causa, que acabarà imposant-se, de la unitat catalana.*

Aquesta unitat tenim el deure de fer-la perquè l'hora es greu i decisiva. Ho és per tot el món en el qual no tot quedarà automàticament i satisfactóriament resolt quan vingui la Pau; i fins, un cop vinguda, serà necessària una activa i constant vigilància per a poder viure en un régim de comprensió, respecte i tolerància d'acord amb els principis de democràcia liberal. Ho és pel que era i representava la República a Espanya; quelcom que no ens serà tornat com a acte de retribució merescuda, que serà precis tornar a guanyar amb el propi esforç. I ho és per a Catalunya. Es una de les fites cabdals de la nostra història. Cal dir-ho francament als catalans; si en aquest tombant irreversible deixéssim de sentir-nos catalans, si tot i sentir-nos-en l'emoció no ens donava la imperativa exigència d'ésser-ne dignament; si la nostra catalanitat s'acontentava essent un íntim refugi enyoradís i resignat i no una força viva i coratjosa; si els catalans no sentiem ara *la voluntat d'ésser, potser després quan ens despertéssim del son o tornéssim de les baralles ja no hi fórem a temps. Es l'hora d'ésser o de no ésser. Que els catalans arrivin a comprendre i sentir aquesta realitat d'avui i Catalunya serà salvada.*

En una hora de tanta trascendència com la que vivim, la primera tasca i el deure fonamental es adreçar-nos al nostre Poble per qué tingui un pensament definit, una emoció compartida, una voluntat compacta i resolta. Tota paraula fóra vana i tot gest fóra inutil, si no cercàvem i aconseguiem l'unánim redreç del Poble de Catalunya. Avui la gran majoria de la nostra gent que viu en l'atmosfera asfixiant del despotisme sense aire de llibertad ni ventada de crítica, malgrat les forçoses decepcions, les experiències fallides i els infortunis soferts, sent despertar en la seva ànima — potser inconscient com un instint. però també segur com un instint — la convicció renovada que per damunt d'obstacles, dolors i defallences, l'unic horitzó obert a l'esperança certa no es cap dels que es troben ni puguin venir de fora sino el que está dins de nosaltres mateixos consubstancial amb la nostra condició catalana. La íntima, la insubordinable fidelitat a la propia ánima, junt amb el convenciment que és el sol camí que pot retornar-nos a la dignitat civil i al benestar estable fa que la conciéncia catalana vagi extenent-se cada cop a cercles més amplis, arribi a capes de major profunditat, prengui concrecions més fermes i segures. En l'entranya del nostre Poble comença a gastar-se un d'aquells seus alçaments profonds i integrals que s'imposen i vencen, contra tot i contra tots. I mentre aquest corrent es va ajuntant com una gran riuada, la mateixa por del recobrament que ve, fa que a la nostra terra els catalans siguin victimes de la repressió feixista portada amb l'arbitrária ceguera que tenen sempre les repressions que intenten extirpar el sentiment de pátria. Són els empresonats sense causa, les condemnes sense motiu, la persecució contra

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[redacted] el que representa una guspira de consciència catalana, sols perquè els nostres germans desperten a l'alegria de poder començar a respirar com a catalans, perquè en els seus ulls brilla irrefrenable una llu[redacted] d'esperança. Vagi a tots ells, els que combaten per Catalunya i els que per ella sofreixen, l'homenatje del nostre fervent record i la resolució de seguir-ne l'exemple i fer-nos dignes de llur sacrifici. Però el tribut no és prou. Cal afegir-hi a més, sense atiar cap esperit de venjança, i repetint que es sols la Llei la que pot i deu aplicar la Justicia, que som molts els catalans que ens prometem, que contra els que persegueixin injustament altres catalans, Justicia serà feta. En dir aquestes paraules tenim plena consciència de la situació en que avui ens trobem, però tenim també consciència plena del que serà ineluctablement el demá, i, de cara a aquest periode que coménça, en el qual el nostre poble lluita i vol lluitar per la llibertat que li és negada — i desitja fer-ho amb les armes del Dret i els procediments democràtics — afirmem que el Poble Catalá i aquells que el dia de l'alliberament el representin faran responsables els seus victimaris dels actes de violéncia i crueltat comesos contra catalans per la sola culpa de sentir-se catalans.

Catalans som, demócrates també. Per ambdues raons posem, com a fonament de l'obra de reconquesta a emprendre, la voluntat cada cop més vibrant del nostre Poble. D'aquest poble que som tots els de dintre i els de fora Catalunya. Els que senten la catalanitat com una enyorança i aquells pels qui és neguit i ferida cremadora, els vells aciençats per les lliçons d'ahir i els joves ambiciosos de la Pátria de demá. En aquesta gran germandat de gent catalana no podriem oblidar i excloure'n els germans de València i de les Balears. La mateixa llengua i la mateixa història ens ha unit en el passat, el mateix esperit democrátic ens anima avui, el mateix afany de llibertat sentim per al futur. Si estiguérem junts — per bé que lliures i respectuosos els uns dels altres — en els segles de major esplendor, si junts caiguérem en hores amargues, que les d'ara ens recorden, els comuns sofriments i esperances ens han acostat més encara. En aquesta hora en la qual, per damunt dels cinyells convencionals, sorgeixen els sentiments del fons del cor, hem de dir resoltament que rebutjem les injustes i receloses prevencions estatutàries, que eren com cadenes que no ens deixaven extendre els braços per a abraçar els germans que teniem tan a la vora. Proclamem el dret a la llibertat per a cadascun de nosaltres, com també el dret de unir-nos federativament si aixi ho volem. I si mentre arriba el moment a planejar junt amb ells el nostre comú esdevenidor, circunscrivin l'abast d'aquesta declaració als fills del Principat i als ciutadans que n'han fet la Pátria d'adopció, volem adreçar la nostra salutació més sentida i vibrant als Pobles Valenciá i Balear i a tots aquells que en terres germanes lluiten pels mateixos ideals de Pátria i llibertat pels que lluitem nosaltres, i expresar la nostra fe en la futura grandesa de la Catalunya llevantina renaixent.

La profunda significació de l'hora obliga també a retornar a les idees essencials. Per això posem com a base del nostre pensament i voluntat l'afirmació irreductible de Catalunya. Si nosaltres no la féssim, qui la faria? En els problemes que avui es debaten al món, són molts els que ens acompanyaran; anirem junts amb ells pels camins espirituals que obrirá la Victòria. Però l'afirmació de la personalitat de Catalunya som nosaltres sols els que devem fer-la. I per ésser sols tenim el deure de fer-la en tota la seva profunditat. I per raó de les mateixes condicions que avui ens trobem, hem de fer-la en tota la seva plenitut i projecció, Es ara, no lligats per traves ni compromisos, que l'afirmació te d'ésser rotunda i franca; sense reduïr-la o prejutjar-la amb qüestions de textos procedents o responsabilitats. Avui la nostra major responsabilitat es reprendre el clam pregón de Catalunya. Per damunt de tot altre el nostre deure es el d'afirmar, enfortir i fer trionfar la voluntat de Catalunya que té la seva formula politica en el principi d'autodeterminació del nostre Poble. Principi clar, senzill i franc; que respón també a les característiques del moment, que ha estat l'ideal i bandera de la fidelitat dels catalans en les hores de prova i que figura en forma explicita o implicita en totes les declaracions dels capdavanters de les Nacions Unides com un dels correus fonamentals del món de demá. Per això avui el Consell Nacional de Catalunya, en llençar aquesta crida als catalans, continua proclamant com a centre del seu pensament el principi d'autodeterminació, no com un reducte táctic ni una habilitat negociable sinó com l'expresió politica d'alta voluntat nacional de Catalunya.

La nostra afirmació de Catalunya per ésser positiva i constructiva no implica cap negació. No la posem com una trinxera d'incomprensions receloses o exclusivismes hostils. La proclomem francament amb el bon desig de poder fonamentar en realitats perdurables solucions que puguin perdurar. Mai el nostre poble ha estat egoista i sap que en l'Europa futura mes que mai no será possible l'aïllament. En afirmar que Catalunya no aspira a isolar-se ens complaem a adreçar en nom del Poble catalá una cordial salutació a tots els pobles hispánics. Saludem especialment a Euzkadi amb el que Catalunya está lligada per una constant i lleial amistat. Ens mirem la comunitat d'ideals i la convergència de propósits i de lluites comuns i les mateixes persecucions sofertes han reformat l'aliança que volem encara més estreta i molt més forta. Recordem amb tot afecte a Galicia, els rápids avenços de la qual en el camí del recobrament nacional son auguri d'un futur de llibertat. Saludem cordialment també els demòcrates de les regions de l'Espanya castellana amb els que combatérem junts en la lluita que sostingué la República contra el feixisme espanyol i internacional. Repetim que el Poble catalá está disposat col.laborar amb la democrácia espanyola per a la defensa i recobrament dels drets universals de llibertat ciutadana i dignitat civil avui desconeguts i trepitjats per l'opressió nacionalista, a combatre junts amb els seus aliats naturals per a un régim de llibertat i democrácia republicana. Però per a què l'aliança sigui forta i doni fruit cal fonamentar-la en la franca comprensió i mutu respecte a la lliure voluntat dels que l'estableixin. Per això no sols per a poder concertar eficaçment l'acció inmediata, sinó també amb l'esperançat desig de resoldre per amistós acord els problemes constituents peninsulars que massa sovint han enverinat les mútues relacions, volem afegir sobre aquesta questió amb franquesa catalana, unes paraules clares perqué la sinceritat no sol és la major lleialtat, sino també la millor diplomácia.

Els catalans tenim un concepte seriós i profund d'Espanya, el qual vé del més fons de la consciència i la mentalitat catalanes. D'acord amb aquesta concepció al llarg de les generacions i amb distintes fórmules hem procurat harmonitzar la realitat indestructible de la personalitat nacional de Catatunya amb una organització politica peninsular que fes possible, no sols la forçosa convivència, sino l'activa compenetració. El Poble catalá vegé en la República el règim en el qual aquest propòsit podia lleialment anar-se complint. Però els fets succeïts des d'aleshores han deixat un gran solc en l'ánima catalana. La darrera guerra civil i la persecució falangista marquen una de les fites cabdals — com ho foren les de 1640 i 1714 — en la història de Catalunya. Els bombardeigs de la població civil de Barcelona, la invasió de la nostra terra, l'abolició per força aliena de l'autonomia plebiscitada pel nostre poble i aprovada per les Corts de la República com a llei fonamental de l'Estat, la supressió de les nostres lleis, la prohibició de la nostra llengua, la persecuoió de la nostra cultura, l'intent de dispersió de la nostra industria. l'afusellament, del President de Catalunya, son atacs que cap règim pot emprendre contra un poble de la consciència i vitalitat del nostre, sense produir inevitables consequències. Cap demòcrata espanyol no pot esperar dels catalans que s'enganyin ells mateixos i que, cloent els ulls a aquestes realitats, no procurin evitar per el futar noves tragèdies. Catalunya no recordará mai aquests fets amb esperit de rancor o de revenja; però el més elemental sentit de previsió i responsabilitat obliga els homes do govern de Catalunya a tenir-los presents com una advertència i lliçó per a l'esdevenidor. Creiem que ha arribat l'hora d'una profuada transformació de l'estructura d'Espanya; i els catalans ajudarem amb entusiasme els estadistes d'ámplia visió que vulguin i sápiguen crear la nova Hispánia. En ella la unitat orgánica de les diverses nacionalitats ha de trobar la seva expressió en una comunitat fonamentada en la independència de cadascuna d'elles i la interdependència de totes; cadascuna ha de poder regir lliurament la seva vida própia i totes juntes resoldre en comú i com iguals aquelles matèries que siguin d'interès comú. Es una solució que els catalans sentim profundament; peró que també está d'acord amb els principis d'organització politica de l'hora actual. Havent estat la Confederació una forma medieval de relació entre paisos afins ideada per catalans i essent catalá un dels més sólids teoritzants de la federació com a sistema politic contemporani, podem afegir que la corrent que ha estat acceptada pels grans pobles com la Comunitat de Nacions Britániques, els Estats Units d'América i la U. R. S. S. correspon al pensament catalá i a la forma de solució catalana del més cru dels problemes peninsulars.

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Voldríem que la democràcia espanyola, conscient del sentit i de la trascendència del moment, no veiés amb recel la nostra franca i lleial actitud, que comprengués el que té d'oberta i positiva, de fecunda i de prometedora. L'arcaic unitarisme de procedència aliena i que tantes pertorbacions ha portad a les nacionalitats de l'Estat Espanyol, constitueix també una amenaça per a la mateixa Castella. El Poble castellà es veurà condemnat a viure constantment sota una dictadura si hom vol mantenir l'unitarisme, puix sols amb la força podran ésser dominades les nacionalitats perifèriques. La causa de la Democrácia a Espanya, va inseparablement lligada a la de les llibertats nacionals. El concepte realment liberal i democrátic, que no podrá deixar d'imposar-se quan les relacions entre els homes i els pobles es fonamentin de veritat amb principis de ràó i no amb abusos de poder, és l'únic que pot resoldre els problemes hispánics i promoure un ideal comú de reconstrucció. La nostra actitud és cordial, responsable i constructiva. La nostra má está estesa envers els demòcrates enpanyols i esperem la seva per a emprendre junts el camí de retorn a les nostres llars recobrades.

El sincer desig de resoldre en una forma harmònica i conjunta els problemes hispánics, no la considerem limitativa de les altres activitats que provenen de la nostra situació geográfica que han jugat en la nostra història i que condicionen la nostra posició i influència en el món. Catalunya és una terra peninsular situada a l'occident europeu i a les ribes mediterránies. Cadascun dels tres costats del triangle que la dibuixa són miradors oberts a aquests tres horitzons. Si Catalunya es troba geográficament i espiritual en el vértex de l'angle format pel meridiá occidental i pel paral.lel mediterrani — aquest angle que comprèn tota Europa — no podríem negligir l'entreteixit de recíproques influències que deriven d'aquestes realitats geográfiques, ètniques i espirituals ni renunciar a les perspectives europees de la Catalunya occidental i mediterránia.

Catalunya endins propugnem una política d'amplitud nacional; però en fer-ho no volem que es deixati en una tinta neutra i aigualida negligint els problemes de carácter universal i humá. Partim de l'afirmació catalana sense desconèixer que pel carácter polític del procés de recobrament a vegades aquesta afirmació ha de completar-se amb un pensament polític. Des d'ara afirmem que el moviment que representa el Consell Nacional de Catalunya, el té; que els que s'hi sentin identificats coincideïxin en uns principis básics. Tots fan afirmació inequívoca de fé liberal i democrática i volen que cristal.litzi en un régim de forma republicana, de mutu respecte, comprensió i tolerància per a totes les idees i creences. Proclamem el dret dels homes a viure, lliures de l'espectre degradant de la por, una vida de pau, treball i benestar. Creiem que la nova democrácia que sorgirá de la Victòria havent-se demostrat prou forta per a vèncer els seus enemics, es sentirá també prou forta per a confessar i corretgir els seus defectes i ésser instrument polític ambiciosament creador que forgi i estabilitzi les creacions del demá. Volem que la reconstrucció catalana estigui oberta a les transformacions i avenços econòmics i socials i a una més justa distribució dels béns imperatius de justicia de la nostra època, la qual necessitat accepten avui totes les ideologies i régims. Respectem la propietat i la iniciativa individual però subordinant-les, dintre d'una ordenació econòmica, a l'interés col.lectiu. Volem pel treball organitzat, una major intervenció en les funcions estatals; i esperem d'ell, en compartir les tasques directores, un sentit de cooperació i de responsabilitat. Proclamen el dret de tots a la seguretat social, a la salut i a la cultura, que ajuntin al benestar material el progrés espiritual. No oblidem ni negligim cap dels problemes humans que com a homes afecten també als catalans i són sentits per ells. Al contrari pensem en tots i els incloïm implícitament, tots, quan partim com cosa primordial de l'afirmació catalana. Perqué afermar el carácter catalá en el nostre poble es igual com enfortir la seva estratificació democrática, donar volada als seus anhels de llibertat, posar damunt de fonaments sans i estables la seva aptitud i prosperitat económiques, endegar i fer possibles les transformacions progressives d'avenç social, estimular la potència creadora que constitueix el nervi de la seva inexhaurible vitalitat. Es recordant i sentint tots els problemes de l'home d'avui, que afirmem que el camí de l'exaltació i superació de la consciència catalana, és el millor camí que pot portar a la seva completa, harmónica y fecunda [illegible]. Per arribar-hi caldrá desenvolupar els principis generals de [illegible]ncidéncia en un programa complet de carácter polític, ec[illegible]mic i social, formulat amb el concurs de tots i que sigui la resultant del treball de tots els que vulguin sumar-se a l'obra que emprenem. El Consell Nacional de Catulunya invita i demana a tots els catalans que pel seu desig i preparació puguin ajudar-hi que com a primer pas en la nostra marxa i com a testimoni de capacitat política cooperin en l'obra immediata de preparar el programa-plá de la reconstrucció de Catalunya.

El sentit de la pròpia responsabilidad ens obliga a advertir seriosament als catalans que l'empresa de recuperar la Pàtria i la Llibertat i reconstruir la vida del nostre Poble está plena de dificultats. Més val saber-ho des d'ara. L'optimisme il.lús i desenfocat sols pot conduir a perillosos desenganys. La nostra terra está encara coberta de runes materials i espirituals. Per altra banda la conjuntura de la guerra present ha produït una falsa prosperitat amb injustes i cruels desigualtats, contràries a la manera d'ésser del nostre poble que quan vingui la fase de depresió del cicle econòmic agreujerá la crisi. Hem de preveure amb temps les dificultats a venir i preparar-nos per a fer-hi front i vèncer-les. En el món de la Pau — per què aquesta realment i de veritat ho sigui — sols podran gaudir plenament de les imprescindibles relacions econòmiques internacional els règims democràtics que assegurin l'ordre a l'interior i cooperin lleialment a l'exterior amb les altres nacions democràtiques. Així aspirem a fer-ho. En el plà Nacional heurem de resoldre els problemes de la nostra economia i vida col.lectiva. La economia catalana ha de sentir la major responsabilitat que li dóna trobar-se enmig d'una Europa desfeta, com també les més àmplies perspectives que se li obren, dintre d'una política comprensiva de col.laboració mundial. La nostra reconstrucció haurà d'ésser planificada, el qual no vol dir que hagi d'enmotllar-se en un patró rígid de caire arbitrista, però menys encara que pugui deixar-se a la improvització o a l'atzar. No vivim a l'època de la còpia barroera o la pensada genial; els problemes de la societat moderna són de tal complexitat que sols l'estudi curós, l'exactitud de les dades, la comprensió raonada i la preparació técnica poden resoldre-les. Per a elaborar el gran Plà de reconstrucció nacional caldrá aprofitar tots els nostres recursos humans, apel.lar a l'aptitud i la capacitat de tots els tècnics catalans, de tots els estaments i professions i treballar intensament i durant anys. Sols així podrem fer de la nostra Pátria allò que sempre ha estat l'ideal del catalans; un petit Poble model per la seva civilització, el benestar i la llibertat dels seus ciutadans. La llibertat que volem és el mitjá per a assolir aquests ideals. Noble i humana ambició. En aquest gran dia revolt de la història anem a crear de nou la Pátria «com l'hem somniada els seus fills».

La tasca de recobrament a emprendre en el seu doble aspecte de reconquesta i reconstrucció és árdua i feixuga; no está però per damunt de les nostres forces i possibilitats. I és una empresa que no podem defugir si no volem que Catalunya quedi esborrada com a Poble. El nostre present no te opció, sols hi ha un camí que ens obri el pervindre. En un món en marxa és imposible de deturar-se; cal anar endevant o resignar-se a desaparèixer. I els catalans estem decidits a anar endevant. En aquesta hora trasbalsada, però grávida de futur, es la que comencem una segona Renaixença que ha de dur a compliment el que començá la primera, fem aquesta crida com a auguri d'una nova solidaritat catalana que sigui garantia de la pau civil, penyora de l'avenç social i fonament de l'obra reconstructora. I la fem més concretament per a estructurar la voluntat de redreç que sigui estímul, motor i instrument de la més ámplia unitat nacional. L'avinentesa és única i decisiva. De deixar-la perdre podríem perdre-ho tot. Volem repetir-ho encara: es tracta d'ésser o no ésser com a catalans. L'hora és difícil però també prometedora. Es el moment en que els pobles han d'escollir entre el seny coratjós i la resignada inconsciència. L'hora dels redreçaments i de les irremeiables renúncies. Conscients de les dificultats de l'hora sentim-ne també l'emoció, possibilitats i grandesa. I que tots sapiguem complir els deures que ens imposa.

Catalans ja es hora de guanyar Catalunya.

LONDRES, 1944

CARLES PI SUNYER — JOSEP M. BATISTA I ROCA

JOSEP TRUETA — RAMON PARERA — FERMI VERGES

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1945

SPAIN

Z 5603

5 MAY 1945

Registry Number Z 5603/119/41

FROM Foreign Office Minute. Mr. Harvey.

No.

Dated 25th April, 1945.

Received in Registry 5th May, 1945.

Z: Spain .

Conversation with Dr. Trueta: Latters views on future of Spain.

Dr. Trueta, the well known Catalan surgeon expressed concern at the future facing Spain. His remedy was a federal Spain in which Catalonia and the Basque country as federal states would couter-balance the influence of the rest of Spain.

He expressed highest regard for President Aguirre, the leading Basque. Senor Suner was the only corresponding figure among the Catalans, and he requested that the question of Senor Suner's visit to France might be reconsidered . Mr. Harvey explained the policy of non-intervention in Spain.

Last Paper.

Z 3146

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8th) Mr Bendor-Brandis from Mr Harvey Miller May 10

(Action completed.) Secret 1/6

(Index.) 20/6

Next Paper.

29946.

(Minutes.)

See within.

Señor Pi y Suner has now been granted facilities for a visit to France & return to U.K.

F.O.R.D. (Mr. Gannon) R.H. Lee V. 14/5

Dr Trueta is a fine person who has helped us a great deal in his surgical work [he is, I believe, the pioneer of the treatment of wounds by merely surrounding them with plaster which he developed in Barcelona during the Civil War]. He is an honest man & a patriot: but the federal solution in Spain, however attractive as an idea, is not practicable at this stage of that unhappy country's evolution.

V.D.G. 15/V

R.H.Lee V. 22/5

See within :—

1.) Dr Trueta to Mr Harvey 9 May 14th

26513 F.O.P.

V. 24/5 T.T.O.

22 See within

21 Foxtel L Telegraph Censorship cancel.
CON/SE 1653 9/45 10 May.

L. Kidd
30/5

21A

22

See within

20 Foyle L Telegraph Ownership enquiry.
LON/SE 16539/45 10 heavy.

L. Kl...
30/5

284

23
7. 5603
5 MAY 1945

At the suggestion of Sir Arthur Salter, M.P., I received Dr. Trueta, the well known Catalan surgeon who is now working in Oxford, today. Dr. Trueta explained that he had been living in England since the beginning of the war for purely professional reasons. He was not a political refugee and could return to Spain at any time, and he was in constant touch with his family and relations in Barcelona. Whilst here he was naturally in touch with the other Spaniards, and he was much concerned at the future which seemed to be facing Spain. Franco would disappear one day, but he felt that the Spanish Republicans, particularly those under Senor Negrin, would hardly be much preferable. Spain was a country of revolutions and military dictatorships and had always oscillated between dictatorship and anarchy. A Republic in Spain would mean anarchy, leading all too likely to Communist dictatorship. The Falange and the Communists were composed of the same people. Dr. Trueta's remedy was a federal Spain, in which Catalonia and the Basque country as federal states would counterbalance the influence of the rest of Spain. Whereas the Basques and the Catalans were a progressive and mercantile community, the Spaniards, particularly the Castilians who dominated Spain, had scarcely moved out of the Middle Ages. Government from Madrid meant the application of these mediaeval standards to the progressive parts of the country with disastrous results.

Dr. Trueta was delighted to learn of the arrival in this country of President Aguirre, the leading Basque. He had the highest regard for him as he possessed all the moderate, progressive and reasonable qualities which were so lacking in the normal Spaniard. The only corresponding figure among the ~~Castilians~~ Catalans was Senor P. Suñer, who likewise possessed the confidence of his people to a very great extent. In this connexion Dr. Trueta put in a very earnest plea that the question of Senor Suñer being allowed to visit France for a short time might be reconsidered.

(We are raising this)

I explained to Dr. Trueta our own attitude of

non-intervention/

non-intervention in Spain and disapproval of General Franco and said that it was for the Spaniards themselves to decide on their régime. Dr. Trueta said that he quite understood this, although from what he had told me he did not seem to have any very great hope that the kind of stable régime of a federal nature which he favoured was likely to be brought about.

April 25th, 1945.

Send to Embassy for their comments on federalism in Spain

26

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No.

Draft.

Mr.Bowker,
Madrid.

(From Mr.F.R.
Hoyer-Millar).

OUT FILE

25
Gr

My dear Quin 15th May 1945.

Harvey, on April 25th, received Dr.Trueta, the well-known Catalan surgeon, at the suggestion of Sir Arthur Salter,M.P. Trueta explained that he had been living in England since the beginning of the war for purely professional reasons; he was not a political refugee and could return to Spain at any time and he was in constant touch with his family and relations in Barcelona; whilst here he was naturally in touch with the other Spaniards and he was much concerned at the future which seemed to be facing Spain. Franco, he said, would disappear one day, but he felt that the Spanish Republicans, particularly those under Senor Negrin, would hardly be much preferable; Spain was a country of revolutions and military dictatorships and it always oscillated between dictatorship and anarchy; a republic in Spain would mean anarchy, leading all too probably to Communist dictatorship; the Falange and the Communists were composed of the same people .

Trueta's remedy was, of course, the creation of a Federal Spain in which Catalonia and the Basque country as Federal states would counter-balance the influence of the rest of Spain. Whereas, he said, the Basques and the Catalans were progressive communities, the Spaniards, particularly the Castilians,who dominated Spain, had scarcely moved out of the Middle Ages; government from Madrid meant the application of their Medieval standards to the progressive parts of the country with disastrous results.

Trueta said he was delighted to learn of

the/

the arrival in this country of "President" Aguirre. He said that he had the highest regard for him as he possessed all the moderate, progressive and reasonable qualities which were so lacking in the normal Spaniard; the corresponding figure among the Catalans was Senor Pi y Sunyer, who likewise possessed the confidence of his people to a very great extent. In this connection Trueta put in a very earnest plea that the question of Senor Sunyer being allowed to visit France for a short time might be reconsidered(we are, in fact, allowing him to go).

Harvey explained to Trueta our own attitude of non-intervention in Spain and disapproval of General Franco, and added that it was for the Spaniards themselves to decide on their form of régime. Trueta said that he quite understood this. From his conversation he did not seem to have any great hope that a stable régime on Federal lines would in fact be brought about.

The transformation of Spain into a Federation is, of course, the ~~principal plank of the Catalan "separatists", of whom Pi y Sunyer is the leader.~~ "Policy of the Basques and Catalan nationalists". As a matter of interest would you let me know whether you are in general agreement with paras 14-18 of the Research Department paper "Spanish Opposition Parties" which I sent you a copy in my letter of March 15th under ref: Z 1065/68/41.

have just wanted to hear from the F.O. how you view him as exile premier

the analysis of the position and policies of the Basques and Catalans in

(Sd) Jovce Grove
Derek Hayes Keller

WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.
NOTHING TO BE W

27

OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

10th May, 1945.

(Z 5603/119/41)

My dear Dick

On the 25th April, Harvey received Dr.Trueta, the well-known Catalan surgeon, at the suggestion of Sir Arthur Salter, M.P. Trueta explained that he had been living in England since the beginning of the war for purely professional reasons; he was not a political refugee and could return to Spain at any time and he was in constant touch with his family and relations in Barcelona; whilst here he was naturally in touch with the other Spaniards and he was much concerned at the future which seemed to be facing Spain. Franco, he said, would disappear one day, but he felt that the Spanish Republicans, particularly those under Senor Negrin, would hardly be much preferable; Spain was a country of revolutions and military dictatorships and it always oscillated between dictatorship and anarchy; a republic in Spain would mean anarchy, leading all too probably to Communist dictatorship; the Falange and the Communists were composed of the same people.

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Harvey explained to Trueta our own attitude of non-intervention in Spain and disapproval of General Franco, and added that it was for the Spaniards themselves to decide on their form of régime. Trueta said that he quite understood this. From his conversation he did not seem to have any great hope that a stable régime on Federal lines would in fact be brought about.

The transformation of Spain into a Federation is, of course, the policy of the Basque and Catalan nationalists. As a matter of interest would you let me know whether you are in general agreement with the analysis of the position and policies of the Basques and Catalans in paragraphs 14 - 18 of the Research Department's paper "Spanish Opposition Forces" of which I sent you a copy in my letter of the 15th March under reference Z1065/18/4

Yours ever

(F.R.Hoyer-Millar)

R.J.Bowker, Esq.,
Madrid.

W. Dept - Ford with ? No further Hqrs

From DR. J. TRUETA

5603/119/41

28

OVERMEAD
Jack Straw's Lane
Headington Hill
Oxford

Telephone 61178

14th. May 1945

reply heard.

INDEXED

Dear Mr. Harvey

Please accept my warmest thanks for your help in obtaining a permit for Sr. Pi Sunyer to visit France. I am fully convinced that Sr. Sunyer's visit will be of great benefit not only to my native land, but also to the country which has given me so friendly a home.

In this hour of happiness and rejoicing, I cannot ? forget that something like half a million Spaniards lie under arrest in prisons or concentration camps in Spain, and that between forty and fifty of these unfortunate people are being executed every day. These figures came to me from a very reliable source, and have been independently confirmed by Professor W. J. Entwistle, who has just returned from a lecture tour in Spain.

PHOTOGRAPHICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION

I sincerely hope that the beacon of freedom and decency Kindled by the victorious armies of Britain [redacted], will in no far distant day shine in my unhappy country.

With grateful thanks,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Ahmed

(37842D) Wt 48914/H729 200m 1/45 H J R & L Gp 51

INDEXED

25603 / 109 / 41

22 MAY 1945

P.C. 72

POSTAL & TELEGRAPH CENSORSHIP
UNITED KINGDOM

Type of Mail: I.E.T. 3.5.45. Terminal. Air

Submission No.: LON/SE/6539/45

Date:

Reg. No. | Taken off S.S. at (port) | on (date)

From:

J. M. FONTANALS,
CATALAN NATIONAL COUNCIL,

239 WEST 14TH STREET,
NEW YORK, 11, N.Y,
U.S.A.

Date of letter (or postmark) 11.4.45.

To:

SR. J. JORDA,

ESTAT CATALA,
134 ADELAIDE ROAD,
LONDON, N.W.3,
ENGLAND.

Language: Catalan and English

Original Letter:

Photographed and Released

Submitted to: Photo & comment to: M.I.5. INF
" " " " : P.I.D. S.E.
" " " " : FOR
" " " " : F.O. ✓
" " " " : D.R.W.
" " " " : CAN
" " " " : C.T.

10 MAY 1945

Seen by: Naval Adviser | Air Adviser | M.I.12

Operating Unit	Section	Examiner	D.A.C.	Date
~~S. Examiners.~~	Political Refugees	4811	M.A.N.	1 May 1945.

Covering letter in Catalan is of no interest.

An appeal on behalf of Catalonia to the Conference now being held at San Francisco.

APPEAL

TO THE UNITED NATIONS

ON BEHALF OF CATALONIA

The special situation of Catalonia as a nation prevents her from having legal representatives and from being present at this Conference to participate with the United Nations in the charting of an international organization for peace and security. But it is precisely in view of Catalonia's unique situation that we have decided to present her case to your attention so that the national rights of 3,000,000 Catalans (properly, the Catalan lands include, besides Catalonia, the old kingdoms of Valencia and the Balearic Islands, and also the old Catalan territory of Roussillon annexed to France. This forms greater Catalonia with a total population of almost 6,000,000, where the Catalan language is generally spoken.), be known to all the United Nations and may justly be considered in the charter for a new world. We are not presenting a problem of frontiers or political reconstruction, economical recovery or any such matters which are not to be attended until after the security organization has been set up. We present a case for national liberty which requires solution or at least consideration precisely while the security negotiations are taking place.

Catalonia existed as a free nation until 1714, when she was finally incorporated by force into the Spanish state, and is one of the few remaining nations in Europe whose national rights have not yet been recognized. This makes the case of Catalonia almost an obsolete problem, mainly because most of the problems of the European nationalities were supposedly solved at Versailles. But Catalonia's was not; her liberties were not restored at the end of World War I like those of the other nationalities. It is for this reason that we present here her problem as a special case and as a matter which demands consideration and solution so that the Chart which is to be written for the new Europe does not become once more an injustice against Catalonia.

In a way, Catalonia's over-prolonged captivity and retarded liberation is due more than to several military defeats to repeated diplomatic misfortunes, suffered by Catalonia. In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, after a long war against her Spanish oppressor, Catalonia's rights were disowned by her own allies and sacrified to power politics and matters of expediency. In 1918, at Versailles, in spite of the 18,000 volunteers Catalonia contributed to the Allied armies, the rights of our unfortunate nation were once more overlooked. In 1924, at Geneva, due to the defective clauses of the League's Covenant, and to the presence of Spain in the League of Nations, which made impossible the required vote of unanimity on such matters, the League of Nations could not even consider Catalonia's demands for liberty. In 1937, at the Nyon Conference, Catalonia's rights were disregarded but, on the other hand the claim of Italy about "the right to intervene in Spain to prevent the setting up of an independent Catalan Republic" (A. B. Keith, "The King, the Constitution, the Empire, and Foreign Affairs", 1936-7 pp. 166-167) was considered valid.

This traditional diplomatic indifference towards Catalonia's claims should not lead anyone to believe that the Catalan case has

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bearing in the maintenance of permanent peace and security in Europe. The "Catalan Question" has been at the bottom of much of the unrest and political turmoil in the Iberian Peninsula during the last three centuries, and there has never been any aggressive power or force in Europe which has not tried, at some moment, to speculate on the Catalan discontent to enhance or secure success of their plans. As an example, we will mention that during the period of the French Revolution, Robespierre in person, with the aim of gaining Catalonia to his cause, visited Barcelona with the written "Constitution of Catalonia" in his brief-case. Scarcely a quarter of century later, Napoleon Bonaparte in order to gain a foothold in the Peninsula actually created the "Catalan State" and tried to establish a Catalan government separate from that of the kingdom of Spain. In recent times, in the geopolitics of Germany ("Spaniens Tor zum Mittelmeer und die Katalan ische Frage", Franz Panser (Teubner, Leipzig und Berlin, 1938) (See appendix No. 2A)) for the Mediterranean area. Greater Catalonia (that is to say the old Catalan Kingdom or the present territories of Catalan language - Catalonia, Valencia, French Catalonia and the Balearic Islands) was scheduled to play a big role against France and her African empire, although Catalonia did not accept the "New Order" or nazism. As a final proof of the importance of Catalonia in the stability of Europe, any well-informed and clear-sighted statesman will admit that lest the national problem of Catalonia is satisfactorily solved, there will never be real peace and order in the Iberian Peninsula.

Now that a charter for the nations of the world is going to be definitely written for a durable peace, Catalonia could not let this opportunity pass without appealing to the justice of the United Nations for her due recognition, lest new and irreparable mistakes are committed at the moment of the charting, and her national freedom be postponed indefinitely.

In appealing to you for justice, Catalonia wants to state her full aspirations and the full scope of her rights. We earnestly request that this Conference do not commit the same mistake of the Peace Conference at Versailles, which dismissed Catalonia's demands on the erroneous argument that it was a mere case of home rule, to be granted by Spain, and as such an internal problem, a "family conflict", to be solved within the Spanish state. Neither could we allow the United Nations to judge Catalonia's rights on the same basis as the League of Nations that classified them as a simple problem of a minority inside Spain. Catalonia is a nation and must be recognized as such, before any regional organization can be established in Spain, in the Iberian Peninsula, the Continent of Europe or the liberated world.

It is unnecessary to tire your attention, by detailing the historical, ethnical, linguistic and cultural reasons which prove the national characteristics of Catalonia; nor need we present any list of all the persecutions and oppressions of which she is and has been a victim; neither do we believe it necessary to adduce proof of her determination and ever-increasing will to live again as a free nation. We do not even need to point out that her struggle for freedom has continued through the centuries; in 1640, in the first attempt against her freedom, Catalonia fought against Spain (War of Secession) and proclaimed the Catalan Republic; in 1714, after her national rights

were desregarded at Utrecht, Catalonia continued to fight against Spain and France, even after being abandoned by her allies (England, Austria, Portugal and Holland); in 1931, Catalonia led in the Peninsula the democratic and civil revolt against the Bourbon Monarchy, proclaimed the Catalan Republic (See appendix No. 3) and made possible the Spanish Republic; in 1931, Catalonia organized a national plebiscite in which 90% of the population proclaimed Catalonia's will of self-government; in 1934, after the Spanish Republic had fallen into the hands of the fascist and reactionary forces, Catalonia struck for democracy and national freedom and proclaimed the Catalan State as part of the Confederacy of Iberian Nations; (See appendix No. 4) in 1936, upon the nazifascist coup of Franco and Falange, Catalonia became the bulwark of antifascism and fought at the same time for her national freedom.

There is, however, a matter which should be set forth here very clearly to end with all possible misconceptions. We refer to the permanent and inalterable nature of the Catalan problem. In other words, the basic terms of the Catalan aspirations do not change with the existence of a more or less liberal regime in Spain, nor with a greater or lesser degree of persecution or oppression. For instance, Catalonia's aspirations are independent of the existence or non-existence of Franco in Spain. Catalonia has been an oppressed nationality under the Monarchy, under the Spanish Republic and under Franco (See appendix No. 5). The removal of Franco alone will not solve the Catalan national problem, as it was not solved by the overthrowing alone of the Bourbon Monarchy. Catalonia fights Franco and is trying to overthrow his fascist regime, and in the same spirit she is fighting for the destruction of Hitler and Hirohito. Franco is Catalonia's present tyrant, but in the dual function of representative of nazi-fascism and representative of the Spanish unitarian State. The replacement of Franco will free Catalonia from nazifascism but it will not make Catalonia free from Spanish oppression.

This takes us to the real danger of any Catalan "solution" carried out under the light of routine and misconception. For this reason we appeal herewith to the United Nations before any decision be taken and any commitment be made with regard to Spain. Too many people erroneously believe that the Catalan case is merely a Spanish problem. It is not so. There is a tendency to classify the Catalan question among the internal problems of Spain. The conflict between Catalonia and Spain, as any problem between an oppressed nationality and her oppressor, has always been of an international nature. Catalonia is not a Spanish conflict but a European problem. In these terms the problems of the other European nationalities were solved at the Peace table at Versailles.

To class the Catalan question among the internal problems of the Spanish state is to appoint Catalonia's oppressor to be sole judge and jury in a conflict in which it is itself a contending part. Catalonia, or any other oppressed nation, cannot expect justice from her own oppressor.

As history shows, not even a liberal and democratic Spain, of the type of the Spanish Republic, is capable of solving the Catalan national problem (In 1932, the Spanish Republic granted Catalonia a Home Rule Statute which fell considerably short of the demands made

by Catalonia through referendum. The Statute, naturally, proved to be insufficient.) (See appendix No. 6). Most of the leaders and the statesmen of the former Spanish Republic live in the erroneous notion that the principles and the clauses of the Atlantic Charter apply to the Spanish state, but do not apply to Catalonia and the other nationalities incorporated by force into the Spanish state.

Hence Catalonia cannot accept the promise that her national liberty is to be identified and confused with the problem of restoring democracy and restoring the republican regime in Spain. At its due time, the United Nations will have to confront the Spanish problem, and Catalonia will help with all her strength to solve it, but its denomination and solution has no direct relationship with Catalonia's problem of national liberty.

Let no one misinterpret this statement. Catalonia is vitally interested in democratic Spain (See appendix No. 7). 150,000 Catalan youth died in the Spanish Civil War to eradicate Fascism from Spain and to secure the subsistence of democracy in the Iberian Peninsula. But it is as Catalans that we want to participate in the welfare of the Iberian block of peoples (See appendix No. 7). We want our rights as a nation to be recognized, so that Catalonia, through self-determination, can be free to join in the political reorganization of the Peninsula. Once free and duly recognized as a nation, Catalonia will be in a position to consider, for instance, a Confederacy of Iberian States, on the basis of equal rights and voluntary association, in which Catalans, Basques, Galicians, Spaniards and Portuguese could participate.

On the other hand, Catalonia being absolutely identified with the cause of the United Nations - in whose armies so many of her sons are fighting on all the fronts - declares her willingness to accept the sacrifices the reorganization of Europe may demand of her, no matter how jealous she may be of her sovereignty and freedom as a nation.

Summing up, Catalonia

REQUESTS from the United Nations:

a) - THAT her delayed case of national liberation be, from this moment, scheduled as one needing immediate solution.

b) - THAT her case for self-government be filed for immediate solution under the principles and the clauses of the Atlantic Charter, independently of any regional solution contemplated for Spain.

c) - THAT her position in the political organization of Spain be decided by herself, through plebiscite of the Catalan nationals, after recognition of her status as a nation.

d) - THAT any further disagreement or dispute between Catalonia and Spain be submitted for hearing before the United Nations Council or the International Court of Justice on its behalf.

In submitting her claim for national liberation before this Conference and before the international public opinion, Catalonia requests justice from the United Nations.

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A

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 9946

27 AUG 1945

35

Registry Number Z 9946/119/41

FROM Señor de Lizasoi Basque Delegation to Mr.Noel Baker.

No. Reg.No.280 A.31.

Dated 20th August,

Received in Registry 27th August, 1945.

Z: Spain

Visit to this country of Senor Jose Rezola and his wife.

Asks for assistance in facilitating journey to this country of Senor Rezola and his wife. States that it is his intention to visit Basque Delegation in London for important talks and wishes to have the opportunity of speaking to Mr.Noel Baker.

States that his President is anxious that Senor de Lizaso should speak to Mr.Noel Baker on Peninsular affairs.

Last Paper.

Z 5603

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Dft) Sr de Lr Lizaso Basque Delegation
Mem W Baker. Aug 3
8) Mr Cleobury P+P.O Aug 31
Dft) Mr Cleobury P+P.O Aug 31

(Minutes.)

I can find no trace of Jose Rezola in our records, nor is he known to Research Dept.

As we allowed Fr Sunyer to visit Franco, I see no reason why we should forever Rezola visiting England.

Draft submitted. R.K.W. Sloan 28/8.

R.L.B. 6/9.

(Action completed.) 6/9

(Index.) 19/6

Next Paper.

210002.

29082 F.O.P.

1) Western Dept.
2) Minister of State

May we have draft reply soon please.

Enter soon? 36
Submit with pb.

EUZKADI ORDEZKARITZA

BASQUE DELEGATION,
7/8, HOBART PLACE,
EATON SQUARE, 26/8
LONDON, S.W.1.
TEL: SLOANE 4350.

Z 9946
7 AUG 1945

Reg.No.280
A.31

20th August, 1945.

Dear Mr. Noel-Baker,

I am taking the liberty of approaching you at your private residence, as the matter is urgent. I am very anxious to obtain your good offices with the Foreign Office to secure as soon as possible permission to visit this country, for a short stay of about a fortnight, for Jose Rezola and his wife. He is one of our Basque leaders and has just escaped across the frontier from Spain into France, and is now in Paris. His intention is to visit this Delegation in London for important talks relating to the Basque and Spanish democratic movements in general, and also to contact several British people. He particularly wishes to have the opportunity of a talk with you.

I might of course have approached the Foreign Office direct, but as the matter is urgent, I felt sure that your intervention would hasten its consideration. I imagine this will be one of many favours we shall be asking you in the future. In the meantime, my President is most anxious that I should have a talk with you on the various aspects of Peninsular affairs, and I hope that when you are settled down you will be kind enough to let me have a short interview.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,

J. I. de Lizaso

J. I. de Lizaso
Delegate of the Basques.

P.J. Noel-Baker, Esq. M.P.
16 South Eaton Place,
S.W.1.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No.Z 9946/119/41

R.K.W.S.

Draft.

Senor de Lizaso,
Basque Delegation.

(from Mr. Noel-Baker)

Mr. Tahourdin first.
Would you care to suggest a time for Senor de Lizaso to call.
29/8.

Copy:
Mr. Cleobury,
P. and P.O.
with covering note.

37 31

1 copy

31 August, 1945.

OUT FILE

My Dear Senor de Lizaso,

Thank you for your letter of 20th August regarding the desired visit of Jose Rezola and his wife to this country. He should, of course, apply to the British Consulate-General in Paris. We will see that facilities for his visit are granted without delay.

I will be glad to have a talk with him when he arrives, and in the meantime would be very pleased to see you . . .

if you would ring up my Private Secretary and fix an appointment.

Yours Sincerely
Philip Noel Baker.
30/8 R.K.W.S.

38

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

31st August, 1945.

No: Z 9946/119/41.

OUT FILE

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Yours Sincerely

Philip Noel-Baker

Senor J.I. de Lizaso,
Basque Delegation,
7/8 Hobart Place,
Eaton Square,
S.W.1.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry No. 29946/119/44

R.K.W.S.

Draft. Covering note

Mr. Cleobury,
P. & P.O.

(from Mr. Sloan)

39

~~SECRET~~ FILE 31 August, 1945.

Dear Cleobury

The attached letter will show you that we are anxious to facilitate the journey of a Basque, Jose Rezola, and his wife from France to this country. I hope you will be able to ~~clear up the necessary formalities of the visa~~ arrange ~~etc~~. with Paris for the necessary visas to be granted.

R.K.W.S.

Yours Sincerely 31/8

J. D. H., Head.

for (R.W.K. Sloan).

40

OUT FILE
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

31st August, 1945.

(Z 9946/119/41)

Dear Cleobury.

The attached letter will show you that we are anxious to facilitate the journey of a Basque, Jose Rezola, and his wife from France to this country. I hope you will be able to arrange with Paris for the necessary visas to be granted.

Yours sincerely,
D. D. H. Head

fa. (R.K.W. Sloan)

F.H. Cleobury, Esq.,
Passport and Permit Office.

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 10002 41

29 AUG 1945

Registry Z Number } 10002/119/41

FROM Catalan Community, Havana.

No.

Dated 16th August,

Received in Registry } 29th August, 1945.

Z: Spain

Last Paper.

Z 9946.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.) 8 Oct 1945

(Index.) 20/6

Next Paper.

210148

Message of congrulation to Mr. Attlee.

Expresses joy at final triumph of democratic nations trusting in their support in overthrow of Franco régime in Spain.

(Minutes.)

This does not call for any action

RG

V 31/8

29082 F.O.P.

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42

Translation.

Telegram to Mr. Attlee, dated
Havana, August 16.

The Centre of the Catalan community of Havana, defenders of the ideals of Catalan liberty, enthusiastically unite in rejoicing at the universal and final triumph of the democratic nations, trusting in their support in the overthrow of the Franco régime in Spain, last bulwark of totalitarianism , and obstacle to the free election by the Catalan people of their own Catalan Government.

Jomas - President
Boquet - Secretary.

Z 10002
29 AUG 1945

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TO COLLECT YOUR CABLEGRAMS.

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(PRIVATE EXCHANGE)

Cablegram

HEAD OFFICE,
27/33, WORMWOOD STREET,
LONDON, E.C.2.

AAC121 HAVANA 52 16

1945 AUG 16 P 10 11

NLT EXCELENTISIMO SENOR CLEMENTE L ARTLEE PRIMER MINISTRO
GRAN BRETANA LDN=.

:CENTRE CATALA HABANA COLECTIVIDAD DEFENSORA IDEALES LIBERTAD
CATALUNA UNESE ENTUSIASTA REGOCIJO MUNDIAL TRIUNFO DEFINITIVO
NACIONES DEMOCRATICAS CONFIANDO SU APOYO PARA DERROCAR
REGIMEN FRANQUISTA ESPANA ULTIMO BALUARTE TOTALITARIO
OBSTACULO FORMAR GOBIERNO PROPIO CATALUNA POR LIBRE
DETERMINACION PUBELO CATALAN=

JOMAS PRESIDENTE BOQUET SECRETARIO.

No Inquiry respecting this Message can be attended to without the production of this form. Repetitions of doubtful words should be obtained through the Company's Offices, and not by *direct* application to the Sender.

FORM 2. (1/41.)

8

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 10007

29 AUG 1945

44

Registry Number Z } 10007/119/41

FROM Mr. Curson, India Office to Mr. Giles

No.

Dated 21st August,

Received in Registry } 29th August, 1945.

Z: Spain

Enquiries as to identity of J.M.Batista: Roca.

Encloses letter from Senor J.M.Batista, Roca, to Mr.Pethick Lawrence expressing congratulations on success of Labour Party. Asks for information regarding identity of writer.

Last Paper.

Z10002

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Dft) Mr Curson IO
from Mr Giles
Sept: 3rd. ~~Aug~~

(Action completed.)

Sdecher 7/9

(Index.)

29/8

Next Paper.

(Minutes.)

P.L. 6.9.

6/9.

210148

45

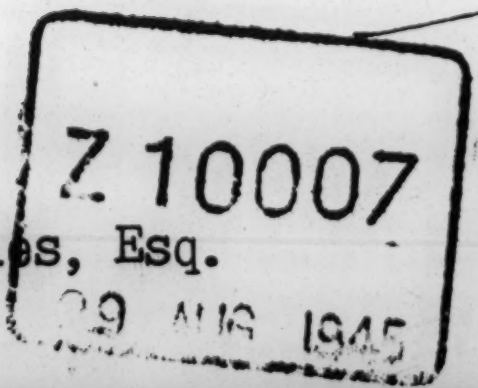
Waipu 21st August 1945.

Dear Giles,

Can you give me any information regarding the identity of the writer of the enclosed letter?

Yours sincerely,

J. L. Cross



F.T.R. Giles, Esq.

1 C.P.6.

5 & 46

Spe. 3978.

49 Wentworth Road,
N.W. 11.
2nd August 1945.

Dear Mr. Pethick-Lawrence

I was very pleased to see you had been returned to Parliament, in the great new democratic surge that has swept this country, to which the countries of Europe and the whole world are looking for guidance.

Catalonia and Spain are still under the rule of Fascist ideas, against which mankind has been mobilised and has won victory. We trust that that victory and liberation will not be denied to our countries.

Hoping to have an opportunity of seeing you soon,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

J. M. Batista i Roca.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No.

R.K.W.S.

Draft

Mr. B.R. Cursor,
India Office.

(from Mr. Giles)

Sr P. I y Sunyer

Th. 28/8

Could you write a Paper on how to reply?

Private Secretary

First.

OUT FILE 3rd Sept August, 1945. 30c 47

Dear Cursor.

I am returning herewith the letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence from Senor J.M. Batista i Roca of 2nd August. ~~The latter's identity can best be explained by a little history.~~ Sen. Batista i Roca belongs to the Catalan Separatist Party, an opposition party which claims autonomy for Catalonia under a federal Spanish State. He went into exile at the end of the Spanish Civil War the bulk of the Catalan refugees settled in France, and the Government of the Generalitat (Government of Catalonia and of the Statute of the Spanish Civil War with other leading members of the party, the leader of which is Sen. P. y Sunyer, was put into commission by means of a national council. After the fall of France this national council transferred its domocile to London. Its leadership has been somewhat confused, but Senor Batista i Roca has always played an active part in it and holds a position ~~corresponding to that of Secretary-General.~~ Sen Batista i Roca is understood to be an agreeable person. He is a lawyer by profession.

We would suggest that his letter should receive a simple acknowledgement.

Yours sincerely,

F.T.R. Giles

R. V. 28/8

(Z [redacted]07/119/41)

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

48

3rd September, 1945.

OUT FILE

Dear Curson.

I am returning herewith the letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence from Senor J.M. Batista i Roca of the 2nd August. Senor Batista i Roca belongs to the Catalan Separatist Party, an opposition party which claims autonomy for Catalonia under a federal Spanish State. He went into exile at the end of the Spanish Civil War with other members of the party, the leader of which is Senor Pi y Sunyer. Senor Batista i Roca is understood to be an agreeable person. He is a lawyer by profession.

We would suggest that his letter should receive a simple acknowledgment.

Yours sincerely

~~Ed~~. F.T.R. Giles

(F.T.R. Giles).

B.R. Curson, Esq.,
India Office.

9

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 10148

1 SEP 1945

49

Registry Number: Z 10148/119/41

FROM: Senor Charles P. Sunya, to Mr. Noel Baker

No.

Dated 28th Aug., 1945.

Received in Registry: 1st Sept., 1945.

Z: Spain.

Desire of Senor Sunyer to visit France.

Requests assistance with regard to his desire to visit France, with a view to formation of a Catalan Government in exile. States that the matter is urgent in view of the formation of the Spanish Republican Government in Mexico.

Last Paper.

Z10607

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Off to Carlos 12 y Junyer from hr

Sept 9.

(Minutes.)

I understand that Sen Pi y Sunyer has already been given his visa and that he is leaving for France tonight.

Dft reply.

RG

V 3/9

(Action completed.)

Effected 13/9

(Index.)

19/6.

Next Paper.

Z10339.

Z 10148
1 SEP 1945

Carles Pi Sunyer
36, Moreland Court
Finchley Road
London, N.W. 2.
28th, August, 1945

The Right Honorable
Mr. Philip Noel-Baker
Minister of State

Dear Sir,

I have decided to write to you without an introduction because of the urgency of the matter concerned, and also because I believe that my friend Dr. J. Xirau, if he could not meet you before leaving England, probably sent you a note about my case.

I am a former Spanish Republican Minister and former Premier of Catalonia, and I have been living in this harbouring country since April, 1939. Two months ago I went to France at the request of Mr. Josep Irla (he is President of the Catalan Parliament, and has been acting as President of Catalonia since the shooting of President Companys who was delivered to Franco by the Germans), and he charged me with the formation of a Catalan Government in exile, in connection with the Spanish Republican Government, now on the way. During these two months I have prepared the formation of the Government, and now I must go to France to complete the matter.

I have made the regular application for the exit permit at the Passport Office: they have been very kind with me, but as it takes some time for the matter to be settled, I would be very grateful if you would recommend my case, in order that I could have the permit as soon as possible. The matter is urgent owing to the fact that Mr. Irla has been waiting for me in Paris since the 13th August, and because of the speed with which the Spanish Republican Government is forming in Mexico.

With apologies for troubling you and my sincere gratitude,

I am, Sir

Yours faithfully

Carles Pi Sunyer

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No. Z 10148/119/41

Dft. letter

To
Sir Carlos Pity Sanger
36 Moreland Court
Finchley Rd
London N.W.2.

from
~~Mr Hoot Baker~~
Mr Fakhruddin for
7.8.41.
GS.

OUT FILE

8a
51

Dear Sir, 9 Sept.

The Minister of State has asked me to thank you for your letter of the 28th August. He caused enquiries to be made about your ~~case~~ case ~~for~~ visa and was happy to learn that it had already been granted. ~~As indeed that you are due to be~~

Yours faithfully,
G. S. Fakhruddin
6/9

52

No. 10148/119/41. FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

9th September, 1945.

OUT FILE

Dear Sir,

The Minister of State has asked me to thank you for your letter of the 28th August. He caused enquiries to be made about your exit visa and was happy to learn that it had already been granted.

Yours faithfully,

G. S. Yahourdin.

Senor Carlos Pity Sunyer,
36 Moreland Court,
Finchley Road,
N.W.2.

16

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 10339

6 SEP 1945

53

Registry Number | Z 10339/119/41

FROM Mr. Durbin, M.P.
to Mr. Noel Baker.

No. –

Dated 24th August, 1945.

Received in Registry | 6th September, 1945.

Z : Spain.

Exit permit for Senor Colos Pi Sunyer to go Paris.

Asks above be looked into, requesting Foreign Office support.

Last Paper.

40048

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Aff.) Pass. Lee. to W Jewkes M.P. Hse of Commons.
August
Aff.) W Jewkes Hse of Commons to N. Baker.
Aug 31.

(Minutes.)

P.A.B.J.
13/9.

(Action completed.)	(Index.)
Sdc 13/9	20/6

Next Paper.

21047.

29082 F.O.P.

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(1) Ack (to P.S.)
(2) Western Dept.
(3) Minister of St.G.

54

24th August, 1945.
Rcvd 28/8

The Minister of State,
Foreign Office,
Downing Street,
S.W.1.

Z 10339
6 SEP 1945

My dear Noel-Baker,

I wonder if you could have this application on the part of Senor Carlos Pi Sunyer for an Exit Permit looked into. I should be glad of early information.

Yours very sincerely,

Ap EPM Dunbin
SL.

55

Telephone No.
OXFORD 61151

WINGFIELD-MORRIS ORTHOPÆDIC HOSPITAL
HEADINGTON
OXFORD

20th August, 1945.

E.F.M. Durbin, Esq., M.P.,
Treasury Chambers,
Great George Street,
London, S.W.1.

Dear Sir,

You must forgive me for disturbing you with this letter but only the extreme urgency of the matter and the advice of our common friend, Mr. F.A. Pakenham, decided me to interfere with your pressing work.

Sr. Carlos Pi Sunyer, head of the Catalan Government in exile, at present living in London at 36 Noreland Court, Finchley Road, N.W.2, urgently requires to be in Paris to settle the organisation of the Catalans. Several important Spanish personalities have already reached Paris to meet him, but unfortunately he has not yet heard anything from the Permit and Passport Department of the Foreign Office although he requested an exit permit over a fortnight ago.

I can assure you that the matters to be settled in Paris are of the utmost importance for the freedom of Spain.

Pakenham, whom I met last night, suggested that you might recommend the speedy delivery of Sr. Sunyer's exit permit, and I thank you most sincerely for any help you are able to give.

I hope I will have an opportunity of expressing my gratitude to you personally some time in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

J. Trueta

J. Trueta, M.D., D.Sc.

F0371/49582
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56

FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W.1.

28th August, 1945.

Dear Private Secretary,

Would you be so kind as to tell Mr. Durbin that his letter of the 24th August and enclosure concerning Senor Carlos Pi Sunyer, who desires to travel urgently to Paris, has been received by Mr. Noel-Baker.

Mr. Noel-Baker is looking into this and will be replying to Mr. Durbin as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) J. G. TAHOURDIN
Private Secfetary.

The Private Secretary to
Mr. E.F.M. Durbin, M.P.,
Treasury Chambers.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry No. Z.

Draft. 1/9

Mr. E.F.M. Durbin M.P.

Mr. Jahoundin, first. 9.5.2. 31/8

57

Thank you for your letter of 24th August regarding Senor Pi y Sunyers application for an Exit Permit. I am glad to be able to tell you that Nio application has been supported by H.M.S.O. and he should by now have received the Permit.

Ealing 58

August 31st,
1945.

My dear Evan

Thank you for your letter of 24th August regarding Senor Pi Sunyer's application for an Exit Permit. I am glad to be able to tell you that his application has been supported by the Foreign Office and he should by now have received the Permit.

Many congrats. on your maiden speech.

Yrs ever
P. Noel-Baker

E.F.M. Durbin, Esq., M.P.

1945

Z

SPAIN

59

Z 10471

Registry Number	Z 10471/119/41.
FROM	Senor Lizabo, Basque Delegation to Mr. N. Baker.
Dated	6th Sept., 1945.
Received in Registry	1st Sept., 1945.
Z:	Spain.

Request that permits for Mr. and Mrs. José Rezola, to visit this country be expedited.

Refers to Mr. Baker's letter of the 31st August, (Z 9946/119/41). Request permits as above.

Last Paper.

Z 10339

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

P.C.O. queried issue of visa to Sra Rezola. I have advised him that there is no objection, and Paris P.C.O. is being instructed to grant.

Mr. Schwartz. L.K.B.S. 14/9.

Will Z- St. draft answer for me to sign? D.V.S. 18/9

Mr. de Lizaso rang up today and I told him the visa had been authorized.

W.K. 19/9

L.K.B.S. 23/9.

(Action completed.) 8 dec 19 5 9

(Index.) 19/6

Next Paper.

Z 10809/G

29082 F.O.P.

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P.C.D. Western Dept. Enlie 60

Please pass to Department POW.B. 6/9

EUZKADI ORDEZKARITZA

BASQUE DELEGATION,
7/8, HOBART PLACE,
EATON SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W.1.
TEL: SLOANE 4780.

Z 10471

Reg.n.317
A.E. AG.

Your Ref.:
Z 9946/119/41

6th September, 1940

Dear Mr. Noel-Baker,

I thank you for your letter of the 31st August regarding Mr. & Mrs. José Rezola's permit to visit this country.

I have now received from them a telegram saying that the British Consul in Paris informs them that their application contained in an official letter from the Consulate would reach the Foreign Office to-day Thursday. I wish therefore, to inform you of this and to ask your kind intervention in order to expedite the granting of the permits.

I much regret that our appointment had to be postponed but I quite realize how busy you must be at the momment. I am looking forward to hear from you next Monday, when as I was informed by your Secretary, you will be able to tell me the time and date for my visit.

Mr. Younger will see Mr. de Lizasoff WK 2/9.

Yours very sincerely

J. I. de Lizasoff

The Rt. Hon. P. J. Noel-Baker,
Secretary of State,
Whitehall, S.W.1

61

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Group ..... F.O..

Class 371

Piece 49582

Following document(s) retained in the

Department of origin under Section 3 (4)

of the Public Records Act, 1958

Z 10509 / 119 / 41

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 10840

20 SEP 1945

62

Registry Number } Z 10840/119/4

FROM No.10, (communicated)

No. -

Dated 7th September, 1945.

Received in Registry } 20th September, 1945.

Z : Spain.

Republican Union of Basques: congratulations on elections results.

Communicates copy of letter dated July 27th from I. Diaz Hildalgo, Secretary of the Union. Congratulates Labour Party on election victory.

Last Paper.

Z10509/9

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

R.I.D. 22/9.

(Action completed.)

8 do Elwyn 24/9

(Index.)

19/6

Next Paper.

Z 11012

27437 F.O.P.

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Z 10840
30 SEP 1945

63

Précis.

In a letter to members of the Government, dated July 27, I. Diaz, Secretary of the Republican Union of Basques in exile of Tacuba 15, Mexico D.F. conveys to the British Labour Party the congratulations of the Republican Union, on the recent election victory.

The Republican Union remember the moral support given to the Spanish Republican Cause by the British Labour Party, and the British election has given them hope of seeing free elections in their own country. The Republican Union also congratulate the rest of the British people, on having elected a Labour Government.

UNIÓN REPUBLICANA DEL PAÍS VASCO EN EXILIO
TACUBA 15
SECRETARIA
MEXICO, D. F.
COMITE REGIONAL

3/9

64

RECEIVED AT F.O.

27 de Julio de 1.945

FO

Sres: Clement R. Atlee
Ernest Bevin
Walter Citrine
Herbert Morrison
Arthur Henderson
Mis. Ellen wilkinson

Sres: Sir Stafford Cripps
A.V. Alexander
Hugh Dalton
Arthur Greenwood
Mis. Edith Summerrskill

Al Partido Laborista de Inglaterra

Estimados Amigos Laboristas Ingleses:

El Partido a quien tengo el honor de representar en el Exilio, me encarga por acuerdo unanime, comunicar a Vds. nuestra máś sincera felicitación por el triunfo Electoral alcanzado por el Partido Laborista de Inglaterra el 5 de Julio Pasado.

No podemos olvidar la Ayuda Moral que Vds. y El Partido Laborista, Prestaron en todo momento a la Causa Republicana Española y por ello su Triunfo nos congratula y nos dá mayores brios para seguir la Lucha por la Libertad de España y la Convocatoria de Libres Elecciones en nuestra Patria, para demostrar al Mundo de que parte está la voluntad del Pueblo Español.

La verdadera democracia se practica como Vds. acaban de demostrarlo al Mundo; Con los Votos en la Mano.

Nuestro reconocimiento se extiende tambien al resto del Pueblo Britanico por su cordura para saber acatar el Voto de las Mayorias, pues si no de poco serviria alcanzar el Triunfo.

España tambien dió la Mayoria al Frente Popular en 1.936, pero la Oposición en lugar de acatar el Sufragio Universal se sublevó, y la República Española perdió una Contienda, pero no la Esperanza de repetir las Elecciones Libres. Me conplazco en presentar a Vds. nuestros mayores deseos por la libertad y Grandeza del Pueblo Britanico y su Partido.

Atentamente

I. Diaz Hidalgo-Secretario

UNIÓN REPUBLICANA DEL PAÍS VASCO EN EXILIO
TACUBA 15
SECRETARIA
MEXICO, D. F.
COMITE REGIONAL

14

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 11012

25 SEP 1945

65

z Registry Number } Z 11012/119/41

FROM Mr. Willey, M.P. to Mr. McNeil.

No.

Dated 29th Aug.,

Received in Registry } 25th Sept., 1945.

Z: Spain.

Request for information about Catalan Delegation

Requests information as above.

Last Paper.

21 of 40

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8ft) Mr Willey M.P. from F.O. dated 1 Sept.

8ft) Mr Willey M.P. from F.O. dated Sept 14.

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

2 11502

(Minutes.)

see within :—

1.) Mr Willey M.P. Sept 3rd

2.) Mr Willey M.P. Sept 7.

A.C.B.S.

28/9.

29082 F.O.P.

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66

1) Mr McNeil
2) [redacted] Eastern Dept.

4 Fieldhouse Terrace,
Western Hill,
Durham City
29: August: 1945.

Dear McNeil,

I have received a letter from the Catalan Delegation. I understood at the meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party that we should consult you about the matter and I shall be grateful therefore, if you can advise me about the Catalan Delegation.

Yours
J. T. Willey
(Sunderland).

F. T. WILLEY, M.P.

Z 11012
SEP 1945

WILLEY 61

OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W. 1.

1st September, 1945.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of 29th August about the Catalan Delegation, I am writing on behalf of Mr. McNeil to ask if you will let us have further information about the enquiries which you would like made.

Yours faithfully,

Private Secretary.

F.T. Willey, Esq., M.P.

Western Dept.

11012 1941

Mr Sloan.
Pl: dft short letter saying what the Catalan Delegation is.

of Dalcathern Terrace
Morton Hill
Durban City

3rd. September 1945

Dear Sir;

I thank you for your letter of September 1st: I don't want any inquiries to be made. I understood that if we were approached by Borden would as the Catalan Delegation then if we approached Mr McNeill he would favour information privately then.

Yours faithfully,

T. T. Willey

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

from

Registry No. Z

Private Secretary to Mr. McNeil.

Draft.

F. T. Willes. M.P

Mr. Johnston R.L.V. 3/9.

(9)

With reference to your letter of 3rd September, I write on Mr McNeil's behalf to let you know that the Catalan Delegation is the Chief organization of the Catalan National Council, which, on the occupation of France in 1940, transferred its headquarters and main activities from Paris to London. The broad aim of the Catalan National Council is to secure autonomy for Catalonia. It has not so far declared its attitude towards the ~~Spanish~~ Government when

which has recently been
formed by Señor Gural in
Mexico, and which includes
at least one Catalan
representative. The leading
figures of the delegation
in London appear to be
Señor Pi y Suñer and
Señor Bastos y Roca,
both men of moderate views.

70

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

14th September, 1945.

71

OUT FILE

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of 3rd September, I write on Mr. McNeil's behalf to let you know that the Catalan Delegation is the chief organisation of the Catalan National Council, which, on the occupation of France in 1940, transferred its headquarters and main activities from Paris to London. The broad aim of the Catalan National Council is to secure autonomy for Catalonia. It has not so far declared its attitude towards the Government which has recently been formed by Senor Giral in Mexico, and which includes at least one Catalan representative. The leading figures of the Delegation in London appear to be Senor Pi y Suner and Senor Batista y Roca, both men of moderate views.

Yours faithfully,

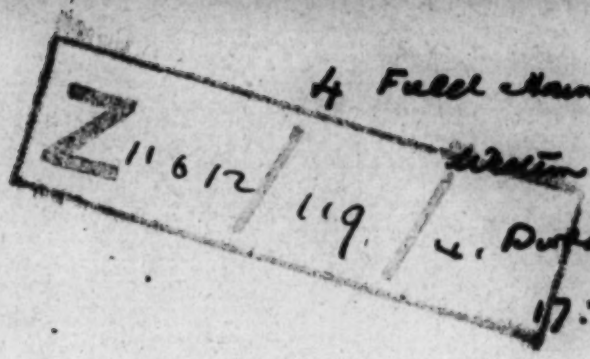
(Sgd.) J. V. ROB

Private Secretary.

F.T. Willey, Esq., M.P.

Put with pp.

72



4 Fulford Main Terrace
Hilton Hill
N. Durham Colly
17:9:45.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your letter of 14th September and the information you have kindly given me.

Yours faithfully
T. T. Willey

J. V. Rob. Esq.

15

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 11502

9 OCT 1945

73

Registry Number Z 11502/119/41.

FROM Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 466. (1/338/45).

Dated 2nd ~~20th~~ Oct.1945.

Received in Registry 9th Oct.1945.

Z: Spain.

Declarations by Colonel Baba, Civil Governor, Barcelona in regard to Catalonia: Don Carlos.

Refers to Madrid despatch 443 of 3rd September (Z 10534/233/41). Transmits copy of despatch 35 from Barcelona commenting on ~~Remarks~~ remarks made by Colonel ~~Baba~~ Baaba, contained in local weekly review "Destino".

Transmits also copy of letter to Chancery from Barcelona of 12th September regarding conversation between Mr. Hobson & M. Spaey concerning Don Carlos.

Last Paper.

Z 11012

References.

Z 10534/233/41

Z 11308/1484/41.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

The new Civil Governor is beginning well.

Records Dept. 2919/1

R. Jarman 11/1

H Dum. 12.10

(Action completed.) Sdecwr 22/6

(Index.) 20/6

Next Paper.

Z 12190.

29082 F.O.P.

74
Z

No. 466
(1/338/45)

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid,
[redacted]ents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A.
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Madrid.

2nd October, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:
Z 10534/233/4
Madrid despatch No. 443 of 3rd September, 1945, to Foreign Office.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Despatch No. 35 of 14th September, 1945, from Barcelona.	Declarations made by new Civil Governor of Barcelona in "Destino", local weekly review.
Letter to Chancery dated 12th September, 1945, from Barcelona.	Don Carlos.

Z 11502
9 OCT 1945

3479A 25019—2 (4)

75

Despatch No.55

(M/113/45)

British Consulate General,
Barcelona.
14th September 1945.

Sir,

In the latest number of the local weekly review "Destino" there appears an article containing declarations made by the new Civil Governor Colonel Barba, in regard to Catalonia. He attempts to answer three questions (1) Is there in fact a Catalan problem? (2) In connection with post war readjustments, what is your opinion as to the economic future of Barcelona? and (3) What part does Catalonia represent in Spanish unity?

2. Colonel Barba skirted lightly round the second question, and speaks only about the maritime aspect. He foresees a return to normal conditions so soon as shipping is freed from war activities. He urges the building of a dock capable of accomodating vessels of 12 to 14 thousand tons, which is the size now being built in Spanish shipyards.

3. The other questions, likewise, are not really answered and Colonel Barba says very little that is not of a general and somewhat non-committal nature. But the fact that the Catalan question is discussed at all is noteworthy. When he recognises Catalonia as a region, and expresses admiration for her customs, literature, language, music and dancing he is definitely reversing a past policy, and displaying a liberal attitude such as Catalonia has not experienced for some time. Dances and popular songs as well as language, he asserts, only become a political flag when they are not treated impartially. The "sardana", for instance, is nothing more than a natural expression of regionalism similar to that found in other provinces. In this connection it is of interest to learn that the "Orfeo Catalan", the famous choir which was suppressed in 1939, is to be revived.

4. "Destino", in which these declarations were published as an exclusive feature, has been markedly pro-British during the past five years, and its director and staff have suffered persecution from Madrid and the local authorities. It is, I think, significant that this paper has been chosen for the purpose.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

H. A. HOBSON

His Excellency
Sir Victor A.L.Mallet, K.C.M.G.,
C.V.O.,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

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COPY

H/111/45

British Consulate-General,
Barcelona.

12th September, 1945.

Dear Chancery,

My letter H/93/45 of the 22nd August, about Don Carlos, the Pretender.

I went to lunch the other day with the Italian Consul-General, and found that the principal guests were Don Carlos and his wife. I found them to be pleasant and intelligent, but Spanish politics and his position were of course avoided in conversation. Amont the other guests was a Dutchman, now naturalised Spanish, called Spaey, about whom there is a considerable dossier in the Passport Section here, to whom he has recently endeavoured to sell information. He was, at one time at least, tied up very closely with the Falangists.

Spaey is now working for Don Carlos and after lunch told me that he would like to explain the Pretender's position as there appeared to be some misunderstanding about it. He said that Don Carlos had come here from Italy at the express intervention of General Franco, after the Germans had refused to allow him to go to Switzerland. On arrival here his "suite" caused a considerable amount of embarrassment by treating him in public as royalty, and going so far as to refer to him as the King. Accordingly Franco asked him to go to Andorra for a while: he subsequently returned to Barcelona under promise to live quietly.

Spaey went on to say that Carlos refused an offer from the Secretary General of the Falange of a million pesetas and a residence (a castle) because he did not wish to be under any obligation to or tied up with Falange. He is living on money supplied by various supporters, and collections, but is receiving nothing from the Spanish Government. When Correa was Civil Governor he (Correa) offered to help Carlos' mother and to meet her hotel bill at the Ritz. Correa left with bills of 25,000 pesetas unsettled. Incidentally, I have had this story from other sources, but the amount given is 60,000 pesetas. I gather this is one of the many headaches which Correa left for Barba.

Spaey went on to say that Carlos' idea was that Franco, having "saved" Spain, should continue at the head of the administration of whatever form of new government there is in Spain. In that he differed from Don Juan who wished to abandon Franco. As regards Don Javier de Borbon, Spaey ridiculed him as a candidate for, he said, no Frenchman would stand a chance in Spain.

Spaey gave me the names of Carlos' chief supporters in Madrid - General Cora and Don Esteban Bilbao.

Yours ever,
(sgd) H.A. HOBSON

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

16

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 12190

30 OCT 1945

77

Registry Number: Z 12190/119/41

FROM Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 494 (1/375/45).

Dated 19th Oct.1945.

Received in Registry 30th Oct.1945.

Z: Spain.

Political situation in Spain: views of Senor Juan Ventosa.

Gives detailed amcount of dissertation by Sir Ventose on political situation. Senor Ventosa, well known Catalan financier was former Finance Minister under Alfonso XIII.

Last Paper.

Z 11502

References.

Z 12196/233/41

(Print.)

~~PRINTED~~ Spain

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.) Sdecypt 4/12

(Index.) 19/6

Next Paper.

Z 12636

(Minutes.)

It is encouraging to read Sir Ventosa, a shrewd politician, does sign of decay in the present régime. But it is less satisfactory that he sees no prospect of Franco being removed quickly and a liberal régime & the Cortes established without strong outside pressure. His judgment is probably right and the difference is between 'death by freezing' - our present policy - and "death by strangulation" - what the Left Wing generally advocate.

Please see also Z 12196.

R.K.M. Sloan 3/11

29082 F.O.P. Research Dept: WKC 3/12

Ans

OCT 1937

An enclosing despatch, which should be read in conjunction with Madrid desp: nos 501 (Z12196) and also with 500 (Z12195). See the minutes on Z12196 which deal with the question touched on in para: 5 — namely whether we should give any active encouragement to the Señor Ventosa to press on with his "Cabinet-making" and go over to active ~~intervention~~ pressure to compel General Franco to go.

There is a good deal of ~~good~~ sound sense in what Señor Ventosa says, based on long political experience and it is interesting to find him so closely echoed in Z12195 by Señor Lecea, a man of the Republican Left.

R. Garran
7/x.

See minutes on Z12196.

M.
15.11

79

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

[Z 12190/119/41] Copy No 8

Sir V. Mallet to Mr. Bevin.—(*Received* 30*th October.*)

(No. 494.)

Sir, *Madrid*, 19*th October*, 1945.

I WAS invited on the 17th October to a luncheon to meet Señor Juan Ventosa, the well-known Catalan financier and former Finance Minister under Alfonso XIII. After lunch he was moved to embark upon a dissertation to the small company present on the political situation.

2. Señor Ventosa said that he had been a close observer of the decay and fall of the monarchy and had, indeed, been a Minister at that time. He could now detect very similar signs of decay in Franco's régime. Criticism was coming from many different sections of the community and the pressure on Franco was apparent not only from abroad but also from inside Spain. Nevertheless, Franco had, in the last few weeks, been turning to his own profit certain events abroad. There was first the exaggerated publicity given to the Mexican exiled "Government" and its recognition by some of the smaller American republics. These exiles were so unpopular in Spain among all moderate men, including former Republicans, that the country as a whole would prefer to put up with a further dose of Franco rather than have the exiles back to misgovern them. Secondly, Franco was cashing in on the failure of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London and was quoting his correspondence with Mr. Churchill as proving his foresight in foretelling a coming struggle between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. Already in his imagination the Caudillo was mounting his white charger and leading a crusade of the west against the Bolsheviks! Franco was telling his supporters and the wavering generals that this was no time to discard their trusted leader. Moreover, Señor Ventosa hinted rather than actually said, that the fact that His Majesty's Government had given an *agrément* to Señor de las Barcenas as new ambassador in London was a sign that pressure from abroad was not so intense as to be taken tragically.

3. Nevertheless, Señor Ventosa maintained that the decay of the present régime might be retarded but could not be prevented and that Franco would disappear in time though whether it were three months, six months, or longer, not one could yet say. There were only three alternatives.

(*a*) Another dictatorship under another general, which would be no better than the present régime;

(*b*) A republic, which could not be desired by any responsible person in Spain, especially if it meant the return of the discredited exiles as a Government. The first republic had been a failure and the second republic had also been a failure. Many of those who had placed their hopes in the second republic, and here Señor Ventosa indicated two of the gentlemen present, Dr. Marañon and Professor Valdecasas, had been compelled by events to recognise this fact and to admit that the only suitable alternative was—

(*c*) A restoration of the monarchy. The advantage of a monarchy was that it disposed of the possibility of ambitious politicians intriguing for the headship of the Spanish State and therefore offered some hope of stability. This could, however, only be achieved if the monarchy rested upon a broad foundation of the people's will. It must not rest on the army alone although it was essential that the army should remain united in support of the Civil Government. This Government must include men who were former Republicans, and, here again, Señor Ventosa gave a glance towards Dr. Marañon. There were definite indications that the support of men like Señor Madariaga and Gil Robles might be obtained, and it was said that, in certain circumstances, even Prieto and Largo Caballero might be able to return and play their part in politics under a monarchy. With a broad coalition controlling the destinies of the country there would be a real chance of conciliation between those who had fought against each other during the civil war and thus by stages, but not in one jump, the democratic freedoms could be restored. Spain was not like other western countries and it was no use taking a violent plunge into universal suffrage and

elections without a certain amount of preparation. At this stage I suggested that it was more than possible that the majority of the people, if they could be consulted, would declare themselves for a republic. The answer given me was that it was impossible to say what the electors would really think at a given stage because they had no opportunity of political education during recent years and they were very inclined to express themselves spasmodically and without due thought, but that if a broad-based Government came into power and then proceeded to hold elections it would probably receive very wide support indeed. Señor Ventosa was, therefore, not in favour of holding a plebiscite or elections before the formation of such a Government, particularly as any consultation of the people held by Franco himself would only be rigged. In Señor Ventosa's opinion, the situation was becoming increasingly dangerous because nobody could bring home to Franco that time was working against him. There might be unpleasant surprises in store such as an economic boycott in various countries by the dockers refusing to load ships for Spain. Franco was, moreover, apparently banking upon continued disagreement between Great Britain and America on the one hand and Russia on the other, but in Señor Ventosa's opinion those countries were bound to find a method of agreement, and this was quite likely to take the form of the Russians yielding to some extent to our pressure and admitting a more democratic system in the Balkan countries but in return insisting on the Western Powers bringing pressure on to Spain to do likewise. Such pressure would quite likely take the form of support of the bogus Government in Mexico. The postponed conference at Rio de Janeiro would also eventually be held, and similar pressure might arise from the South American countries and the United States. It was, therefore, urgent that Franco should realise that time was against him if there was to be a peaceful transition to a constitutional monarchy.

4. The difficulty was that no group in Spain was strong enough to convince Franco of these facts. The generals were not sufficiently intelligent and were unable to make up their minds and were jealous of each other and of former politicians holding power. There was so much fear of the unknown that many people who would breathe a sigh of relief when Franco had gone felt prevented from taking any steps to upset him from sheer terror of the unknown. Nobody who had been through the civil war could possibly wish to see another one, and yet an attempt to set up a republic would almost certainly lead to this sooner or later. If it were a choice between a republic and Franco it would mean that Franco might remain here for a very long time. Here Señor Ventosa launched an attack on the B.B.C. broadcasts to Spain, as being entirely biased in favour of a republic, and for this reason exercising much less influence on the thinking public here than they would do if they confined themselves to objective criticism of detailed points in Franco's régime.

5. In Señor Ventosa's opinion, the only thing which could now propel Franco in the right direction would be increased pressure from abroad. The Potsdam declaration, the Churchill correspondence, and Mr. Roosevelt's letter to Mr. Armour, had each, at their time, made an impression, but it had faded again. The Anglo-Saxon Powers were faced by the awkward dilemma that their policy was really inconsistent. On the one hand, they launched thunderbolts of the kind just mentioned and, on the other hand, they disclaimed any intention of intervening in Spanish internal affairs. All the same they had made it clear that they wished Franco to go, and this in itself was an intervention in Spanish internal affairs. In order to get rid of him the pressure must be kept up and even increased, but in a constructive way. It was no use intervening in a negative way—a remark which I took to imply that he would welcome positive encouragement possibly in the form of a secret understanding with his project for broadly based provisional government. In reply to a question of mine, Señor Ventosa agreed that economic sanctions if once imposed would not necessarily be relaxed in favour of any régime other than a Republican one. He thought that economic sanctions would certainly upset Franco very quickly because the generals would themselves realise that they must act quickly before all means of transport in the country were paralysed. At the same time, he hesitated to recommend the imposition of sanctions and suggested that skilfully conveyed hints or even threats might have the required effect. I asked why Spaniards themselves could not voice to Franco their apprehension that such a policy might well be adopted, and his answer was that Franco would not listen to anybody. I commented that if he would not listen to Spaniards I was not sure that he would listen to foreigners either. He seemed to consider himself inspired by God Almighty alone and unlikely to believe what anyone told him. Señor

Ventosa admitted that the problem of how to convince Franco was a most difficult and delicate one. He recalled in detail his past conversation with Franco, which had been abortive.

6. When he was asked why it could not be possible to announce the names of the personalities who would join together to bring in the new monarchy and form a Government, he answered that there were two good reasons: firstly, that it would obviously get them into trouble with Franco and might possibly lead to their arrest, and secondly, because they would at once find themselves quarrelling with all their friends, the Spanish characteristic being one of such personal jealousy that every aspiring politician would consider himself as the right man to have a seat in the Government. It was much better to keep the list secret until the time came for action. From this I derived the impression that some kind of list already existed and that Señor Ventosa himself is cast for the rôle of Prime Minister. He impressed me as being moderate and liberal in his views, strongly Anglophil, and, though looking rather older than his 66 years, is sufficiently astute to make a good leader.

I have, &c.

(For the Ambassador),

D. F. HOWARD.

Z 12190

30 OCT 1945

82
Z.

British Embassy,
Madrid.

19th October, 1945.

No. 494
(1/375/45).

Sir,

I was invited on October 17th to a luncheon to meet Señor Juan Ventosa, the well-known Catalan financier and former Finance Minister under Alfonso XIII. After lunch he was moved to embark upon a dissertation to the small company present on the political situation.

2. Señor Ventosa said that he had been a close observer of the decay and fall of the Monarchy and had indeed been a Minister at that time. He could now detect very similar signs of decay in Franco's régime. Criticism was coming from many different sections of the community and the pressure on Franco was apparent not only from abroad but also from inside Spain. Nevertheless, Franco had in the last few weeks been turning to his own profit certain events abroad. There was first the exaggerated publicity given to the Mexican exiled "government" and its recognition by some of the smaller American Republics. These exiles were so unpopular in Spain among all moderate men, including former Republicans, that the country as a whole would prefer to put up with a further dose of Franco rather than have the exiles back to misgovern them. Secondly, Franco was cashing in on the failure of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London and was quoting his correspondence with Mr. Churchill as proving his foresight in foretelling a coming struggle between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. Already in his imagination the Caudillo was mounting his white charger and leading a crusade of the West against the Bolsheviks! Franco was telling his supporters and the wavering generals that this was no time to discard their trusted leader. Moreover, Señor Ventosa hinted rather than actually said, that the fact that His Majesty's Government had given an agrément to Señor de las Barcenas as new Ambassador in London was a sign that pressure from abroad was not so intense as to be taken tragically.

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/recognise

The Right Honourable
Ernest Beyin, M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W. 1.

26 OCT 1945

21290

recognise this fact and to admit that the only suitable alternative was

(c) A restoration of the Monarchy. The advantage of a Monarchy was that it disposed of the possibility of ambitious politicians intriguing for the headship of the Spanish State and therefore offered some hope of stability. This could, however, only be achieved if the Monarchy rested upon a broad foundation of the people's will. It must not rest on the Army alone although it was essential that the Army should remain united in support of the Civil Government. This Government must include men who were former Republicans, and here again Señor Ventosa gave a glance towards Doctor Marañon. There were definite indications that the support of men like Señor Madariaga and Gil Robles might be obtained and it was said that in certain circumstances even Prieto and Lago Caballero might be able to return and play their part in politics under a Monarchy. With a broad coalition controlling the destinies of the country there would be a real chance of conciliation between those who had fought against eachother during the civil war and thus by stages, but not in one jump, the democratic freedoms could be restored. Spain was not like other western countries and it was no use taking a violent plunge into universal suffrage and elections without a certain amount of preparation. At this stage I suggested that it was more than possible that the majority of the people if they could be consulted would declare themselves for a Republic. The answer given me was that it was impossible to say what the electors would really think at a given stage because they had no opportunity of political education during recent years and they were very inclined to express themselves spasmodically and without due thought, but that if a broad-based government came into power and then proceeded to hold elections it would probably receive very wide support indeed. Señor Ventosa was, therefore, not in favour of holding a plebiscite or elections before the formation of such a government, particularly as any consultation of the people held by Franco himself would only be rigged. In Señor Ventosa's opinion the situation was becoming increasingly dangerous because nobody could bring home to Franco that time was working against him. There might be unpleasant surprises in store such as an economic boycott in various countries by the dockers refusing to load ships for Spain. Franco was, moreover, apparently banking upon continued disagreement between Great Britain and America on the one hand and Russia on the other, but in Señor Ventosa's opinion those countries were bound to find a method of agreement and this was quite likely to take the form of the Russians yielding to some extent to our pressure and admitting a more democratic system in the Balkan countries but in return insisting on the Western Powers bringing pressure on to Spain to do likewise. Such pressure would quite likely take the form of support of the bogus Government in Mexico. The postponed Conference at Rio de Janeiro would also eventually be held, and similar pressure might arise from the South American countries and the United States. It was therefore urgent that Franco should realise that time was against him if there was to be a peaceful transition to a constitutional Monarchy.

4. The difficulty was that no group in Spain was strong enough to convince Franco of these facts. The Generals were not sufficiently intelligent and were unable to make up their minds and were jealous of eachother and of former politicians holding power. There was so

/much

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much fear of the unknown that many people who would breathe a sigh of relief when Franco had gone felt prevented from taking any steps to upset him from sheer terror of the unknown. Nobody who had been through the civil war could possibly wish to see another one, and yet an attempt to set up a Republic would almost certainly lead to this sooner or later. If it were a choice between a Republic and Franco it would mean that Franco might remain here for a very long time. Here Señor Ventosa launched an attack on the B.B.C. broadcasts to Spain, as being entirely biased in favour of a Republic and for this reason exercising much less influence on the thinking public here than they would do if they confined themselves to objective criticism of detailed points in Franco's régime.

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6. When he was asked why it could not be possible to announce the names of the personalities who would join together to bring in the new Monarchy and form a government, he answered that there were two good reasons: firstly, that it would obviously get them into trouble with Franco and might possibly lead to their arrest and secondly because they would at once find themselves quarrelling with all their friends, the Spanish characteristic being one of such personal jealousy that every aspiring politician would consider himself as the right man to have a seat in the Government. It was much better to keep the list secret until the time came for action. From this I derived the impression that some kind of list already existed and that Señor Ventosa himself is cast for the role of Prime Minister. He impressed me as being moderate and liberal in

/his

his views, strongly Anglophil and though looking rather older than his 66 years, is sufficiently astute to make a good leader.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,

for H.M. Ambassador.

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17

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 12636

NOV 1945

86

Registry Number: Z 12636/119/41

FROM Mr. L.A. Price. Ministry of Works. Communicated.

No.

Dated

Received in Registry: 12th Nov.1945.

Sale of Basque House: request for support to obtain alternative accommodation.

Communicates copy of letter dated 24th October from Pedro de Beitia, secretary of the Basque House, legally registered for use of members of Basque colony as Hostel restaurant and club. The building has been sold by the freeholders for offices. Asks for help and advise.

Last Paper.

Z 12190

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Edwards 14/11

(Index.)

19/6

Next Paper.

file 524/1946.

(Minutes.)

A pity - but I do not think we can intervene.

L.H.S. 14/6

COPY

87
2

With the Compliments
of Mr L.A.Bruce, Ministry
of Works.

BASQUE HOUSE,
8, CROMWELL PLACE,
LONDON, S.W.7.
Tel. Kensington 6841.

24th October, 1945.

Ministry of Works,
Dean Bradley House,
Horseferry Road, S.W.1.

Z 12636
12 NOV 1945

Dear Sirs,

I should very much appreciate your advice and assistance regarding the difficult situation in which this Club is placed as a result of the building being sold by the Freeholders for offices.

The Basque House was legally registered, with a fully licensed bar and restaurant, and residence for the members of the Basque colony, and the Spanish speaking residents in London and their fellow countrymen in the Allied Forces. On the 15th October 1943, we took the house, 8 Cromwell Place, S.W.7. on an agreement for one year, renewable for a further year, as a Social Club and Hostel registered in the name of Euzko-Etxea.

We have organised many social and cultural events including a series of lectures by the Latin-American Ambassadors, who are honorary members of the Club, and also on British institutions by lecturers appointed by Scotland Yard, the House of Commons, and various Government Departments. The Hostel also provides accommodation for Spanish-speaking members of the Forces, Commandos and Pioneers, etc., visiting London. At the moment 9 people live in the house permanently and 7 others are staying because they have nowhere else to go.

We have asked to renew the agreement and have been refused. We have also applied direct to the Freeholders, without success. The Agency told us we must give up the house on the 15th October and our Lawyer explained that we could not leave without finding alternative accommodation, but an extension was again refused, and we are now

/expecting

88

71236

expecting to be taken to Court over the matter.

We have been trying, for many weeks, to find another house but in the present circumstances it is almost impossible as you are aware of the housing situation.

We should be most grateful for any advice or help you can give us so that we may not be turned out, or failing that if you could enable us to obtain alternative accommodation, in view of the social and cultural work carried out by the Club.

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd)

Pedro de Beitia,
Secretary.

89
END

9908/45

5 November, 1945.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of October 24th, I am afraid there is nothing this Department can do to help you in your present accommodation difficulties.

The question of whether you can stay in Cromwell Place appears to be one on which a Solicitor would be better able to advise you than this Ministry. As regards finding alternative accommodation, I would advise you to apply to a firm of Estate Agents as we have no space available that we could offer you; we are extremely short of accommodation ourselves and are having to give up some of our buildings to housing bombed-out and homeless people.

Yours faithfully,

L.A. PRICE

The Secretary,
Basque House,
8, Cromwell Place,
London, S.W.7.

WESTERN

1945

F.O.
371

SPAIN

FILE No 233

To pp. No 4806

CLOSED
UNTIL
1972

49587

2 1945

WESTERN

L272 /G
6 JAN 1945
2

L 272 | 233 | G . 41

Mr Bowker.
Madrid

no 799

Dated: Dec 26
Rcd: Jan 6.

Executions in Spain

Rep. no Madrid tel 1669. (C17105/312/G-44)
Gives figures for executions which have occurred in each of the Consular districts in Spain.

Last Paper.
L233.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Ref in Dept
copy attached.

Resubmit when ref. av.

The Seville report is graded B.2
and apart from this there is only 1 execution
reported in Barcelona and 4 in Valencia.

J Hayll
4/1.

M. Lowley. LNB 16/1

R Q Jarman
15/1

J K Thorne
15/1

(Action completed.)
Jn. 17/1.

(Index.)
Mfsh.

Next Paper.
2622

6/1

Z

L272/G 3

British Embassy,
6 JAN 1945
Madrid.

No. 799.
(88/66/44)

26th December, 1944.

C17105/312/G
C/14

Sir,

With reference to my telegram No. 1669 of the 9th December, I have the honour to inform you that in reply to a circular telegram to superintending Consuls in Spain dated December 8th, requesting urgent reports giving figures for executions which had occurred in each since the last report, the following replies have been received:-

Barcelona.	One execution during the month of November. 14 persons believed to be in prison under sentence of death.
Bilbao.	None.
Vigo.	Generally believed none.
Seville.	On a report graded B.2. 28 men were shot at Seville cemetery about November 25th and 15 more on December 8th.
Malaga.	None. 52 men in prison under sentence of death.
Valencia.	Four executions.
Tetuan.	None, so far as is known to His Majesty's Consul.
Teneriffe.	None reported.

2. His Majesty's Superintending Consuls have been also instructed to send further reports regularly on this subject, the substance of which will be forwarded to you as on this occasion.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

James Bowker.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

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3

1945

Z

SPAIN

4

Z 355

9 JAN 1945

Registry Number } Z 355/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 7

Dated 2nd January, 1945

Received in Registry 9th January, 1945

Z: Spain

Senor Salgado's views on the situation in and future of Spain.

Transmits copy of a minute recording a conversation held by the Press Attaché with the Under-Secretary for Popular Education, Señor Salgado, whose views are understood to reflect those of General Franco. Señor Salgado commented on the tone of British propaganda towards Spain, and said that Lord Templewood's recent criticisms were not taken seriously in Spain, in view of British Intelligence Activities in Spain. He also discussed Soviet-Spanish relations, Communism in Spain, and the possibility of England and Spain working together more. Copied Ministry of Information.

Last Paper.

2272/4

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

10/1

F.O.R.D. Paras 5 & 6 contain the gist of Franco's letter to the Duke of Alba.

209 u/i

Interesting

13/1

Very strong, too.

13.1.

(Action completed.)

Kwd 15/1

(Index.)

8/1

Next Paper.

2376.

Z 5

British Embassy,

Z 355

Madrid.

No. 7.

2nd January, 1944.

9 JAN 1945

Sir,

I have the honour to send you the accompanying copy of a minute by the Press Attaché recording a conversation which he had today with the Undersecretary for Popular Education. The main interest of Señor Salgado's views, which follow what are now fairly familiar lines, is, as Mr. Burns points out, that they probably reflect those of General Franco.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Minister of Information.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Vaughan Berry.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

TFB/CJS.

TOP SECRET

L

NOTES ON TALK BETWEEN UNDER-SECRETARY FOR POPULAR EDUCATION AND PRESS ATTACHE AT MADRID - 28. 12. 44.

I called on the Under-Secretary for Popular Education with a routine complaint of no particular importance. Having dealt with it in as usual cordial fashion, he treated me to a political disquisition which I summarise as accurately as possible as I believe it represents very closely General Franco's mind. The Under-Secretary, apart from being a relative by marriage of the Generalissimo, is generally supposed to be very much in his confidence - as indeed anyone would need to be who was responsible for dressing the shop-window of the régime.

Sr. Arias Salgado began by saying that he thought there had lately been an improvement in the tone adopted by the British press and radio towards Spain. This surprised me and I asked him whether he had read the reports of Lord Templewood's speech in the House of Lords and the comments thereon. He said he had but could hardly take Lord Templewood's criticisms seriously. His complaints about the Gestapo were disingenuous to say the least. Unfortunately for Spain, every country had sent in its secret agents and Lord Templewood knew as well as he did that the British Intelligence Service had been active in Spain throughout the war. All the proofs had fallen into the Spanish Government's hands and the Ambassador was committed up to the neck. Twenty-six wireless transmitters of British origin had been hauled in by the police, and were still in their safe keeping. As to German influence in other directions, that had been due to force of circumstances in the past and had never had any deep political significance.

Why could not people leave Spain alone now to recover and develop along her own lines? Nobody seemed to realise the enormous progress that had been made by the regime despite the difficulties caused by the war. Within the next few months still more important political and social measures were to be introduced, including municipal elections, and thus gradually all the inheritance from the Civil War would be liquidated.

Spain, he said, had nothing as regards her external policy but a desire to be on really friendly terms with all other countries. The only exception was Russia. How could one sit down to play cards with someone who habitually cheated? The progress of Russian communist imperialism was terrifying. Spaniards no longer feared communism of the masses, and Russia herself seemed to have no interest in it. She was pursuing far more dangerous tactics, securing key positions in one government after another and thus taking over whole countries almost without their being aware of it.

The prospect of Spain was an alarming one. With Italy and France morally and materially ruined, there was nothing to stop communistic influences coming right through from Central Europe and the Balkans, where the Russians so obviously predominated. The Anglo-Saxon Alliance the Spaniards had hoped was an effective guarantee against the bolshevisation of Europe, but as far as they could see the Americans were now pulling out of their commitments in Europe. They had given the British no effective moral support over Poland and Greece. The Prime Minister's speech about Poland had been a confession of complete powerlessness in face of Russian pressure, and it seemed that half Poland was to

be/

be sacrificed.

It looked as if England was going to be an isolated out-post of Christian civilisation and Spain too. Why could not these two countries come closer together? If England left Spain in the lurch, she would at least know how to defend herself. It had been proved over and over again that modern arms could do nothing against guerrilla fighters and Spaniards were born guerrilleros. There was no danger of division within the country and Reds and Whites would all fight together. Nothing had proved the feeling of the Spanish people better than the reception they gave to the invading Spanish maquis in the Pyrenees. No-one had welcomed them. They had come in full of illusions, expecting the people ready to rise and greet them. It was perhaps an advantage that Spain was so misunderstood by these people and by outsiders generally such as Maura and the other politicians in exile, as they only made fools of themselves when they came out confidently talking of taking over power.

There was a great deal more in this strain, most of it redundant and all rattled off with nervous intensity. As may be imagined, it was extremely difficult to interpose remarks or to frame a reply which might be accepted as cogent. If he wanted to know why the English were impatient with Spain's attitude, he should realise that we considered that there were above all moral issues at stake in the war - issues important for the whole world, and that whereas we respected technical neutrality and indeed had asked for nothing else from Spain, we were not in the mood to appreciate moral neutrality. I had never seen a word of blame addressed to Germany in the Spanish press in four years, nothing of the Nazi threat to Europe nor of Nazi barbarities. He seemed to take this point, but said lamely that so much of what was put about was war propaganda and the press had eschewed barbarity stories from both sides, or at any rate had never admitted German versions of them except in regard to Russia, about which there was nothing too bad to be said. I said I thought that it was this gulf of feeling about Germany was the one which separated most the British people from the Spanish. The Spanish people themselves could not be blamed, as they had never been told, but I wanted him to realise that the British people were for the present thinking of nothing else but the defeat of Germany, which country they hated to the exclusion of all preoccupations about other problems.

As regards Russia, we had decided that we could neither ignore nor oppose one of the most powerful nations in the world, nor hope to obliterate a sixth part of the globe. We were intent, therefore, on coming to a permanent agreement, whatever the difficulties and sacrifices might be. We were far more aware of these than the Spaniards, who apparently did not even trouble to examine the matter in detail, and contented themselves with a negative attitude of blind hatred. But we were by no means dispairing of discovering a workable solution, even though it might take many years.

Sr. Arias Salgado was quite obviously unconvinced, but seemed to be relieved at having been able to get so much 'off his chest', and bade me a very genial farewell.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

8

Z 376

9 JAN 1945

Registry Number } Z 376/233/41.

FROM Chancery, Madrid, to Central Department.

No. 102/67/44.

Dated 30th Dec. 1944

Received in Registry } 9th Jan. 1945

Z: Spain

Falange leaflet circulating in Valencia.

Encloses in original a Falange leaflet which has been circulating recently at Valencia, probably produced locally, and indicating clearly that General Franco has to deal now with fanatical Falangists as well as Reds and Liberals.

Last Paper.

Z 355

References.

(Minutes.)

F.O. R. D. & D.G. 12/1

RG 10/1

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Rud 16/2

(Index.)

6/7

Next Paper.

Z 381

9

2.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

102/67/44. 30th December, 1944.

Dear Department,

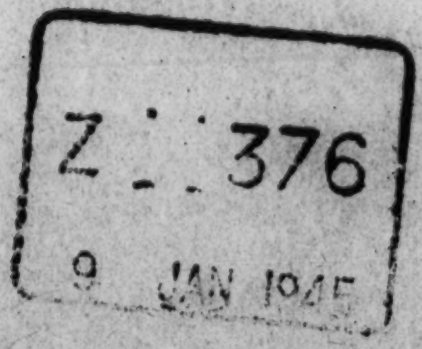
--- We enclose in original an interesting Falange leaflet which has been circulating recently at Valencia.

The leaflet is probably locally produced and is somewhat illiterate. The interesting feature about it, however, is the clear manner in which it indicates that General Franco's enemies are not all Reds or even good Liberals, but that he now has to reckon with the fanatical elements in his own Party as well.

Yours ever,

Chancery.

Central Department,
Foreign Office.



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FRENTE A LA SITUACION REACCIONARIA

CAMARADAS; Como las mas négras horas de España, monárquicos , clericales masones y judios se han dado la mano para iniciar una campaña derrotista El capitalismo y la burguesia sirven los intereses del imperialismo britanico que ha vuelto a pactar con Moscú.

Es denigrante que en España haya quien se preste a secundar las maniobras de los agentes británicos; quien se vende por la miseria de un franc en una recepción palaciega, por la añoranza de regimenes que desaparecieron de nuestra Patria por voluntad de nuestro Pueblo.

Aliadas están las oscuras fuerzas de los enemigos de España en una compañía de infamias contra laFalange.Para esto han servido del Poder. Hoy ocupan altos cargos en la Gobernación del Estado politicos procedentes de los más podridos partidos de la derecha, del centro y del liberalismo. Se han disfrazado de falangistas, HAN VESTIDO NUESTRA CAMISA Y HABLAN DE REVOLUCION. Así han logrado, a fuerza de hacer lo contrario de lo que dicen, que el pueblo los desprecie y crea que la Falange es un mito. Por eso damos la voz de alerta. Nosotros, falangistas autenticos, les conocemos bien; Por más que se disfracen, no lograrán engañarnos. Ellos son armadores de todas las expediciones de contrabando, farsantes de todas las situaciones políticas . Desde sus despachos oficiales, realizan una labor negativa, de sabotaje, de confusionismo. Así podeis ver como los organismos que estaban llamados a realizar las mas importantes funciones en el Nuevo Estado, han fracasdo ; porque los han asaltado los viejos traideres del centrismo, o de la Ceda, y desde ahi se vengan de su impotencia.

Nosotros les conocemos y aunque nos cuesta la vida les hemos de desenmascarar, Contrael ellos, por la defensa de la FALANGE AUTENTICA, contra toda mixtificación, ponemos otra vez nuestras vidas en riesgos, para prestar un un nuevo servicio a la Patria.

Cuando estos políticos han creado la actual situación insóstenible en nuestra España; cuando el pueblo está asumido en las desesperaciónes y los falangistas autenticos andan por los caminos de la Patria torturados de dolor al ver fallidas sus más caras ilusiones, los politicos traidores comienzan a decir " que la Falange ha dado de si lo que tenia que dar".

Vosotros sabeis que es mentira y queremos que lo sepa tambien el pueblo entero de Esñapa. La Falange ha dado su sangre, lo mas limpio de su juventud por salvar a la Patria de la invasiòn comunista. Pero hemos hecho y ganado la guerra para instaurar un orde nuevo. Y nuestros puntos iniciales, camaradas están intactos. En piè esta nuestras afirmaciones ideales. rubricamos con nuestra sangre, para darles cumplimiento, estan las palabras de JOSE ANTONIO. LA FALANGE NO GOBIERNA AUN. Quien ha dicho que hemos fracasado desde el gobierno. El fracaso delos politicos del viejo regimen no nos puede arrastrar. Nosotros estamos al margen, en actitud de centinela esperando nuestra hora. Y cuando la Falange gobierne, SABERLO, muchos politicos que hoy llevan la camisa azul, sufriran el rigor de nuestra Justicia. Pero hay otra maniobra en la que intenta engañarme a la nación. Se haboa de un Rey. Nosotros recorados a todas las palabras de JOSE ANTONIO: " Cayò la monarquia española porque habia cumplido ya su misiòn. Y nosotros, aunque nos duela el alma, no arriesgamos la vida de un solo de nuestros muchos por defender el règimen caìdo." Un Rey extranjero . Siglos de monarquia dejaron en España el analfabetismo, la pobreza de la Nacion. La monarquia liberal, perdio las colonias, nos vendio al extranjero. Nuestros Reyes liberadores han gobernado al dictado de Paris de Londres. Y jamas han entendido ni gobernado con arreglo a los deseos del pueblo español. Nestros últimos reyes -formados en el molde ingles- se preocupaban solo de sus caballos de carreras y de sus cotos de caza. La restauraciòn de la monarquia significa: ntregar a España atada de pies y manos a sus enemigos seculares. Significa que otra vez se alejen de vivir como esclavos millones de españoles. Significa la eliminaciòn de nuestra Patria del concierto de las naciones una Europa nueva, màs humana y mà-s justa.

Nosotros, camaradas todos, juventudes de España, estamos ligados a los hombres y a los pueblos quenos ayudaron en la lucha por salvar a la Patria del caos. Estamos ligados a ellos pere lazos de honor y de sangre. Por nuestro orgullos de españoles, nuestra gloria y nuestro amor estan representados junto al mejor Ejercito del mundo, por la DIVISIÒN AZUL, solera de la Falange, flor de la juventud española. Con el estaremos hasta el final. Por la victoria de la justicia y del aplastamiento del comunismo y de las

togracias anglosajonas.

No olvideis que la vuelta a España de la monarquia, significa: volver de espaldas a nuestro destino; alejar otra vez de nuestro orizonte nacional toda posibilidad de grandeza, de presentarnos con orgullo y nobleza ante el mundo.

Nosotros, juventudes de España, no toleraremos esto. Somos los que hemos combatido dutante tres años. Somos la Falange autèntica. Formaremos un frente de combate contra los enemigos secularesde la Patria. Esta en ellos nuestro honor, el pan que pobremente comemos cada dia como españoles, nuestra libertad de marcar rumbos a la Nacion. Una monarquia extranjera . Antes caeremos luchando en las calles.

Todas las juventudes nos atienden y nos siguen. LA FALANGE AUTENTICA ES OTRA VEZ EL CORAZÓN DEL MAS LIMPIO MOVIMIENTO. Estan con nosotros los que vuelven de Rusia curtidos en dura lucha. A los que el glorioso general Muñoz Grande, nuestro querido camarada, dijo: Marchais a España, pero yose que el grito de " a mi la Division Azul" cuento con todos para salvar a nuestra desgraciada España sometida a un politica vacilante contra lo que yo me revelo. Nosotros consideramos dirigidas a la Falange autentica estas palabras aqui estamos en pie y os decimos EL ENEMIGO TRADICIONAL DE ESPAÑA ES INGLATERRA EL ENEMIGO DE EUROPA ES EL COMUNISMO HASTA DESTRUIRLOS A LOS DOS NO HEMOS DE PARAR. Los monarquicos HAN SIDO PAGADOS por Inglaterra para hacerlos agentes suyos. A ellos se han aliado todas las gentes sucias, insolidarias, traidoras desde la masoneria al gran capitalismo, pasando por el comunismo y la clerecion.

Nuestra consigna es: POR EL APLASTAMIENTO TOTAL DEL COMUNISMO. POR LA RESISTENCIA Y LUCHA ABERTA A LA RESTAURACIÓN. POR LA DESTRUCCIÓN DEL IMPERIALISMO BRITANICO.

OS LLAMAMOS AL FRENTE DEL COMBATE DE LAS JUVENTUDES ESPAÑOLAS. Venid a las filas de la Falange autentica a la que NO HA CLAUDICADO, la que mantiene la bandera de la rebeldia por la justicia. Ni un momento mas de sosiego. O EL CAMINO DEL HUNDIMIENTO O EL CAMINO DE LA LOCURA. Nosotros para salvar a España de la traicion ESCOGEMOS EL CAMINO DE LA LOCURA. del combate de la rebeldia y de la victoria.

POR LA REVOLUCION NACIONAL SINDICALISTA ARRIBA ESPAÑA

LA FALANGE AUTENTICA.

5

1945

Z

SPAIN

12

Z : 381

9 JAN 1945

Registry Number } Z 381/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker. Madrid.

No. 806 (88/71/44)

Dated 29th Dec:1944

Received in Registry 9th Jan:1945

Z : Spain.

"Political" arrests in Madrid.

Refers to Madrid telegram 1714 of 23rd December. (C 17842/26/41-1944) regarding the subsequent release of those notable persons who were mistakenly arrested in Madrid, Describes in detail the events of these arrests, and suggests that they clearly indicate that the police affairs of Spain are incompetently handled and that in Spain those who are enemies of Franco are not necessarily popular. Copied Lisbon and Gibraltar.

Last Paper.

2376

References.

PRINTED (Print.)

Western Europe. Spain.

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

A most entertaining story

A L Maxwell

12/1.

Yes. At the bottom of it there is nervousness in official quarters about the activities of the Liberals and the C.E.D.A. (Gil Robles' party)

? Print

R Jarman

13/1.

Hbn.

13.1.

(Action completed.)

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(Index.)

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Next Paper.

2424

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THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

SPAIN. January 9, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[Z 381/233/41] ARCHIVES Copy No. 8

Mr. Bowker to Mr. Eden.—(Received 9th January, 1945.)

(No. 806.)

Sir, *Madrid, 29th December*, 1944.

IN my telegram No. 1714 of the 23rd December, I had the honour to report to you that there had been a number of arrests in Madrid of respectable citizens suspected of being in opposition to General Franco's régime, both in the republican and monarchist camps, and in my subsequent telegram No. 1715 of the 26th December that the majority had been released after a short stay in the unsavoury cellars of the police headquarters.

2. The moral is more important than the tale but, as it is best illustrated in some colourful details, which have been obtained by the press attaché, I recount them for your consideration. You may agree that they convey an impression of Dickensian humanity crossed with badly-learnt Gestapo methods which almost defies definition or censure.

3. For reasons which no one in authority has been able to agree upon, various more or less eminent persons were visited in the small hours of the 24th December by plain-clothes policemen accompanied by armed guards, and summoned to accompany them immediately to police headquarters. No reasons were given and no warrants were presented: For instance, Dr. Marañon awoke at 2 a.m. to find his bedroom invaded by police agents and was abruptly informed that he was under arrest. He asked to see a warrant, which was not forthcoming, and thereupon refused to budge. He reminded his visitors that, for all he knew, they were no different from the policemen who had arrested the conservative leader, Don Calvo Sotelo, in 1936 in the name of the Government and murdered him in the street within a few minutes. The police, at this rebuff, proceeded to search the papers on his desk. They picked up at once a card inviting Dr. Marañon to dinner on the following night from no less than the Minister for Foreign Affairs. With ingenuous surprise they hurried to telephone to headquarters and were apparently told to return and report, leaving their armed guards in the hall.

4. Simultaneously, raids had been carried out on other households; the haul was in most cases easier and involved principally lawyers, doctors and other professional men. Many of them have been known to members of the embassy staff, and to be sympathetic to republican views, or former members of the C.E.D.A., the Catholic centre party. Not a few counted Cabinet ministers among their friends and left wives to telephone the ministers for immediate assistance. The ministers, possibly interpreting the date as the eve of their Waterloo, were, however, all away from attending the coming-out ball of General Franco's daughter.

5. The cells of the "Dirección General de Seguridad," or police headquarters, already over-colonised with vermin and "old lags" of the political underworld, were suddenly invaded by an indignant gentry. They were indignant, not only on account of their arrest and imprisonment, but because of the company they were compelled to keep. Thus, Don Candido Casanueva, a notary public and former Minister of Justice as a member for the C.E.D.A. party, found himself cheek-by-jowl with Dr. Vega, a distinguished medical specialist of pronounced republican views, and another who was a leading figure of the opposition in the palmy days of catch-as-catch-can parliamentarism. A former editor of *El Liberal* encountered in his dungeon a young Monarchist disillusioned with Falange, of which he had been a founder-member. Their ground for agreement, discovered without much difficulty, was a common dislike of General Franco.

6. There was an interrogation of each visitor by police commissioners, who were obviously out of their depth, though by no means without a brief. One prisoner was confronted with a letter he had written to Señor Gil Robles six months earlier. It had been intercepted and was thought to have an incriminating and mysterious message in it to the effect that Dr. Marañon had "found the remedy and would soon complete the cure." This was taken to be a code for some

ONLY WITHOUT PERMISSION

14

political machination, though actually it referred to the doctor's legitimate professional activity to which, as a matter of fact, he now confines himself exclusively.

7. When the Ministers of Justice and of the Interior had returned from their junketing, they had to face volleys of telephone calls from indignant wives. They protested that they knew nothing whatever about the matter and proceeded at once to secure the release of their closer friends. The Minister for Foreign Affairs asked Dr. Marañon to visit him and prostrated himself in humble apologies, with which apparently General Franco associated himself by an earlier telephone call. Señor Lequerica protested that Ministers could not be held responsible for the acts of subordinates and even advanced as an explanation that Communist elements in the police had carried out the arrest "in order to discredit the régime abroad"! Other explanations, even more Chinese, have been given in quite responsible quarters. For instance, that the arrests were deliberately provoked so that the police agents involved might be dismissed, reduced or otherwise eliminated as factors. This would suit the Military Intelligence Section, and particularly General Martines Campos, who protests that he is hampered by a number of lesser officials belonging to the German Falange clique. It is said that he had them egged on to making the arrests without the knowledge of the Ministers or General Franco, trusting that this excess would neutralise such protection as the said officials enjoyed and lead to their dismissal immediately or eventually.

8. The real explanation of these occurrences will remain a mystery in all probability. There were probably cases of mistaken identity and of mistaken zeal, but the small nucleus of serious intent appears to have been directed against the more moderate republican elements and representatives of the C.E.D.A. It is said that these were suspected of being involved in negotiations with Don Miguel Maura in Paris and that the rash prophecies and boastings of the latter had brought them this trouble.

9. As far as the rest of Madrid is concerned, these events have pushed home two truths which unhappily had been long since evident: first, that the police affairs of the country are handled with almost incredible incompetence, and secondly that in this country to be an enemy of General Franco is not necessarily to be a friend of anyone else.

10. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon and his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

JAMES BOWKER.

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2.

No. 806.

Z 381

9 JAN 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

(88/71/44)

MADRID.

29th December, 1944.

Sir,

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3. For reasons which no-one in authority has been able to agree upon, various more or less eminent persons were visited in the small hours of December 24th by plain-clothes policemen accompanied by armed guards, and summoned to accompany them immediately to police headquarters. No reasons were given and no warrants were presented. For instance, Dr. Marañon awoke at 2 a.m. to find his bedroom invaded by police-agents and was abruptly informed that he was under arrest. He asked to see a warrant, which was not forthcoming, and thereupon refused to budge. He reminded his visitors that, for all he knew, they were no different from the policemen who had arrested the conservative leader, Don Calvo Sotelo, in 1936 in the name of the Government and murdered him in the street within a few minutes. The police, at this rebuff, proceeded to search the papers on his desk. They picked up at once a card inviting Dr. Marañon to dinner on the following night from no less than the Minister for Foreign Affairs. With ingenuous surprise they hurried to telephone to headquarters and were apparently told to return and report, leaving their armed guards in the hall.

4. Simultaneously raids had been carried out on other households; the haul was in most cases easier and involved principally lawyers, doctors and other professional men. Many of them have been known to members of the Embassy staff, and to be sympathetic to republican views, or former members of the C.E.D.A., the Catholic centre party. Not a few counted Cabinet Ministers among their friends and left their wives to telephone the Ministers for immediate assistance. The Ministers, possibly interpreting the date as the eve of their Waterloo, were, however, all away from attending the coming-out ball of General Franco's daughter.

5. The /

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

STRICTLY WITHOUT PERMISSION

5. The cells of the "Direccion General de Seguridad" or police headquarters, already over-colonised with vermin and "old lags" of the political underworld, were suddenly invaded by an indignant gentry. They were indignant, not only on account of their arrest and imprisonment but because of the company they were compelled to keep. Thus Don Candido Casanueva, a Notary Public, and former Minister of Justice as a member for the C.E.D.A. party, found himself cheek-by-jowl with Dr. Vega, a distinguished medical specialist of pronounced republican views, and another who was a leading figure of the opposition in the palmy days of catch-as-catch-can parliamentarism: A former editor of "El Liberal" encountered in his dungeon a young Monarchist disillusioned with Falange, of which he had been a founder-member. Their ground for agreement, discovered without much difficulty, was a common dislike of General Franco.

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8. The /

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8. The real explanation of these occurences will remain a mystery in all probability. There were probably cases of mistaken identity and of mistaken zeal, but the small nucleus of serious intent appears to have been directed against the more moderate republican elements and representatives of the C.E.D.A. It is said that these were suspected of being involved in negotiations with Don Miguel Maura in Paris and that the rash prophesies and boastings of the latter had brought them this trouble.

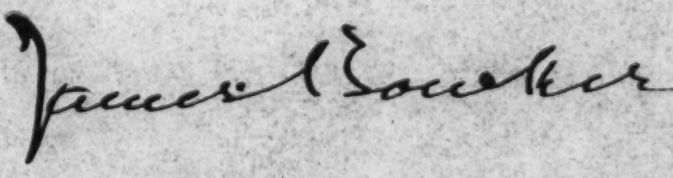
9. As far as the rest of Madrid is concerned, these events have pushed home two truths which unhappily had been long since evident: first, that the police affairs of the country are handled with almost incredible incompetence, and secondly that in this country to be enemy of General Franco is not necessarily to be a friend of anyone else.

10. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon and His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,



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Z

SPAIN

1945

Z 424

10 JAN 1945

Registry Number	Z 424/233/41
FROM	Mr. Bowker (Madrid)
No.	5 (1/1/45)
Dated	2nd January
Received in Registry	10th January 1945

Z : Spain

Organic law establishing the composition and functions of a Council of State.

Refers to Madrid despatch 770 of 12th December, 1944 (C 17751/26/41). Transmits copy in translation of this Law of 25th November, 1944.

Last Paper.

Z 351

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Miss Harris, 11 8/1.
Jan. 13th

(Minutes.)

Article 18 is the only one which gives any powers of initiating legislation.
Copy (Mr. Harris)

F.O.R.D 4 D 9 15/1

R Thorpe
11.

RG
V. 13/1.

(Action completed.)

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(Index.)

8/1

Next Paper.

2 622/6.

26513 F.O.P.

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No. 5.
(1/1/45)

Z 424
10 JAN 1945

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HIS Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid presents his compliments to H.M.S.S.F. and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
MADRID.

2nd January, 1944.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Madrid Despatch No. 770 of 12th December 1944.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy in translation of Law of 25th November 1944.	Organic law establishing the composition and functions of a Council of State.

3479 21952—1 (4)

LAW OF 25TH NOVEMBER, 1944. - Organisation of the Council of State.

Preamble:-

The Law of Tenth February nineteen hundred and forty recognised the necessity to restore to its functions the Council of State, and provided for its organisation on a temporary basis. In view of the expediency of fixing definitely the composition and functions of the Highest Consultative Body of the Nation and, further, bearing in mind that a Law of organisation should embody in its articles the spirit of the new State and be in accord with other State Laws promoted by the latter, in accordance with the proposal drawn up by the Spanish Cortes

I direct that

Article 1. The Council of State is the Supreme Consultative Body of the State, in matters of Government and Administration,

It shall take precedence, after the Government, before all other State bodies.

Article 2. The Council of State will function in Plenary Sessions and as a Permanent Commission.

For the preparation of the business with which it has to deal, whether in Plenary Session or as a Permanent Commission, the Council will be divided into Sections.

Article 3. The Plenary of the Council of State will be composed of:-

First A President; Permanent Councillors and a Secretary-General;

Second; The following ex-oficio members:-

a) The Primate of all Spain.

b) The Vice-Secretary-General of the "Movement" (Falange).

c) The Chief of the Supreme General Staff.

d) The Attorney-General.

e) The Rector of the University of Madrid.

f) The Director of the Institute of Political Studies.

g) The National Delegate of Syndicates.

h) The Director General of the Court of Litigation.

/Third

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Third Seven Councillors freely appointed by the Head of the State from among persons of the following ranks:-

a) ex-Minister
b) Archbishop or Bishop
c) National Councillor
d) Lieutenant-General (Army)
e) Admiral
f) Lieutenant-General (Air Force)
g) Diplomatist with rank of Ambassador,

Councillors included in paragraph 3 will hold office during three consecutive years and are eligible for re-appointment.

All service carried out in the rank of Councillor of State will count in the reppective careers, and there will be no age limit.

The Head of the State and the Ministers may attend the Plenary Sessions of the Council and take part in discussions when they consider it expedient.

Article 4. The Permanent Commission will be composed of:-

The President; The Councillors Presidents of Sections and the Secretary-General. The latter may speak but not vote either in the Permanent Commission or in the Plenary.

Article 5. The President shall be appointed by the Head of the State from among persons who hold or have held one of the following appointments:-

First Presidency of the Cortes
Second Minister
Third President of the Council of State
Fourth President of the Supreme Court (of Justice)
Fifth Captain-General (Army or Navy)
Sixth President of the Supreme Council of the Army and Navy of the High Court of Military Justice or the Supreme Council of Military Justice.
Seventh High Commissioner of Spain in Morocco.
Eighth Permanent Councillor of State with five years' office.

Article 6. Permanent Councillors are appointed by the Head of the

/State

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[redacted]te from among persons who hold or have held one of the following rank:-

First	Minister
Second	National Councillor
Third	Councillor of State
Fourth	Chief Legal Adviser to the Council with two years' active service in the rank.
Fifth	Professor of a University Faculty of Law or of Political and Economic Science, with five years' active service.
Sixth	General belonging to the Legal Corps of the Army, Navy or Air Force.
Seventh	Civil Servant with rank of "Jefe Superior de Administracion Civil", or its equivalent or the highest rank in Technical, Facultative or Special Corps of the Public Administration, with two years' effective service in the rank.
Eighth	A member of the Academy of Moral and Political Science.

Two of the Permanent Councillors must proceed from the Corps of Legal Advisers of the Council of State.

Article 7. The Council of State shall have - as a minimum - six Sections; this number may be increased by Decree of the Presidency of the Government, issued at the suggestion of the Permanent Commission of the Council of State itself, when the volume of consultations demands it. Business will be divided among the Sections according to the Ministries from which the matters proceed, or according to the nature thereof, in the manner defined by Order of the Presidency of the Government issued at the suggestion of the Permanent Commission of the Council.

The President may form extraordinary Committees, composed of the Councillors and Legal Advisers of different Sections when, in his opinion, the nature of the business requires it.

Sections shall have as Chairman a Permanent Councillor and, in addition to him, will consist of: a Senior Legal Adviser, and the further Legal Advisers required according to the importance of the business or the number of consultations.

The appointment of each Councillor to his Section will be by Decree of Appointment.

Article 8. The President of the Council of State shall draw up

/the

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agenda for the Plenary Council and preside thereat, except in the presence of the Head of the Government; he shall preside at the sessions of the Permanent Commission; and authorise all official correspondence; all Sections of the Council will come under his authority, and he shall be the Council's representative.

Article 9. The office of Permanent Councillor is incompatible with any employment in the active Administration excepting that of an educational character, with the profession of lawyer, and with employment of any kind with Concessionary companies; Companies holding contracts with the Government; or holding or administering monopolies, or in public works or services of a national, provincial or municipal character. It will be compatible with membership to the Cortes. Permanent Councillors and the Plenary are, further, obliged to inhibit themselves from taking cognisance of any matters with which they have had dealings or of interest to entities in whose management, consultations or administration they may have taken part, either themselves or any member of their family to the second civil degree of relationship.

Article 10. The President and Councillors shall receive emoluments according to their ranks, as fixed in the General Budget Law of the State. They shall be given the style of Excellency.

Permanent Councillors may not be removed from their appointments. Nevertheless, by Decree of the Presidency of the Government agreed upon at a Council of Ministers, they may be removed on justifiable grounds after having been allowed to state their own case and after the Plenary of the Council of State has reported thereon.

For their attendance at Plenary Sessions, Councillors who do not belong to the Permanent Commission shall receive fees as laid down in the Regulations.

Article 11. When the appointment of President is vacant, or in his absence or sickness, the President will be replaced by a Permanent Councillor in the Order of the Sections.

Article 12. The duties of the Corps of Legal Advisers to the Council of State ("Cuerpo de Letrados del Consejo de Estado"), name by

/which

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which the Corps of Official Lawyers ("Cuerpo de Oficiales Letrados del Consejo de Estado") will in future be known, will be the examination, preparation and editing of draft reports on business coming within the jurisdiction of the Council.

The emoluments of the Legal Advisers to the Council of State will be as laid down in the Economic Law of the State.

The establishment of the Corps of the Legal Advisers to the Council of State will consist of the following ranks:-

One Secretary-General

Six Senior ("Mayor") Legal Advisers of Sections

Six senior lawyers

Four senior lawyers of the 2nd promotion

Four senior lawyers of the 1st promotion

Four junior ("de ingreso"(newly appointed)) legal advisers.

Article 13. Vacancies in the Corps of Legal Advisers will be filled as the result of competitive examination. Promotion will be by strict seniority.

The Secretary-General will be appointed at the Government's free choice from among Senior Legal Advisers ("Letrados Mayores") with two years' effective service in the office, at the proposal of the President of the Council of State after consultation with the Permanent Commission.

The offices of Secretary-General, Senior Legal Adviser and Legal Adviser are incompatible with any appointment in the active Administration except that of an educational character. They are also incompatible with the profession of Lawyer in questions of State Litigation.

Legal Advisers with a minimum of two years' service on the Council may be placed in the situation of "voluntarily surplus to establishment" for an indefinite period at their own request or on passing to another appointment not in the free gift of the Government. Those who on entering this situation have completed at least ten years'active service in the Corps will be eligible for promotion as it falls due while they are surplus to establishment, just as

/though

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though they were on active service.

Article 14. The Technical-Administrative Corps of the Council of State will carry out the functions peculiar to Administrative officials. Admission to the Corps will be by competitive examination and promotion within the Corps by strict seniority.

The Corps will consist of:-

1	Chief ("Jefe") of Administration,	1st class.
1	" " "	2nd "
1	" " "	3rd "
2	Chiefs of Bureau	1st class
3	" " "	2nd class
4	" " "	3rd class
3	Senior Clerks ("oficiales primeros")	

Article 15. The Council will have a librarian and an archivist, both of which will belong to the "Facultative" Corps .

Article 16. Reference to the Council in regard to the following matters is compulsory:-

1st. All draft-Laws which, owing to their great importance and repercussion on the Administrative life of the State, of the Nation or of National Economy, the Government considers should be referred to this High Corps.

2nd. The interpretation of State contracts and administrative questions of great importance.

3rd. The interpretation and carrying-out of International Treaties and Concordats with the Holy See.

4th. The discharge of Permanent Councillors.

5th. All matters which, according to the Law, must be referred to the Plenary Council of State.

Article 17. The Permanent Commission of the Council of State must be consulted in regard to the following matters:-

1. Orders of general interest issued by the Government for the application or execution of the Budget Laws and others of an essentially "fiscal" character.

2. The concession of extraordinary or supplementary credit

/and

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and in such other cases as stipulated in the Law of Administration and Accountancy of the Public Treasury.

3. Questions of competence, conflicts in regard to jurisdiction and authority, between divers Ministerial Departments.

4. Hearing of grievances to which the Law of Eighteenth March nineteen forty-four refers.

5. The interpretation, Conclusion and revocation of Administrative contracts, with the exception of those which, owing to their great importance, the Head of the Government or the President of the Council of State consider should be referred to the Plenary Council of State.

6. General regulations issued for the application of Laws even when, for reasons of urgency, these may have been brought into force provisionally.

7. The concession of honours and privileges for which the Law requires the Council to be heard.

8. Questions relative to the interior order of this High Corps, and in particular on the preparation of its Estimates.

9. All questions which the Law requires to be referred to the Council of State without expressly stating that the Plenary Council must be consulted.

The Council's Report on cases of hearing grievances shall take the form of a draft resolution with full enumeration of circumstances and substantiating facts.

Article 18. The Council of State may lay before the Government any proposals they consider opportune on any question of general interest, or for the better working of the Administration, which practice and experience gained in their functions suggest to them.

Article 19. The Permanent Commission shall be the reporting Committee ("Ponencia") for all questions with which the Plenary Council has to deal.

/Article 20.

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Article 20. The Council of State, either in Plenary or the Permanent Commission may be consulted on any question - even when consultation may not be compulsory - when in the opinion of the Head of the State, of the Government or of one of the Ministers, such reference is considered to be advisable.

In cases in which the Law requires the Council of State to be consulted, these will be referred to the latter by the Minister concerned.

The Council of State shall report on questions which - although according to this Law they are of the competence of the Permanent Commission - the Head of the Government or the President of the Council of State consider should be referred to the Plenary.

Article 21. The deliberations and resolutions of the Plenary Council require the presence of the President or his delegate, and at least half of the Councillors thereof, and the Secretary. The Chairman shall have the casting vote.

Article 22. When, in the despatch referring a case to the Council of State an urgent report is called for, the President of the Council of State, in view of the nature of the business, shall fix the shortest time-limit possible for the despatch thereof.

Article 23. Questions on which the Plenary Council of State has reported may not be referred to any other Corps or Service of the State. Those on which the Permanent Commission has reported may only be referred to the Plenary Council of State.

The Plenary Council of State, the Permanent Commission and the Sections may apply to the Ministries - through the President - for any information they consider necessary. In special cases, and through the intermediary of the Ministry which submitted the case for consideration, persons not belonging to the Council may be invited to give written or verbal information on technical matters on which they are known to be competent.

When the parties directly interested in a question submitted for consideration - having applied for an audience - are granted it by the President, or when the President considers it to

/be

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be expedient, these may appear before the Council.

Article 24. Procedure for the Sessions and work of the Council of State will be established in the Regulations, its traditional routine being maintained as far as possible.

Transitory Article No.1. In the event of an increase in the number of Sections, it will be understood that there shall be similar increase in the number of Legal Advisers "Mayores", "de Sección", "de termino" and "de ingreso"; this Law being considered as the authority for such increase under the terms of No. 7 of the Order of the Presidency of the Government, of thirtieth September nineteen forty-three.

In the event of an increase in the number of Sections of the Council of State, the number of officials of the Technical-Administrative Corps of this High Corps will likewise be increased at the rate of two per Section; this Law being considered the authority for the increase of establishment to which reference is made in No. 7 of the Order of the Presidency of the Government of thirtieth September nineteen hundred and forty-three.

Transitory Article No.2. While there is no Lieutenant-General in the Air Force, the office of Councillor of the Plenary, referred to in Article 3 of this Law, No. 3, sub-paragraph (f), may be filled by a Major-General of the Air Force.

Additional Article. The rights of the Corps of Legal Advisers and of the Technical Administrative Corps of the Council, recognised in earlier regulations - although not mentioned in this Law, shall be respected. Likewise effect shall be given to orders declaring persons to be "surplus to establishment" and to applications for re-instatement authorised at the present time.

Final Article. All measures contrary to the provisions of this Law are hereby rescinded.

Issued at El Pardo on the twenty-fifth November nineteen hundred and forty-four.

FRANCISCO FRANCO.

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Department of origin under Section 3 (4)

of the Public Records Act, 1958

2622 / 233 / 41

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1945

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SPAIN

29 Z 1166

24 JAN 1945

Registry Number } Z 1166/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker
Madrid

No. 23 (77/3/45)

Dated 15th Jan.,

Received in Registry } 24th Jan., 1945.

Z: Spain.

Relaxation of anti-British and anti-American instructionsregarding teaching of history in Spain

Describes a recent development regarding the teaching of history in Spanish secondary schools from which it appears that anti-British and anti-United States instructions of 14th April, 1939 are being suppressed by the Minister of Education. Feels that this is an example of the more friendly attitude of Spanish educational authorities and states that Professor Starkie is looking out for any other false and prejudicial teaching about Great Britain.

Last Paper.

2622

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

This is satisfactory.

R Mayall 26/1.

F.O.R.D. S.D.G 29/1

British Council Section

Yours 1/2.

Provided, I cannot think ~~this~~ "private order" is in fact put into effect.

RG

V 27/1.

(Action completed.)

Kay 8/2

(Index.)

E 1?

Next Paper.

Z 1169

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2.

Z 1166

24 JAN 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

No. 23
(77/3/45).

15th January, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to report an interesting development which has recently taken place regarding the teaching of history in the secondary schools (Colegios de la Enseñanza Media) in Spain.

2. Under the instructions of the Ministry of Education teachers in all the secondary schools are bound to make their teaching of history and history text books conform with certain guiding themes or "cuestionarios" which are laid down in the official regulations. By an Order of the 14th April, 1939, for the teaching of British and American history the following "cuestionarios" were set out:-

THIRD YEAR HISTORY COURSE

British Empire - Its egotistical character, exploiter of inferior peoples.- Agression against the Boers.- Shameful treatment of India. Its materialistic nature, commercial and financial. - The present instability of the British Empire.

The United States of North America - The materialistic nature and inferior nature of North American civilisation. - Its lack of moral unity. - Its financial immorality. - The moral superiority of Hispano-America over North America.

These hostile and highly offensive "cuestionarios" were actually still in force up to a very short while ago and were brought to the notice of Professor Walter Starkie, the representative of the British Council in Spain, by a friendly Spanish professor at the Madrid University because he thought that they were unjust and cast a serious reflection on both Great Britain and the United States of America.

3. Acting on Professor Starkie's advice the Spanish professor(who wishes to remain anonymous) wrote to the Minister of Education quoting the "cuestionarios" and pointing out that if they remained in force they would endanger cordial relations between Great Britain and Spain. The professor duly received a reply stating that the "cuestionarios" referred to had been published before the present Minister of Education had been appointed and that accordingly he had no responsibility whatever for their inclusion in the Official Bulletin. The Minister went on to say, however, that he had some while ago given a private order that the "cuestionarios" couched as they were in absolutely hostile terms, should be suppressed.

4. Professor Starkie takes the view with which I agree, that the answer of the Minister is satisfactory. I have considered the incident worth reporting as a further example of the more friendly

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.
FOREIGN OFFICE.

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2 JAN 1945

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friendly attitude adopted towards us by the Spanish educational authorities as already indicated in my despatch No. 791 of the 20th December 1944. Meanwhile Professor Starkie is on the look-out for any other similarly false and prejudicial teaching about Great Britain which may be found in the curriculum of Spanish Universities and schools.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect, Sir,

Your most humble obedient Servant,

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No.

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 1169 32

24 JAN 1945

Registry Z Number } Z 1169/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker
Madrid

No. 30 (21/7/45)

Dated 19th Jan.,

Received in Registry } 24th Jan., 1945.

Z: Spain.

Unneutral Falange activities in Spain

Transmits copy of Note Verbal No. 84 (21/6/45) of 19th January to Ministry for Foreign Affairs stating that no replies have been received to Embassy's previous notes about unneutral Falange activities, giving further instances of such activities, and requesting that effective measures should be taken to require Falange party to prevent anti-British and unneutral acts by its members, that persons responsible should be taken to task and prevented from abusing their authority and that activities of enemy agents should be prevented. Copied to Barcelona, Malaga, Bilbao and Vigo.

Last Paper.

Z1166

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 1223

(Minutes.)

PP in F.O.R.P 11/1

A Thornley 27/1.

FORD. ED98/11

R Jarman 30/1

I must confess that I have considerable doubts whether at this stage in the war, we really need to be over sensitive about these minor anti-British incidents in Spain. They can't do us much harm in fact & their continued publication must

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Z 1169
DEC 24 JAN 1945

must [illegible] to [illegible] Cabin
to [illegible] our own horses when
we have a very good case to
complain about.

It may of course
be that after 5½ years in
America I'm so used to
seeing this country exclusively
by Californian
conditions that I
underestimate the importance of
these Spanish interests. But I
must confess that I see little
advantage in making ourselves
our [illegible] motorists.
I'm
inclined to write more or less
the Borker.

Rhodesia Herald.

1.2.

I rather agree. We must
concentrate on Eastern
agents. But we must discourage
the Borker. Now that it was
[illegible] in the Herald, it can
afford to be less sensitive. [illegible]

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2.

No. 30 (21/7/45)

HIS Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid presents his compliments to the Foreign Secretary and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

Z 1169

24 JAN 1945

British Embassy, Madrid.

19th January, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of Note Verbale No. 84 (21/6/45) of 19.1.45. from H.M. Embassy to Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.	Unneutral activities of Spanish authorities and Falange.

Copies sent to Barcelona, Malaga, Bilbao and Vigo.

3479 21484 (4)

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No. 84.
(61/6/45)

- 2 -

His Majesty's Embassy present their compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have the honour to invite their attention to the fact that they have so far received no substantive replies to their Notes Nos. 12 of September 14th, from San Sebastian, 1382 of October 2nd, 1370 of October 3rd, 1525 of October 13th, and 1463 of November 10th, in which they informed the Ministry of a number of cases which had occurred in different parts of Spain, involving the failure of the local Spanish authorities or of members of the Falange to conform their attitude to Spain's declared policy of Neutrality. In each case the Ministry were requested to ensure that the Spanish authorities or members of the Falange concerned were suitably reprimanded.

In the meantime, a number of further instances similar to those which have been the subject of the Embassy's protests in the past, have occurred and a selection of more striking examples of these is given as follows:-

On September 11th a menacing letter was addressed by the so-called Grupos de Acción of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, to the management of the Savoy Cinema at Barcelona, containing veiled threats which would be put into effect if in that Cinema news films continued to be shown containing photographs of Allied origin or if any use was made whatsoever of Allied emblems, flags or marches in the course of current programmes. A photostat copy of this letter, marked A., is attached hereto.

In October a letter, evidently one of many identical letters, of which a photostat copy is also enclosed, marked B., was addressed to a Spanish national resident in Madrid, enclosing an offensive if absurd leaflet directed against Mr. Churchill and the policy of His Majesty's Government in Europe.

At the end of September His Majesty's Consul at Malaga reported that a leaflet was being distributed by young members of

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No. 84.
(61/6/45)

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At the end of September His Majesty's Consul at Malaga reported that a leaflet was being distributed by young members of

/ the

the Falange and ex-members of the Blue Division, containing the music and words of the song "Gibraltar Tierra Irredenta." As an indication of the Falange origin of this leaflet, it should be observed that it bore the words "Edicion de Mandos" in the right-hand bottom corner.

The Embassy have also learnt that the local chief of the Direccion General de Turismo at Granada, who incidentally is a German national, Herr Ricardo Mayer, abuses the position which he occupies in an official body of the Spanish Government in order to distribute German propaganda, handing out to all visitors bulletins and pamphlets of which the examples which have in the past reached the Embassy have been generally abusive and inaccurate in their statements. The Ministry will no doubt also be aware that Herr Mayer is also Professor of English and German in the "Centro de Educacion de Falange."

At Leon the Falange distributed in October leaflets, of which samples are enclosed herein, marked C., and which the Embassy have reason to believe are of German origin.

At Granada the management of the Teatro CERVANTES was intimidated by the secretary of the local branch of the S.E.U. into cancelling the proposed showing of the British film "Sangre, Sudor y Lagrimas" although it had already been billed to be shown on November 8th last.

Enclosed herein and marked G. is a sample of a publication which is extremely offensive to the United Nations and which is being circulated widely to schoolmasters in Spain - a form of propaganda which the Ministry will doubtless agree is more than usually pernicious and one which in the interests of Spanish education alone they will undoubtedly wish to bring to a speedy end.

The postcard attached to this note and marked D. was

/ distributed

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The postcard attached to this note and marked D., was distributed at the Feria de Muestras, which was held in Palma recently under the auspices of the Spanish Government. It will be seen that the card consists of a graphic drawing of Gibraltar, underneath which are written the words "La Vergueena de Gibraltar."

From Palma de Mallorca it is reported that a certain Señor Manis, who is the representative in the Balearic Islands of "United Artists, Incorporated," has been refused the usual card supplied to business-men which precludes the need for a Salvo Conducto, and other such formalities when travelling, on the express grounds that he has shown excessive sympathy with the Allies.

Examples of the fascist and anti-British pamphlets distributed recently at Melilla and in Tangier are enclosed at E. and F.

/ At

At Granada the management of the Teatro CERVANTES was intimidated by the secretary of the local branch of the F.E.T. into cancelling the proposed showing of the British film "Sangre, Sudor y Lagrimas" although it had already been billed to be shown on November 9th last.

Enclosed herein and marked C. is a sample of a publication which is extremely offensive to the United Nations and which is being circulated widely to schoolmasters in Spain - a form of propaganda which the Ministry will doubtless agree is more than usually pernicious and one which in the interests of Spanish education alone they will undoubtedly wish to bring to a speedy end.

The Embassy have no wish to weary the Ministry with a recital of further similar cases, which however appear to be occurring all over Spain. It is their purpose, however, in continuing to bring instances such as those listed above to the notice of the Ministry, to make clear to them that the Spanish Government's claim to be pursuing a policy of neutrality in the European war is either not understood or is not taken seriously by many of the local authorities.

The Embassy have the honour once again to request that effective measures should be taken to require the Falange Party to prevent anti-British and unneutral acts on the part of its members, and that those persons responsible for the particular excesses which have been the subject of this and previous Notes from the Embassy, should be not only severely taken to task for their past shortcomings, but effectively prevented from abusing their authority in a similar manner in the future. The Embassy have also to request that insofar as any of these activities can be traced as being directly due to the overzeal on other enquiries in Spain of the United Nations, the Ministry should insist that the nationals concerned, whether they enjoy Diplomatic or Consular s

/ status

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status or not, should cease abusing Spanish hospitality by engaging in unmentual activities on Spanish soil.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID,

19th January, 1945.

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Z

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Z 1223

25 JAN 1945

1945

SPAIN

Registry Number: Z 1223/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid, to Mr. Hoyer Millar.

No.

Dated 19th Jan. 1945.

Received in Registry 25th Jan. 1945.

Z : Spain.

Spanish attitude to the war situation.

Encloses copy of a letter from Mr. Farquhar, Barcelona, describing a recent conversation with the Civil Governor, who gave his views on the British Broadcasting Corporation's attitude towards Spain and expressed the opinion that Allied insistence on unconditional surrender has strengthened the German nation. There was a recent article in a Madrid paper pointing out the futility of air reprisals between Germany and the Allies and the Czechoslovak Charge d' affaires was told by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs that Germany would never be beaten. Describes an article in 'ABC' of 6th January on the same point. Most Spaniards seem to be thinking on these lines.

Last Paper.

Z 1169

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

RA Hungall
29/.

It is natural that Spaniards, with government concessions, should still hanker for a negotiated peace. It would increase the Spanish Govt's chances of survival. The Spanish Press ~~would~~ naturally indulges in similar wishful thinking from time to time.

R Farquhar.
29/.

JM.
31.1.

(Action completed.)

Kwd 1/2

(Index.)

8/2

Next Paper.

21359.

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

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Z 1223
25 JAN 1945

Earbr

41

British Embassy,
Madrid.

19th January, 1945.

Confidential Bericht.

I enclose a copy of a letter from Harold Farquhar at Barcelona describing a recent conversation with the Civil Governor.

We have been on the look-out here for anything in press or conversation on the lines of Correa's remarks about unconditional surrender, but so far there has been little to report. Not long ago one of the Madrid papers published an article with a Swiss dateline purporting to show the futility of reprisals and counter-reprisals in air attacks between nations (Germany and the Allies) whom the Spaniards had hitherto regarded as enlightened, and to continue to fight each other uselessly regardless of the real danger which was threatening them from the east.

A short time ago the Czechoslovak Chargé d'Affaires was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Under-Secretary, who subjected him to a three-quarters of an hour's speech to the effect that Germany would never be beaten and that sooner or later it would be necessary to have a negotiated peace.

The "A.B.C." of the 6th January gave the following supposed dialogue between an Allied diplomatist and a Pole.

/"The

F.R. Hoyer Millar, Esq.,
C.M.G., C.V.O.,
Foreign Office.

"The Pole, 'What is the end aimed at with the dangerous prolongation of this war?'

The Allied Diplomatist, "We have to conquer Germany. This must come before all other problems, which can be settled at the close of the war.'

The Pole, 'I think that this is perhaps the great error of the United Nations. You know that on both sides of the ocean men are growing disturbed about those who are really going to benefit by this war. Who the latter are you and I know perfectly.'"

While there have been these isolated instances, it cannot be said that there has been anything as yet in the nature of a campaign. Correa's remarks are, of course, reflected now and then in conversation with Spaniards, but they represent the lines on which numerous Spaniards of his type are thinking and there is no reason to suppose that they are German inspired.

Yours ever

Jim Bowker

H/2/45.

British Consulate-General,

Secret.

Barcelona. 43

11th January, 1945.

I called on the Civil Governor yesterday to give him Vernon Bartlett's articles on Spain. I imagine that they have given little pleasure to the Spanish Government, but Correa himself cannot complain of what was said about him. In fairness to Dorchy I explained that "the companion who interrupted my thoughts as we were driving through a little town on the coast and said:- I skidded badly here during the last Republican retreat to France; skidded on human blood; one had to get out to push the bodies aside" was not Dorchy, (who, as a matter of fact, went in a different car on the following day).

2. As usual, Correa indulged in a "tour d'horizon". If it had been an "unofficial neutral" holding the same language, I would have reported on the conversation with reference to your telegram No 1 Circular of 6th January.

3. The conversation started off by his complaining of the increasingly bitter Press war going on at the present moment and of the hostile tone of our B.B.C. etc. etc. What had the Spanish Government done to deserve it, etc. etc.? I gave him the stock reply along the lines of your telegram No 1653 to F.O. of 6th December, 1944, to the effect that Great Britain had got a little tired of dealing with a Government which, even when they promised to meet our grievances, never managed to get the necessary orders executed by the

R.J. Bowker, Esq.,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

the subordinate officials concerned. Assurances were given in Madrid that certain practices would stop and orders to this effect were assumedly given, but they never seemed to get very far. I also said that, speaking personally, it seemed a pity that the Spanish Government should go on pumping out the antiquated doctrine that Germany was the only bulwark against Communism. There seemed to be almost too much of Don Quixote in this rigid attitude of undying gratitude to the Germans, just because it had suited them to send for their own purposes the Condor Legion into Spain in 1936. Why not look facts in the face and realise that it was more in the interests of the Germans than the Russians to create lawlessness and disorder in every country in Europe. I would not mind betting that at the present moment there were probably more Spanish "Reds" in the pay of the Gestapo than in the pay of the Bolsheviks.

4. He then went on to develop his main theme which was to the effect that everybody who had come back lately from Germany told him the same story - namely, that Allied propaganda - particularly American propaganda - and our insistence on unconditional surrender had united the German nation in a way which had surpassed the hopes of the Nazis. Morgenthau's scheme for a purely agricultural Germany; the airy way in which the Allied Press cut up the skin of the bear before they had caught it; the various schemes for truncating Germany, such as East Prussia and Silesia for the Poles, and Westphalia and the Rhineland removed from German control, etc. etc. had made the whole German nation come to the conclusion that they would rather be hung for a sheep than a lamb. The Allies

should/

should bear in mind, he went on to say, that there was no German Government which, having accepted unconditional surrender, would survive for more than a day. The Allies would, therefore have to occupy a country with no Government at all, where anarchy and disorder were rampant and where guerilla warfare would be bound to be carried on by all the irreconcilable elements. The Allies in such conditions would probably want an Army of five millions to occupy the country. He would hate to be the Head of U.N.R.A.A. and have to cope with the feeding, etc. of seventy million Germans, all of them hostile and none of them prepared to help. He quite understood that we could not swallow our words and treat with Hitler, Himmler and the rest of the gang, but if only we stopped talking about unconditional peace and offered a "reasonable" peace - to be negotiated with a more acceptable Government - it would not be long before the Germans themselves changed their Government. Would it not be better to come to terms with a Government headed say by Rundstedt, thereby saving hundreds of thousands of lives and sparing Europe from a plunge into what would be far worse than the Dark Ages?

5. I made no attempt to interrupt this monologue beyond remarking at the very end that I believed he was not the only one to hold such views, and that nothing could alter the fact that eventually the overwhelming superiority of the Allies must lead to the utter defeat of Germany.

6. It would not surprise me if you have been getting the same sort of thing in Madrid. I thought it however, worth while reporting this conversation at some length because Correa is fairly close to Franco who, in

spite/

H/2/45.

Secret.

British Consulate-General,

Barcelona.

11th January, 1945.

45

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R.J. Bowker, Esq.,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

B

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should/

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spite/

spite of his professed love for an "organic democracy" is not particularly averse to becoming the advocate of the lost cause of totalitarianism.

7. In the meantime it may be of interest to record very shortly the general state of opinion here in Barcelona at the end of the year. I think it is fair to say that very few Spaniards, including the educated ones, have any idea of the enormities perpetrated by their Government. They read continually in the Press that their Government is perfect and that their Caudillo is almost a God, and in the end quite a lot of this rubbish soaks into their minds and remains there. The result is that even in pro-Allied circles they are feeling a little hurt and rebuffed. They think that the long lapse of time which has ensued before appointing a new Ambassador is a bit of a snub. They are a little worried over our late Ambassador's speech in the House of Lords and they are wondering whether his strictures on Spain, or rather on life in Spain under the shadow of the Gestapo, was not inspired by H.M.G. and that he was specially put up; they are at a loss to understand what the B.B.C. is driving at and even the Left say that it gives far too much importance to the views of political exiles who have been much too long away from their country. Finally, as a minor irritation, Vernon Bartlett's articles, or rather the garbled Spanish translation thereof, have caused a certain amount of resentment.

(Sgd) HAROLD FARQUHAR

11

1945

Z

SPAIN

50

Z 1359

29 JAN 1945

Registry Number Z 1359/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 37 (88/6/45)

Dated 20th January, 1945

Received in Registry 29th January, 1945.

Z: Spain

Political arrests in Madrid.

Refers to Madrid despatch No. 806 of the 29th December, 1944 (Z 381/233/41), and reports a further similar series of arrests, when the Marques de Eliseda, son of the Conde de los Andes, one of Don Juan's chief advisers, was arrested, and joined by Alfonso Garcia Valdecasas, Professor of Law in Madrid University. Their release was eventually secured by Senor Areilza. The two men were apparently arrested through being linked with certain monarchist leaflets.

Copied Lisbon.

Last Paper.

21223

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Copy, with comps of Mr. Hoyer Millar, to Lt Col Norman, WCO

Feb 2

(Action completed.)

Feb 2.

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 1376.

(Minutes.)

? Print.

30/1

Not worth printing, I think.

F.O.R.D. EDG 16/ii

30/1.

No. 6 Pl please send a copy of this desp. with my comps. to Lt Col Norman, Cabinet Offices, who has just written the attached letter re the above Eliseda; & have thanked him.

1.2.

26513 F.O.P.

1) Lt Col Norman, WCO, to Mr Hoyer Millar. Jan 30

Z 1359
29 JAN 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY

MADRID.

No. 37.
(88/6/45).

18th January, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that there occurred yesterday what promised to be a repetition of the series of arrests and releases reported in my despatch No. 806 of 29th December, 1944. In the small hours of the morning of the 18th January a regular cordon of police surrounded the house of the Marqués de Eliseda and he was told that he was under arrest. The Marqués is the son of one of Don Juan's chief advisers, the Conde de los Andes, and represents the younger and more active branch of the monarchist group. When visited by the police he telephoned to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and to General Vigon, the Minister for Air, both close personal friends. They shrugged their shoulders down the telephone and said they could do nothing against orders coming from another authority, so the Marqués soon found himself in the cellars of the Dirección General de Seguridad. He was joined shortly afterwards by Alfonso Garcia Valdecasas, Professor of Law in Madrid University, who had only recently returned from a nine months' exile to which he had been sent for organising the monarchist petition to General Franco, reported in Lord Templewood's despatch No. 211 of 28th March last.

2. As usual no reasons for the arrests were given and the only effective appeals were from influential friends to the various Ministers. In the end Señor Areilza, a member of the National Council of Falange in close touch with General Franco, through an all-day campaign with the Minister for the Interior, secured the release of both the gentlemen within 24 hours of their imprisonment. It appears that the arrests were due to a denunciation to the Falange "Investigation and Information" branch linking the accused with certain monarchist leaflets at present in circulation. All the Ministers are as usual very indignant and apologetic and this little incident is one more proof of the haphazard and irresponsible methods of the present Spanish police organisation.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

James Bowker.

The Right Honourable Anthony Eden,
M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

PHOTOGRAPHICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION

OFFICES OF THE WAR CABINET,
GREAT GEORGE STREET,
S.W.1.

1359/233/41

12 FEB 1941

30/1/48

INDEXED

Dear Derek

As the lofty head of the Western Dept, you should be interested in this letter, which I have just had from a very good friend of mine - from Oxford days. I suspect that one motive of writing this political credo was to clear himself with the British (via censorship). But I have

for a long time exchanged
correspondence with him & been
to stay with him in Spain.
He is the Marquis de la Eliseda,
rich in possessions and honours
and absolutely honest — and
ambitious!

Yours

Mark Norman

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Copy of a letter written in Madrid, 7th January, 1945, but posted in Portugal, from a Spaniard aged 36 who is by birth and tradition a monarchist, and who has been up to the neck in Spanish politics all his life. He was an ardent follower of Primo de Rivera.

\+ + +

For two years almost you have not heard of me nor have I known anything from you. I hope that both Toby and you are perfectly well and also your four children.

Both Teresa and I wish you all a very happy New Year, and we of course hope that you will win the war in 1945.

In your last letter (April 1943) you said that you expected that I was by now an important statesman. Well I may be knocking at the door of the house, but at present I am in the street uncomfortably. I do not quite know if you understand what I mean. I was a national counsellor of Franco, as you know, but the first time I gave advice I was promptly dismissed. After that Franco sent me in exile to one of the small Canary Islands. I lived there for many months in a small village with no telephone and only one boat a week to communicate myself with the peninsula. The letters took two weeks in coming and going from Madrid. My prison island was the tiny "Isle de La Palera?" miles and miles from the Spanish Peninsula.

One day two policemen came to my house and I was put into prison a few days afterwards accompanied by a policeman the whole time. I took a boat to the Canary Islands.

When I was arrested I was never told the reason, asked any questions, nor was I able to demand an explanation. You can imagine what respect Christian individual rights get in Franco's actual regime when I am treated in this way considering my circumstances. That is, my social and political position, my personal friendship with some of the ministers, the high posts I have held in the State, etc., etc. Think what can a poor unknown fellow expect when I am treated in this way.

Of course, I know unofficially why I was persecuted. In June 1943 I promoted a document which was signed by many conspicuous counsellors of Franco, and leading people. The first signature was that of

the Duke of Alba, Spanish Ambassador in London, demanding a change of policy and the restoration of the Monarchy. Franco dismissed some of the people who signed the document, but not Alba, as he did not dare to do so lest he would not find a better Ambassador under the circumstances.

Of course, I am not the only one to have been persecuted. Many other monarchists have been in exile and still are. A few months ago, three conspicuous professors of the University of Madrid were sent to exile because a document of loyalty to the King Don Juan was addressed by the Universities. These three professors were supposed to have been the leaders of the monarchist intellectual movement.

The only possible regime in Spain is the Monarchy. The National Movement and the civil war came as a consequence of the disaster and chaos which the republic brought to Spain. Every decent person joined the army to fight the anarchist and socialist republicans who murdered, burnt churches and led Spain to the utmost disaster.

Unfortunately Franco instead of restoring the Monarchy, as everybody expected, set up a sort of personal fascist regime and was evidently pro-fascist and pro-Hitler.

When we saw the personal tendency which he was taking, many of us gave signs of alarm. Then persecution started.

Our King, Don Juan, who lives in Switzerland gave a manifesto, which perhaps you know, saying that he was neutral and would never come to Spain as a fascist King as Franco wanted, but only as King of all the Spaniards. Don Juan is the son of King Alfonso and Queen Victoria.

This regime cannot last, although Franco now pretends that he has never been pro-German, and pretends he will set up a constitution for Spain. The Monarchy will be restored eventually, because every Spaniard wants it. Even republicans are now monarchists as they saw for themselves what a hopeless failure the last republic was. Only socialists and communists want a republic, and even they would be content with a Monarchy which would mean justice, peace, order and work for everyone.

I have written a book about Authority and Liberty which I am sure you would like. But you cannot read Spanish and besides I do not know when I shall be able to publish it.

B

I see a lot of the people in the British Embassy and I was a great friend of Lord Templewood, the last Ambassador. He invited me to a big dinner as soon as I came back from exile.

I am giving this letter to somebody to post in Portugal. When you write to me, which I hope will be soon, do not make any comment on what I am now writing to you. Please, for the love of God, or I would be sent again to some other small island that Franco would choose for me, or something worse. Tell me about yourself and only speak about my visit to the Canary Islands as of a tourist. Now I seem not to be molested. I want to go to England but I do not know if I will be able to get a passport from the government.

+ + +

MICROFILMED WITHOUT PERMISSION

12

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 1376

29 JAN 1945

Registry Number Z 1376/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM Vice Consul Romeo, Almeria.

No. 1

Dated 26th January, 1945

Received in Registry 29th January, 1945.

Z: Spain

Banning of British film "Blood, Sweat and Tears" in Almeria.

Gives message for Ministry of Information and British Broadcasting Corporation, reporting that the British film "Blood, Sweat, and Tears" has been banned in Almeria, and that the Civil Governor joined with Blue Divisioners and Falangist youths in a terror campaign on the cinema owner.

Last Paper.

Z1359

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Copies sent to M of I.
Repeated Madrid 83. Jan 29.

(Minutes.)

Repeated to Madrid

A Nugent 29/1.

29
29/1.

(Action completed.)

Kwd 30/1

(Index.)

6/7

Next Paper.

5346

(Z1880)

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22175 2'41 F.O.P.

59

Z 1376

[The text of this telegram must first be paraphrased if communicated to persons outside British or United States Government service or if retransmitted in a cypher system other than O.T.P.]

[CYPHER] FILES

FROM ALMERIA TO FOREIGN OFFICE

British Vice-Consul
No. 1
26th January, 1945.

D. 26th January, 1945.
R. 7.10 a.m. 27th January, 1945.
(Via Admiralty)

ssss

For Ministry Information and B.B.C.

British film "Bleed Sweat and Tears" which was announced for to-night has been banned [1 group omitted] Civil Governor co-operated with a threat and terror campaign [1 group omitted] on cinema owner by Blue Divisioners and Falangist youths.

[Copies sent to Ministry of Information]

29 JAN 1945 P.O. REGISTRY

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4 1945

WESTERN

19

Z 1534 /G

1 FEB 1945

Z 1534 /232/9.41

Mr Bowker
Madrid
44

Dated 31 Jan
Received 1 Feb.

Situation in Spain

Refs to F.O. Tel 23 (Z 233/232/9)
Reports that there has been increased activity in the Left Wing mission.
Doubts whether the series of incidents indicates anything more than the normal amount of Communist violence.

Last Paper.

Z 622

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Mr Cecil. 9 Feb.

(Minutes.)

Perhaps the amount of violence considered normal has increased.

R Hayden
2/2

M. Lindley. pm Sm 7 Feb 45.

Copy Mr Cecil, Room 17.

R. Jarman
7/2

Jm.
7.2.

(Action completed.)	(Index.)
D. F 10/2	

Next Paper.

Z 1593

2/1

2

60

Z 1534

Free

[CYPHER]

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

1 FEB 1945

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Bowker
No. 77

D. 5.04. p.m. GMT 31st January 1945

31st January 1945

R. 7.55. p.m. BST 31st January 1945

8 8 8 8

DEDIP

Your telegram No. 23. Z 233/1/G

There has been increased activity lately in the part of Left Wing [redacted] and increased police activity against them. At least three incidents mentioned in report in question are common knowledge in the newspaper world. I doubt, however, whether the whole series of incidents indicates anything more than what has come to be the normal amount of criminal violence to be expected ever since the civil war and preceding it.

O.T.P.

1 FEB 1945
F. O. REGISTRY

14

1945

Z

SPAIN

61

Z 1560

2 FEB 1945

"
Registry Number Z 1560/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 61 (1/15/45)

Dated 27th Jan. 1945

Received in Registry 2nd Feb. 1945

Z: Spain

General Franco's speech of 23rd January to the Third Syndical Council.

Transmits summary of speech made on 23rd January by General Franco to the Third Syndical Council, when he also addressed briefly the representative of the Spanish railways, in order to counteract recent distress caused to railway workers. Employees were forced to attend the Council, as the shops were shut. Comments on the speech, which extolled the economic successes of the regime, and gave a warning about postwar exporting reciprocity

Copied Lisbon and Gibraltar.

Last Paper.

21534/G

References.

1

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

21593/G

(Minutes.)

Not a very important or interesting speech. The remarks about "buying from those who buy from you" might as well have been addressed to the French as to the Americans.

A Thorpe 4/2

F.O.D. 8/16

E. & R. Dept.

1

R.G. 7/2

62 7

SPECIAL MAILS

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.
30th January 1945.

Z 1560
2 FEB 1945

No. 61.
(1/25/45).

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a full summary of a speech delivered by General Franco on January 23rd to the Third Syndical Council.

2. On the same occasion General Franco also delivered a brief address to the representative of the Spanish railways. The purpose of this address was doubtless to counteract the distress which has been recently caused to a number of railway workers by a series of sweeping cuts in the principle railway services throughout the country, owing principally to the shortage of coal.

3. On the morning of the speeches all shops in the centre of Madrid were closed and the employees required to attend, with the consequent exasperation both on their part and on that of disappointed customers which seems generally to accompany such manoeuvres by the Falange bosses.

4. The speech of which the summary is enclosed, is in General Franco's familiar vein of complacency and unreality. It was very long, of no particular significance, and devoted principally to extolling the success of the régime in the economic field in the face of the difficulties resulting from war and the misdeeds of the Republic. Perhaps the most interesting passage was the warning, presumably addressed to the United States of America, that countries must buy from those who buy from them and that any idea of exporting without reciprocity in the post-war period is unrealizable. The speech ends on the favourite note that Spain is an oasis in a desert of civil strife and communism.

/I am

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

31 JAN 1945

2. 1560
2 FEB 1945

I am copying this despatch less the enclosure to His Excellency His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon and/the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

James Bowker.

NOTE 24.1.45.

The Generalissimo's Speech

The Generalissimo yesterday delivered a long address on the closing of the Third Syndical Council. It runs to some four thousand words, and is largely economic in intention.

The first passages are devoted to the difficulties of the régime upon taking over from the previous one. The commercial balance of Spain was formidably against her; all raw material were missing; touch had been lost with commercial problems; the people had to be fed and there was a great shortage of food-stuffs; food-stuffs and raw material had to be imported, while there was not enough foreign currency in hand to pay for a tenth part of what was needed. "All this in the midst of the greatest war of which men ever dreamt".

The steps taken in the industrial field to cope with this situation are then enumerated. With a passing fling at the 'delays and the paralization of initiative' under the Republic as responsible for the electricity deficiency of today, the Generalissimo goes on to catalogue the various scientific accomplishments and studies of the present order. He thus comes to the 'linking of the economic and the social' through the movement, after they had been divorced one from the other by a century of Liberalism.

Once, he says, there may have been States which took no interest in any such linking of the social and economic factors, and in the struggles and crises engendered by the want of it, but such indifference can no longer continue. All nations now have had to come to lesser or greater control by the State in the economic field. The war's enormous expenses and damages have imposed this. No one any longer is astonished to hear authorities declare that the State's interventions will have to be continued after the close of the war, or to hear of the commandeering of factories or nationalisation of mines, 'actions which a few years ago would have outraged the Liberal conscience'.

/Next

Next comes an undoubted reference to the Beveridge, Bevin, etc. schemes. "And do not let us talk about how, in order to buttress up a system, attempts are made to obtain public security and to satisfy social anxieties with projects, reforms or advances copied from those already put into realisation by us. The social era, of which we were the heralds, is at hand." Till now in Spain the economic direction of the country had been in the hands of the capitalists, and however patriotic certain of them may have been their private interests inevitably conflicted with those of the country. The success of the Movement lay in that it had replaced this situation by one in which the State was able to carry out the social revolution on an economic basis.

Malicious tongues blamed their State for those defects in the progress of social economy which were attributable to the results of the war. The improvements being introduced must fall of course as a certain small charge upon all Spaniards, but "revolutions are not cheap". The expenses of social improvement, the increase in wages and so forth, obviously must increase also the price of goods, but that was no reason for any given one of the bodies involved in trade raising prices by this or that per cent, with the result of producing inflation of Spanish money.

"It should not be forgotten that we are living in the world and have to export our products, and even have to compete with countries where labour is cheaper". Commercial circles should not increase prices but increase production. Present conditions have turned home markets into monopolies, because demand exceeds supply and there is no competition. Therefore goods cannot be left to the tender mercies of those who deal in them, as far as price-fixing goes.

Spain is a modest factor in world-economy, but in her home-economy she must level up conditions. There is a tendency for the centre of gravity of wealth to shift to Barcelona and to Bilbao, because

/of

66

of their considerable industries and of their foreign commerce. The same is true in a minor degree of Asturias and of Valencia. There should be a levelling-up between these provinces and Castile, for example, where the general level of prosperity is under the water-mark.

World-economy is complicated by the different coinages of the nations. But the golden rule here is 'Buy from those who buy from you', Spain has had much experience in this field, and 'any idea of exporting without reciprocity, in a post-war period full of ruined nations, is irrealizable'. General prosperity will depend on interchange. But in saying this "I do not refer to the anti-tariff campaign, which is supposed to incarnate commercial felicity", for it is obvious that poor countries, with expensive labour and dear transport "would perish without them,(tariffs), faced with competition from countries which are richer or can exploit colonial labour".

The nations today must come to eachother's help, and show consideration for eachother, though the war-atmosphere is not a happy one for this. The picture passing before our eyes is one of the rebellion of the masses, of civil war and of bolshevisation, the result of 'an historic process which the world uselessly seeks not to recognise'.

Already from the days when the last world-war ended, the incapacity of the existing political and economic systems was made evident. "Nations with great economic strength could indeed give themselves the treat of shutting their eyes to realities and sticking to these systems", but the smaller and poorer ones had to organise their lives on other principles. A new era is growing into being.

The Generalissimo then describes how the two Primo de Riveras, father and son, were the first masons, in word and deed, of this era.

After this he goes on with a passage in which is to be

/detected,

detected, I think, a sort of reply to the Pope's Christmas Mess[illegible], which was so unpalatable here. He says that there is no denying that the masses have felt themselves defrauded for a long while past. But then, in place of the Papal reason for this that the peoples too often were allowed no say in their government, he asserts that their dissatisfaction springs from their recognition "despite all that is repeated to them, that what could not be done in a century for the less fortunate of them is now going to be accomplished for them tomorrow". They do not credit it although 'some leaders with good intentions' (Churchill and Roosevelt) 'promise it to them'.

Then comes a description of the work of Bolshevism (which seems to be a recapitulation by the Caudillo of the acts of E.L.A.S. in Greece).

But Spain, by providential design, amid the disorders of the world, has installed a national renaissance, an edifice of wisdom and of competence, which the world cannot deny. None the less, with their stolen gold the enemies of the régime propagate an artificial campaign against it, in foreign lands. This campaign should be met, albeit "what should concern us is only Spain, what happens in Spain, what Spain thinks and what Spain wishes" (prolonged applause.) The truth is with us and speaks for us.

The Generalissimo then reiterates the familiar (and fallacious) argument that the régime is an emanation of Catholicism, and thereby is invested with a sort of infallibility against injustice or abuse of power. Spain, he says, is a noble and gallant State, which for more than a century has never made war on her neighbours nor ever failed in her duty, save on the one occasion when the very chief of the Republican Government engineered with the Marxists on the Portuguese revolt.

There has never been a richer period of legislation in the country's life than that now represented by the work of the Cortes, nor a period of deeper social change and amelioration than that now under way.

/Spain

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Spain has no call to be worried by the false judgement of her which may spring from the campaigns fomented by her enemies. The daily news of Communist excesses in other lands show how right she has been. With union, which is strength, and with God's help, Spain is a fortress that none can imperil.

J.M.N.J.

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1945

WESTERN

Z 1593/G

2 FEB 1945

Z 1593/233/941

Mr Bramwell
Madrid
to Mr Garran
88/1/45
Dated 22 Jan
Received 2 Feb.

"Spanish Gestapo"

69

Refers to F.O. letter (C 1705/312/9)
States that ~~expiss~~ Lord Templewood must have been referring to the counter-espionage side of Alto Estado Mayor.
Gives details.

Last Paper.

Z 1534

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

The 29th executions were in addition to the eleven at Alcala de Henares.

3/2

Mr Bramley 7/2

F.O. R.D. E.D.G. 9/2

RG
Garran
5/2

Jm
6.2

(Action completed.)

DoF 11/2

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 1594

✓ 8/8

Z 20 Z 16 Eng

2 FEB 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

88/7/45. 22nd January, 1945.

My dear Peter,

In your letter of December 18th (C17105/312/G) you asked for any further information we might have about the "Spanish Gestapo" in the Ministry of War referred to in our telegram No. 1669.

When Lord Templewood used this expression we think he must have been referring to the counter-espionage side of the Alto Estado Mayor, which might be regarded as working on Gestapo lines. There is in fact no "Spanish Gestapo", although the Alto Estado Mayor is notoriously in close touch with the Germans, and we have every reason to believe that many individuals in it have long been in receipt of German money, which has influenced their attitude and actions. Perhaps the nearest thing to the Gestapo in Spain is the "policia de investigaciones" which has imitated German methods and organisation since before the Nazis came to power, and which has been particularly Nazi in its methods since the visit of Himmler to Spain in 1941.

With regard to the new wave of political arrests you will by now have received our despatch No. 799 of December 26th giving further information on the subject. Since then we have heard from Granada that five more men were sentenced to death there and shot on November 29th. Barcelona on the other hand, reports that during the month of December there were no executions and that the fourteen persons mentioned in our despatch No. 799 as being believed to be under sentence of death have been reprieved. Barcelona have also learnt (but we have no confirmation of this) that there are to be no further executions for political offences.

Finally, and in reply to the last paragraph of your letter, the twenty nine executions mentioned in our telegram No. 1669 were <u>additional</u> to the 11 executions at Alcala which we had already reported in our letter of the 18th November.

Yours ever,

C Bramwell

(C. Bramwell)

P. Garran, Esq.,
Foreign Office,
S.W. 1.

70A

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Z 1594 / 233 / 41

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Z 1595/G

2 FEB 1945

WESTERN

4 1945

Z 1595/233/941

Mr Bowker
Madrid.
64.

Dated 30 Jan
Received 2 Feb

Situation in Spain

Refs to Madrid desp 65 (Z 1906/233/9)
Attached copy of letter from Brigadier Torr to the War Office summarizing the conclusions which in his view should be drawn from the conversations.

Last Paper.

Z 1594

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Copy D. of D.
Do. of S.
Gen. Ismay
Gen. Hollis
Feb. 27

(Minutes.)

We shall presumably receive a copy of the record of the conversations next week. ~~C.O.S. 41, Draft~~ ~~Staff Conv. Torr & Hollis~~.

C.H. Mongall 3/2

S.K. Deft.
F.O.R.D. 5048/41

Read the minute on Z 1594/G

Thr 9/3

(Action completed.)

D.F. 10/3

(Index.)

W/A.

Next Paper.

Z 1906

Z1595

British Embassy,

Madrid.

No. 67.

30th January, 1945.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 65 of today's date enclosing a copy of a record of the Military Attaché's conversations with General Kindelan and General Aranda, I have the honour to send you the accompanying copy of a semi-official letter from Brigadier Torr to the War Office summarising the conclusions which, in his view, should be drawn from these conversations.

2. I agree generally with Brigadier Torr's conclusions. As regards the political aims of the Generals, I think it probable that, at any rate, the senior group, conscious of the many difficulties in the way of bringing about a change of regime, regard themselves primarily as a nucleus which would be able to ensure the restoration of the Monarchy in the event of circumstances bringing about the removal of General Franco.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Samuel Hoare.

The Right Honourable

Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,

etc., etc., etc..

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TOP SECRET.

Office of the Military Attache,
British Embassy,
Madrid,

No: 2/DO/45.

30th January, 1945.

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Dear Colvill,

I forward you herewith for your information copies of the reports I have made to my Charge d'Affaires on my latest conversations with Spanish Generals, and I though you might like to have the following summary of my conclusions drawn from these conversations :-

1. After my interview with the Chief of Staff, as I stated at the end of my report, I decided to obtain the views of one or two other senior Generals, of different types, in order to round off the impressions which I had derived from General Garcia-Valino. I accordingly visited my old friends Generals Kindelan and Aranda.

2. These three make an interesting trio. Garcia-Valino, small, dapper, a martinet, at 46 is one of the youngest major-generals in the Spanish Army. A tireless worker, except when old stomach wounds from the Moroccan Wars periodically give him trouble, he is respected by his Staff but not loved. He is capable, hard, and ambitious in an opportunist way, with no political idealism,-- indeed he is not the type to indulge in abstract thought on anything. As Chief of Staff, he is in a position ~~x~~ to wield great influence,-- although in Spain it is the direct command of troops that gives a General power when it comes to a political show-down.

3. General Kindelan is the complete opposite. He is an engineer officer, 66 and rather old for his age. Of contemplative, even philosophic, nature, he is a disillusioned man, devoid now of personal ambition, but still imbued with religious and monarchial idealism. He has the rare ability, for a Spaniard, of taking a detached view of things. His days of action are past, but one can imagine him in the role of a dispassionate and realistic 'elder statesman' -- although not in this regime, which has tried to win his active support by offering him only recently a place in the Council of State -- an offer which he refused.

4. General Aranda is another contrasting type. His age (56) is midway between the other two. He has the ambition of Garcia-Valino with twice his brains, and the scientific attainments of Kindelan without his integrity or calm. He is an unscrupulous intriguer, and unusually indiscreet even for a Spaniard. His somewhat unsavoury business reputation makes him unpopula r with many of the best officers, who yet admire the great military abilities and gifts of leadership which he showed in the Civil War, and the coolness and bravery in action which saved Oviedo and won him his 'laureada'. In spite of his appearance, which suggests a corpulent Moor, he is physically very fit, and takes pains, by daily fencing, to keep himself so.

5. These three, then, by their diversities should provide a good basis of triangulation for a survey, military and

political.....

Lt.-Colonel H.R. Colwill,
M.I.3 Colonel,
The War Office,
London, S .1.

political, of present day Spain; and it will be seen that they supplement each other and agree fundamentally in their respective analyses of the situation, which, compared and combined, may be set out briefly as follows.

6. MILITARY SITUATION ON PYRENEAN FRONTIER. There is no intention to demobilise any classes or alter the disposition of the forces beyond the Ebro, which are equivalent to eighteen divisions and include practically all the artillery and transport available in metropolitan Spain. These forces are under Franco's own command, and it was on his initiative that they were sent there, his motives being (a) external, (b) internal.

(a) Franco thinks that sooner or later the Russians and the French communists might give up-to-date equipment to a division or so of Spanish "Maquis" in France and incite them to invade Catalonia, there joining up with the local separatists and forming a sort of bridgehead in Eastern Spain from which to foment Republican agitation against the régime. The Spanish Army has no weapons with which to take on such a force on equal terms, so must rely for defence upon sheer weight of numbers.

(b) This disposition of forces also answers a possible domestic need. In the event of unrest, or worse, anywhere in Spain, Franco would prefer to have his best units concentrated and send whichever he wished to the scene of action, rather than depend on whatever troops (and Generals) happened to be in the disaffected area.

7. ATTITUDE OF GENERALS. Most of the Generals, including Franco himself, are now convinced of a forthcoming allied victory. Where they differ, is that many of them fear a dangerous and detrimental isolation for Spain if peace finds Franco and Falange still in power; while Franco complacently thinks that it will suit the allies' book to have a quiet and orderly Spain, that they will not interfere in Spain's internal politics anyway, and that that being so he can carry on as he is indefinitely. At the worst, he thinks that he could save himself by sacrificing Falange. The result is that groups of Generals who take a more realistic view are feeling about for some way of getting rid of Falange, and Franco too if necessary. Two principal groups are forming:- (a) of older senior Generals, and (b) of younger men headed by Garcia-Valiño. The first group lack real power by not being in possession of all the key-commands the main motive force of the second is Garcia-Valiño's personal ambition; and both are handicapped because Franco suspects what is going on and is manoeuvring skilfully to keep the most influential posts for adherents of his that he can depend on.

8. POLITICAL. (a) Most of the Generals feel that the future well-being of Spain depends on the present system being replaced by a constitutional monarchy. They realise, however, that at the present there is no individual sufficiently powerful, or group sufficiently organised, to bring a restoration about.

(b) These Generals realise that a restoration needs a political background, and therefore politicians; but they can find none that they have any respect for, in or out of Spain, except Gil Robles and Ventosa. Meanwhile Miguel Maura, from the Republican side, has had a certain success in infiltrating a thousand or so of his agents into Spain.

(c) The Generals are still in the stage of manoeuvring for position. No group however has sufficient key positions to enable them to carry out a coup on their own. And, finally, if it did come to a show of force the over-riding factor is that it is highly unlikely that the Army itself, even if called on to do so, would fire on their fellow citizens, whether for King, for Franco, or anything else.

Yours sincerely,

(SGD) W.W.T.Torr.

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Z

1945

SPAIN

75'

Z 1616

3 FEB 1945

z Registry Number Z 1616/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 45 (1/10/45)

Dated 24th Jan.,

Received in Registry 3rd Feb., 1945.

Z: Spain.

Biographical notes on Councillors of Spanish Council of State

Refers to Madrid despatch No. 770 of 12th December, 1944 (C 17751/26/41). Transmits short biographical notes on twelve of the newly appointed Councillors of the Council of State. Admiral Moreu, also appointed Councillor, appears in the 1942 personalities report in Madrid despatch No. 81 of 16th March, 1942 (C 3689 /3689/41)

Copied Gibraltar.

Last Paper.

21595/4

References.

Delayed for ltr.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Miss Harris, M.D. 7/2

(Minutes.)

Cfs Miss Harris, MD.

R Hemphill 8/2

FOR D.E.D. 9. 13/ii

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(Action completed.) 16/2

(Index.) 9/7

Next Paper.

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

Z 1616
3 FEB 1945

No. 45
(1/10/45)

24th January 1945.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 770 of the 12th December 1944, regarding the reconstitution of the Council of State, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith short biographical notes on twelve of the newly-appointed Councillors.

2. Admiral MOREV who has also been appointed Councillor appears as No. 60 in the personalities report which was transmitted under cover of Sir Samuel Hoare's despatch No. 81 of March 16th 1942, of which I hope to forward shortly an up-to-date version.

C3689/3689/41
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3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,

Samuel Hoare

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
Foreign Office,
S.W. 1.

RAIMUNDO FERNANDEZ CUESTA

President of the Council of State

Born at Cádiz in 1899. His father was a surgeon in the Navy with a practice in Jerez de la Frontera. A close personal friend of General Primo de Rivera and family doctor, the children of both families saw much of one another in their childhood. José Antonio Primo de Rivera (founder of the Falange Party) was five years younger than Fernandez Cuesta. They were on terms of very cordial friendship tempered somewhat by the respect of the younger towards the older. Fernández Cuesta studied law at the University of Seville where he took honours and seemed destined to a brilliant legal career. Then as later he distinguished himself by his extraordinary gift of memory rather than by pure intellectual attainments. He entered the legal corps of the Navy and today holds the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera he obtained - through the influence of the General - the post of Notary Public at Cifuentes (province of Guadalajara) which he occupied until the outbreak of war (July 18th, 1936) Fernández Cuesta had married Doña Carmen Navarro, a lady belonging to the aristocracy of Seville and heiress of a large fortune. There are two daughters. The new President has two brothers: Nemesio, who is a Colonel of Infantry, and Manuel, a journalist, editor of the sporting newspaper "MARCA". Their relations with Raimundo are not exactly fraternal.

In March 1936 Raimundo, together with the other members of the "Junta Politica" of Falange was arrested. He attempted to prove to the Court that as Secretary he was not strictly a member of the "Junta". It was said at the time that he strove to place responsibility on others, particularly on Primo de Rivera who, he said, was mad. So the outbreak of war found Raimundo an inmate of the Model Prison in Madrid. He was soon transferred to Alcalá de Henares where he managed to conceal his maternal surname Cuesta. The change of prison probably saved his life. In September 1937, Serrano Suñer from Salamanca began to negotiate the exchange of Fernández Cuesta which was effected in the following month. Passport, safe-conduct and escort were provided by Don Indalecio Prieto, then a member of the Republican Government. Actually there took place a long and cordial conversation between the two in the Minister's room. Many versions of this conversation are current but most of them reflect the pusillanimity of the one and the sagacity of the other.

Fernández Cuesta made his first political speech at Seville in November 1937 and in the same month was appointed National Secretary of the first National Council of Falange. At Christmas of that year he went to Rome for the purpose of visiting King Alphonso XIII; Don Alfonso Garcia Valdecasas, National Councillor, Señor López Ibor, a well-known mental specialist and the Marqués de las Marismas (a pro-German member of the "Renovación Española" (Monarchist) Party. Subsequently Count Ciano informed Serrano Suñer of the meaning of these first overtures for the restoration of the monarchy. Later, Fernández Cuesta lost no opportunity to make known his furious anti-monarchist sentiments.

In February 1938, when the first national government was formed, Fernández Cuesta was appointed Minister of Agriculture. His term of office in the Ministry like that in the Secretariat General, was colourless. From this time onwards, relations between F.C. and S.S. became strained and there developed such intense animosity that, when the war ended in 1939, the former succeeded in being allowed to resign his post and to repair to Brazil as Ambassador which was his cherished desire. He took two Falangists as secretaries, Adulla and Motero. To the great disgust of F.C., Serrano Suñer became Foreign Minister in October 1940 and thus the Ambassador became subordinate to his old enemy. The archives of the Foreign Ministry in Madrid contain copies of the repeated reprimands couched

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in terms of the greatest severity which the Minister addressed to the Ambassador. It seems that the latter did nothing in Rio de Janiero except acquire wealth. His secretary, Motero, has said as much although he and his principal continue to be associated in the Banco Rural of Madrid where they are acting as Managing Director and Chairman of the Board, respectively. There are some very unsavoury stories of business deals connected with the bank and carried out by F.C.

In September 1942, fortune came in the way of F.C. Serrano Suñer was removed from the Foreign Ministry, and the new Minister, Count Jordana, acceded to the wishes of F.C. and transferred him to the Quirinal. The fall of Mussolini brought disaster to the Falangist Ambassador. He wrote a letter to his comrades ordering them to go into hiding. The letter which was widely published in Spain revealed a spineless character with no capacity for leadership. Once he reached Spain he never returned to Rome, although he has only ceased to be Ambassador to the Italian Government on the date he was appointed President of the Council of State (January 6th, 1945).

Fernández Cuesta, like several other Cabinet Ministers, has always stood in great fear of General Franco. He has said that if Franco were a Communist he would be one too. Like other prominent Falangists, F.C. is not distinguished by religious devotion. Most of them are jealous of the influence and authority of the Church. He was on very friendly terms with Von Faupel, the first German Ambassador to the Franco Government, and possesses German and Italian decorations. He has a large number of personal friends in the Nazi and Fascist parties. F.C. has written nothing but is a fluent speaker.

THE RIGHT REV. LUCIANO PEREZ PLATERO

Archbishop of Burgos

Born January 8th, 1882, at Arizaleta (Navarre). Educated at Pamplona Theological College and at Pontifical Universities of Salamanca and Comillas. Doctor of Theology and Doctor Canon Law. Dr. Perez Platero also holds the degree of Bachelor of Laws of the Faculty of Law in the University of Salamanca. Priest 1907. Canon of Santo Domingo de la Calzada 1912. Member of the Rota Court in the Nunciature, Madrid. Bishop of Segovia 1928. Archbishop of Burgos 1944.

Down to the present Dr. Perez Platero has devoted himself exclusively to his pastoral duties.

DON JULIAN LOJENDIO GARIN: comes from a Basque family and is a Notary Public by profession. He is the senior legal adviser to the Council of State and is now promoted to be a Councillor. Sr. Lojendio is closely associated with the Falange Party. He has three sons. One is a professor of the University of Seville, another Spanish Minister in Montevideo, and the third, attached to Franco's headquarters throughout the war as a journalist, is the author of a very useful book on military aspects of the civil war.

DON PEDRO FERNANDEZ VALLADARES: at present Under-Secretary of the Interior where he replaced Don José Lorente, when on the 3rd of September 1941 Don Valentin Galarza

/gave

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gave place to Blas Perez as Minister of the Interior. He belongs, like the latter, to the Corps of Military Lawyers, with the rank of Colonel. During the Republic he was Member of Parliament for C.E.D.A. His political tendency is therefore purely of the Right Wing, cooperating with the Fascist régime merely on account of military discipline.

DON EDUARDO CALLEJO DE LA CUESTA: was judge of the High Court and gave up up his position when he obtained, after competitive examination, the Chair of Philosophy of Law in the University of Valladolid. During the Dictatorship he was Minister of Public Education, showing great integrity but little ability. He is at present President of the Commission of Codes, and since September 3rd, 1941, when Count Jordana was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, is also temporary President of the Council of State. He will not welcome the appointment over his head of the young ex-Falangist minister Sr. Fernández Cuesta.

DON FERNANDO SUAREZ DE TANGIL Y ANGULO: Marquis of Covarrubias, and Count Vallellano through marriage. During the Dictatorship he was Lord Mayor of Madrid and during the Republic, Monarchist Member of Parliament belonging to the group "Renovación Española". When the civil war ended he commenced an exchange of correspondencw with Prince Juan which was made public, having informed Franco of this correspondence and Monarchist circles of his interviews with Franco. The purpose of this appointment is rather strange, particularly as the Marquis is one of the legal advisers of the Council of State and will now have to act under the presidency of the ex-Falangist Minister Sr. Fernández Cuesta.

DON ALFONSO DE HOYOS Y SANCHEZ: belongs to the well-known wine firm, Sanchez Romate, and is a nephew of the Marquis of Hoyos, King Alphonso's last Minister of the Interior. After competitive examination he became a State Lawyer, being on extremely good terms with his colleague Don Ramón Serrano Suñer. He is National Councillor of the Falange Party.

DON LUIS JORDANA DE POZAS: enjoys great scientific prestige, especializing in administrative law on which subject he has published a great many books, and is at present professor of the Central University (Madrid). He has done most useful work in the "Instituto Nacional de Previsión". He also directs the Institute of Local Administrative Studies. His appointment is most opportune.

DON MANUEL DURAN DE COTTES: after competitive examination entered the Corps of Legal Advisers to the Council of State and consequently has accredited the necessary capacity to hold the office of Councillor. He has no special political significance.

DON BERNARDO ALMEIDA Y HERREROS: was born in Getafe on August 18th, 1871. Diplomatic Attaché to the Ministry on July 19th, 1894. Attaché to the Spanish Embassy in Washington on February 11th, 1897. Attaché, on commission in Toronto (Canada) on April 15th, 1898. Diplomatic Attaché to the Ministry on May 20th of the same year.

Third Secretary at the Ministry on February 28th, 1899.

/Third

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Third Secretary to the Spanish Embassy in Lisbon on January 30th, 1902. Again Attaché at the Ministry on May 26th, 1903. Appointment on commission without relinguishing his post, under the direct orders of the Minister of State during the journey of the King to Portugal on December 8th, 1903.

Appointed Second Secretary in Central America on December 22nd, 1904. The same in Berne on February 25th, 1906. Spanish Delegate to the International Conference in Berne, on the subject of night work for the women in the industries, on September 10th, 1906. Second Secretary at the Ministry on January 22nd, 1907. Spanish Delegate to the International History Congress of Zaragoza on October 10th, 1908. Treasurer of the Colonial Section on January 12th, 1910. Second Secretary to the Spanish Embassy in Italy on February 28th,1912. Second Secretary and Treasurer of the Colonial Section at the Ministry on March 8th, 1912.

Appointed First Secretary in Santiago de Chile, on February 6th, 1913. Did not proceed. First Secretary in Rome accredited to H.M. the King of Italy, on February 17th, 1913. The same at the Ministry on March 31st, 1914. The same in Rome, accredited to H.M. the King of Italy on April 2nd, 1914. The same at the Ministry on June 19th, 1918.

Resident Minister and Counsellor in Paris, November 14th, 1918. Resident Minister in Bogotá on November 15th, 1919. The same in Santiago de Chile, June 12th, 1922. Ambassador Extraordinary for the transmission of the Supreme Command in Chile, December 1925.

Minister Plenipotentiary, first class, in Santiago de Chile on July 27th, 1926. The same General Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 12th, 1927. The same Consul-General in Tangier on January 1st, 1929. Ambassador in Lisbon on September 21st 1929. En disponibilité on November 12th, 1930.

Señor Almeida has held no diplomatic appointment since he resigned his post as Ambassador to Portugal in 1930. In 1939 a Court of Inquiry was set up for the purpose of examining the political conduct of members of the Diplomatic Corps during the civil war. The result was so unsatisfactory, that Señor Almeida was appointed to "inquire" into the conduct of the "inquirers". His only other service to the present régime was to preside over the examinations for entry into the diplomatic service. He has a reputation for integrity and devotion to his profession.

(signed)x[redacted]

DON ANDRÉS SALIQUET ZUMETA: Lieutenant General, born in Barcelona on April 21st, 1877. Fought in Cuba and Morocco. Was a member of General Primo de Rivera's staff in 1923 at Barcelona. He was commanding a division at Valladolid on July 18th, 1936, seconding Franco and taking possession of Valladolid, its province and that of Segovia. He reached the Guadarramas and thus prevented Republican forces from entering old Castille. He later became G.O.C. of the "Central Army" and among other operations, he successfully carried out the counter-offensive at Brunete. On March 28th, 1939, his army occupied Madrid and he became Captain General of Madrid (New Castile), a post he still holds. General Saliquet is very popular with his officers, but in other sectors he is one of the most hated men in the country. Besides his post as Captain General - the supreme military authority in central Spain - General Saliquet is President of the "Court for the Suppression of Masonry and Communism". He now obtains a third highly-paid post. He is facetiously called "King of the estraperlo" and is the butt of every kind of criticism on account of alleged "deals" in foodstuffs. He and General Borbón are both associated with the famous "soap" scandal of Navalcarnero. A judge has been appointed to inquire into the affair.

DON PEDRO GONZALEZ BUENO: Civil engineer aged about 44. Did not enter politics until early in the year 1935. He was a signatory of Calvo Sotelo's manifesto which founded the "Bloque Nacional" - a coalition of Parties of the Right. In September 1936 he succeeded inescaping from Madrid and in reaching Salamanca. He had long been an intimate friend of Serrano Suñer, but reached Franco Spain before him. In Salamanca he became a close associate of Hedilla, the leader of the conspiracy against Franco, who with five others was later condemned to death. With José Luis Escario also an engineer, Gonzalez Bueno organised the Servicios Técnicos del Estado (Franco's improvisation of government in view of his expected occupation of Madrid.) In January 1938, Gonzalez Bueno became a member of Franco's first Government. He was appointed Minister of "Organización y Acción Sindical". This really meant Minister of Labour. The Ministry was established in Santander. Gonzalez Bueno owed his appointment entirely to Serrano Suñer. In 1939 the Ministry was abolished and replaced by a Ministry of Labour. Since then Gonzalez Bueno has appeared little in public life. He is devoted to Serrano Suñer and like him strongly pro-German. He accompanied S.S. to Italy and Germany. There is nothing known against his personal integrity.

(signed) [illegible]

January 16th, 1945.

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19

1945

Z

Z 1850

9 FEB 1945

SPAIN

Registry Number Z 1850/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 7 Saving.

Dated 4th Feb:1945

Received in Registry 9th Feb:1945

Z : Spain. +

Banning of British film in Almeria.

Addressed Almeria No. 1 and repeated to Malaga. Refers to Almeria telegram to Foreign Office No.1. (Z 1376/233/41). Asks that such cases be repeated to superintending post at Malaga, and if necessary repeating to Madrid, but not direct to Foreign Office. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs are being asked to remove the ban and provide police protection for cinema and owner.

Last Paper. (21376)

2416/6

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

10/2

(Action completed.)

Ked 12/2

(Index.)

2 1906/6

(21997)

Next Paper.

22175 2'41 F.O.P.

83 2

[THE TEXT OF THIS TELEGRAM MUST FIRST BE PARAPHRASED IF COMMUNICATED TO PERSONS OUTSIDE BRITISH OR UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SERVICE OR IF RETRANSMITTED IN A CYPHER SYSTEM OTHER THAN O.T.P.].

[CYPHER]. DEPARTMENTAL No. 1.

FROM MADRID TO ALMERIA.

Mr. Bowker. D. 11.45 p.m. February 4th, 1945.
No. 1.
February 4th, 1945. R. 6.40 p.m. February 8th, 1945.

Repeated to FOREIGN OFFICE No. 7. SAVING.
Malaga No. - SAVING.

Z 1850
9 FEB 1945

yyyyy

Your telegram No. 1 to Foreign Office.

Please report such cases in future not direct to Foreign Office but in the first place to your superintending Consul at Malaga and if the urgency warrants repeating your telegram to His Majesty's Embassy.

2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs are being requested to have ban removed and police protection provided for cinema and owner.

FEB 9 1945 F.O. REGISTRY

83A

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Group..... FO .....

Class ..... 371 .....

Piece ..... 49587 .....

Following document(s)*

~~retained in the Department of origin*~~

transferred to PRO Safe Room*

Z 1906 / 233 / 41

and closed until..... 1996 .....

*delete as necessary

21

1945

Z

SPAIN

84 Z 1997

12 FEB 1945

Registry Number } Z 1997/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker. Madrid.

No. 78 (21/18/45)

Dated 5th Feb.1945.

Received in Registry } 12th Feb.1945.

Z : Spain

Ban on showing of British film Blood, Sweat and Tears at Almeria.

Refers to Foreign Office telegram 83 (Z 1376/233/41). Transmits copy of Note Verbale to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, No. 158 of the 5th February, protesting at the banning by the Civil Governor of Almeria of the showing of the British film "Blood, Sweat, and Tears" and asking for the early removal of the ban and for police protection for the cinema and its owner.

Last Paper.

(21850)

Z1906/G

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8/ Miss Harris, M&I. 13/2

(Minutes.)

Cop M&I, Miss Harris

13/2

(Action completed.)

13/2

(Index.)

8/3

Next Paper.

22138

(23150)

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

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No. 78
(21/18/45)

HIS Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A. and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Madrid.

5th February, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:
Foreign Office Tel. 83.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy Note Verbale to Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Embassy, Madrid, dated 5th February, 1945.	The ban on the showing of the British film "Blood, Sweat and Tears" at Almeria.

Z 1997
12 FEB 1945

No. 156

His Majesty's Embassy present their compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with reference to their Note No. 84 of the 19th January have the honour to inform them of the following further case in which local Spanish authorities have banned the showing of the British film "Sangre, Sudor y Lagrimas" in a Spanish cinema.

This film was due to be shown at Almeria on the 26th January. It was banned, however, by the Civil Governor following a campaign of threats levelled by members of the local Falange and former members of the Blue Division against the owner of the cinema, with the purpose of preventing the exhibition of the film.

The Embassy can only deplore that the Civil Governor, a responsible official of the Spanish Government, should in this way have endorsed such methods of intimidation. They trust that the Ministry will without delay arrange for him to be instructed to withdraw the ban placed on the exhibition of the film, and reprimanded for his failure to conform his attitude, more closely to the requirements of Spanish neutrality. The Ministry will doubtless also wish to ensure that adequate police protection is provided for the cinema and its owner, and that the local Falange chiefs are prosecuted for this further instance of intolerable and unneutral behaviour.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

5th February, 1945.

22

1945

Z

SPAIN

87

Z 2138

15 FEB 1945

Registry Number Z 2138/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, (Madrid)

No. 83 (1/26/45)

Dated 7th Feb.1945.

Received in Registry 15th Feb.1945.

Z : Spain

Political situation in Barcelona.

Trahsmits copy of despatch No.2. of the 25th January from His Majesty's Consul-General, Barcelona to Madrid, enclosing a report by Mr. Dorchy, on the political situation in Barcelona. Mr. Dorchy's earlier information on the infiltration of Spanish agitators across the Pyrenees has been confirmed by Generals Aranda and Kindelan. There is much talk of General Ungria being sent to Paris to contact exiled Republican leaders. Refers alsoto the Junte Militar mentioned by Mr. Dorchy, and other juntas. Comments on the Spanish realisation of the present unrest in Barcelona.

Copied Paris, Barcelona, and Gibraltar.

Last Paper.

Z 1997

References.

Z 1906/233/Green - Intelligence

NT 8/2nd ...

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

9/2

Next Paper.

Z 2144

(Minutes.)

All the necessary elements for revolt are present but they have been there for some time and there is no reason to suppose that the Spanish authorities are unaware of this or that they are incapable of stifling any outbreak in the bud.

R M Hanglin

18/2

FOR) E.O.G. 5/iii

The Spanish Govt: are undoubtedly aware of this state of unrest and they have taken their dispositions to deal with any trouble, whether in Barcelona or elsewhere, by massing the bulk of the army in one part - near the Pyrenees.

Bwb

26513 F.O.P.

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L. 2138

But we must not take it for granted that nothing is ever going to happen in China.

R. Garran
V/9/2

J.M.
24.V.

Z
89

No. 83.

(1/26/45)

Z 2138
15 FEB 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

7th February, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to send you herewith a copy of an interesting despatch dated the 25th January, from His Majesty's Consul-General, Barcelona, enclosing a no less interesting report by Mr. Vice-Consul Dorchy, Press Attaché at the Consulate-General, regarding signs of agitation and discontent in the Barcelona area. You will note from my despatches Nos. 65 and 67 that Mr. Dorchy's information as to the infiltration of Spanish agitators across the Pyrenees has been confirmed recently to the Military Attaché by Generals Aranda and Kindelan, who stated that some 50% of attempted entries into Spain had been successful and that agents infiltrated from France are now at work in centres of population throughout Spain, especially in Catalonia.

2. Mr. Dorchy's information about the possibility of General Ungria being sent to Paris under instructions to make contact with the exiled Republican leaders, is also in accordance with reports reaching the Embassy from other sources, and although there is some talk of General Ungria postponing his departure until warmer weather sets in and conditions in the French capital are more comfortable, there is no doubt that from his ability, experience and French connections he would be a natural selection for such a mission. (In parenthesis, it should be pointed out that General Ungria is no longer Chief of S.I.M., the latter having itself been absorbed by the Alto Estado Mayor, which controls all intelligence work).

3. With /

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Foreign Office.

14 FEB 1945

90

3. With regard to the "Consejo Militar" mentioned in paragraph 4 (d) of Mr. Dorchy's report, it is worth noting that in the conversations already alluded to between Generals Aranda and Kindelan and the Military Attaché two distinct "juntas" were mentioned, that of some senior Generals and that of General Garcia-Valiño. The Military Attaché suggests that ..... Mr. Dorchy's informant may have been referring to the latter, or possibly to a third "junta", which might be presided over by such as Generals Vigon and Muñoz-Grande, or possibly it might be the informant's way of referring to the Consejo Superior del Ejercito, which consists of Captains-General of the Military Regions, the Chief of General Staff and the General Officer Commanding the Civil Guard.

4. I invite attention finally to Mr. Farquhar's conclusion that a state of unrest is at present noticeable in Barcelona. The Spanish authorities seem to be sufficiently alive, however, to what is happening to be able to avert, and if necessary repress, anything in the nature of a serious outbreak of disorder.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, His Majesty's Consul-General at Barcelona and The Officer Administering the Government of Gibraltar.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Foreign Office.

COPY

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Despatch No. 2.

British Consulate-General,
Barcelona.
25th January, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a report by Mr. Vice-Consul Dorchy, Press Attaché to this Consulate-General, regarding the present situation in Barcelona, and to draw attention to paragraph 4 in which he reports on the alleged mission of General Ungria to Paris with a view to initiating fresh contacts with the Republican leaders exiled in France.

2. Barcelona has always been a city of dreadful rumours and it would be unwise and imprudent to take too many of these rumours at their face value or indeed to report more than a very small percentage thereof. I can, however, confirm that conversations I have lately had with various Spaniards tend more or less to confirm the information received by Mr. Dorchy, though I am inclined to doubt whether the employers and important industrialists would, in their own interests, indulge in such a short-sighted policy as the imposition of a lock-out, nor can I conceive that the present Government would permit it. The majority of them have been making heavy profits for some considerable time and they can well afford to stand the loss involved in paying salaries on days on which it is impossible to work.

3. On the other hand considerable discomfort, and almost suffering, has been caused by the virtually complete cutting off of gas and the restrictions on the consumption of electricity which have lately been increased and which will in all probability be still further increased. The Civil Governor, who has just returned from Madrid where he tried to induce the authorities to increase the supply of coal for Cataluña, issued a somewhat pathetic communiqué in which he talked about relieving the almost critical situation as regards the supply of electricity by bringing into action two large hydro-electrical plants at Flyx and in the Valle d'Aran, which everyone knows cannot possibly be ready before at least a year.

4. The working classes in Barcelona, who are of course ideologically inclined to the Left, not unnaturally lay all the blame on the present regime and it is not surprising that the general state of unrest in Europe and in particular perhaps the course of events in Greece, makes them think that the day of revenge is drawing nigh.

5. In conclusion I would not like to sound an alarmist note at the present juncture; it is, nevertheless, a fact that there is a certain state of unrest noticeable in this large industrial city of over 1,250,000 inhabitants.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) HAROLD FARQUHAR.

R.J. Bowker, Esq.,
H.M. Chargé d'Affaires,
Madrid.

TOP SECRET - GUARD 22nd January, 1945. 92

To: H.M. Consul-General, Barcelona.

From: Vice-Consul P.G.H. Dorchy, Press Attaché.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN BARCELONA.

During the past few weeks, agitation and discontent, which had been lying dormant during many months, have reappeared to a marked degree in the lower class districts of Sans, La Torrasa, Pueblo Seco and in the industrial centres of Sabadell, Tarrasa and Manresa. This has been reported to me with an unusual similarity of fact from various widely separated and independent sources.

2. The development of this agitation and unrest can be attributed in a certain measure to the steady infiltration of very reduced groups of ex-maquis Spanish refugees who have passed the Pyrennées eluding the military and police cordons. Some of these are obviously professional political agitators and it is said that they are in contact with the French Communist Party. They have lost little time in taking advantage of the present hard conditions under which the poorer classes are living to spread their pernicious doctrines. It is a fact that owing to the unusual severe winter, the continuous breakdown in communications and transport, already strained to the utmost by lack of replacement material, the electricity restrictions, etc., the ration system broke down shortly before Xmas, especially with regard to bread and potatoes, the people's staple diet. Food has soared, meat, rice and oil have again disappeared and now coal and even charcoal, which is the popular form of cooking, can only be found on the black market. If one adds to this the bitter cold, restrictions in transport, entailing hours of queuing up to and from work, we must agree that agitators have an ideal field in which to scatter the seeds of trouble.

3. Furthermore, the immediate and unavoidable prospect of further drastic electric power restrictions must be taken into consideration. This will mean that the factories in Cataluña, which alone consume over 80 of the total electric power available, will be compelled to close down several days a week. The Party, in an effort to gain popularity amongst the working masses, are seeking to compel the employers to pay full wages although the staff and workers may stand idle. The Employers, on the other hand, already overburdened by Government taxes and Party exactions, will oppose this measure, if one can go by the opinion given by such important industrialists as Sres. Muñoz and Betrand, who between them control over 7,000,000 spindles. Therefore, if owing to the unavoidable restrictions which are now to be imposed, fruit of the Party Civil Governor's ostrich policy in the past, a lock-out occurs, the temper of the people may break. The Spaniard in general will tolerate any form of political tyranny as he is unfortunately born to this state of affairs. He cannot, however, bear hunger and especially cold with equal fortitude!

4. This latent political unrest has now reached the ears of the Information Services of the Spanish General Staff, and in this connection, I beg to report information conveyed to me by Don Julio Muñoz, who has recently returned from Madrid.

(a) General Ungria, who apart from his official post as Director of the Staff College is chief of the S.I.M. travelled up from Madrid with Muñoz. Madrid are aware of the state of unrest, in spite of the Civil Governor's florid reports of universal satisfaction and loyalty to the Caudillo; Ungria has been sent to Barcelona to gauge the situation personally on the spot. He agrees that there now exists an organised form of unrest hitherto unknown in Spain since the Civil War and has reported this.

(b) Ungria is now travelling to Paris, under instructions and with the object of interviewing the Republican leaders exiled in that capital and making good the breakdown in negotiations caused by Miguel Maura's indiscretions in November, 1944, when similar tentative approaches were made by Sr. Sangroñiz. In this connection, it may be remembered that General Ungria (then Colonel Ungria) has always served as a go-between twixt Nationalist and the Republican Governments - and that although he failed in his negotiations with Sr. Martinez Barrios and Prieto in 1936, prior to the military uprising, he has always managed to maintain contacts during and since the Civil War.

(c) Ungria is also a personal friend of General de Gaulle, being of the same promotion at the Military Academy. He will endeavour to convince the French leader of the necessity of sweeping the Franco-Spanish frontier clean of Spanish and French communists F.T.P. elements if incidents are to be avoided in the spring, when the weather and the snows clear. Ungria very much doubts whether this double task of convincing the Republican "leaders" to withold their men (over whom they have little or no control) and convincing de Gaulle of the necessity to handle the South of France communists with a much firmer hand will meet with any measure of success. If I may add a personal comment - his task is hopeless!

(d) Ungria has apparently been given authority to negotiate an understanding with the more reputable Republican elements. At this juncture Muñoz mentioned that whilst the "Junta Militar" will have no truck with extremists such as Dr. Negrin, it recognizes the ability and power over the masses of elements such as Martinez Barrios and Prieto and would be prepared to negotiate with these an amnesty and the return of political refugees on a broad basis. If an Agreement were reached, the said Junta Militar did not fear that the Party extremists would dishonour such an agreement! All doubted however, if such an agreement could be reached after five years. At this juncture, endeavouring not to appear overinterested, I asked my friend what was exactly the composition of the "Junta Militar" which he referred to. He seemed surprised at the question and merely answered: "You ought to know, the Generals who direct the Generalissimo." (Ya lo sabes, los Generales que manden al Generalissimo) I place this on record as, officially at least, no such Junta exists, although this is not the first time that one hears the rumour that Franco is but a puppet in the hands of a group of militarists.

5. In view of Muñoz's usually reliable and extensive private information and his close connection amongst the Generals (some of which are sometimes suspected of having interests in his concerns!) I have no grounds to disbelieve the accuracy of his informations. I very much doubt whether he wouldhave volunteered all this information had not General Ungria authorised him to do so for at one time during the conversation he informed me that Ungria was well aware of my journeys to Toulouse, of my contacts with the refugees and of the objectivity with which such necessary contacts had been carried out.

6. Reviewing /

93

6. Reviewing the situation, the facts appear to agree:

(a) there has been trouble brewing for some time in Barcelona and it may well come to a head in April, especially if the situation continues to deteriorate as it must and an extensive industrial lock-out occurs.

(b) the republican refugee extremists, backed by the powerful French communists and F.T.P. openly state that they will make another attempt in the Spring. Vide the slogan and leaflets circulating, with a large "V": "Volveremos con la primavera".

(c) The communists, F.A.I., UGT-CNT cells are becoming increasingly active in the poorer districts of the city, collecting funds by resorting to threats and blackmail. Vide previous information in this sense.

(d) General Ungria is, in fact, in Barcelona. So are Captains-General Queipo de Llano and Garcia-Escamez. This, however, may be a mere coincidence.

Finally, in spite of the ruthless application of the death sentence by summary military courts, armed robbery has increased to a marked degree during the past months. We have often been told in the past that trouble was brewing, which, upon closer investigation, proved to be unfounded. On this occasion, however, the proper ingredients, persecution discontent, hunger, agitation and organised outside support are all present. It may well be that the smouldering embers of concentrated hatred of the Régime may burst out into flame in April, when with the return of the Spring, the Spaniard stirs from his usual lethargy. April has always been a fateful month in the history of Spain's politics.

(Signed)- P.G.H. DORCHY.

23

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 2144

15 FEB 1945

Registry Number Z 2144/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM

Vice Consul Leverkus.

No. Cartagena. Unnumbered

Dated 13th Feb. 1945.

Received in Registry 15th Feb. 1945.

Z : Spain

Removal of pictures of General Franco.

Addressed to Madrid No. 4 and repeated to Gibraltar No.460 Civil and Military authorities have been ordered to remove at once the picture of Gemeral Franco from their walls.

Last Paper.

Z 2138

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

I suppose this may be a sign of Nazi disapproval of the Spanish flirtation with the US but it seems a very mild and inadequate gesture.

C H Bateman
16/2

Madrid will no doubt report if there has any particular significance

RG
V 16/2

(Action completed.)

17/2

(Index.)

8/7.

Next Paper.

Z 2156/9

22175 2 41 F.O.P.

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[CODE] DEPARTMENTAL No.1

FROM CARTAGENA TO MADRID

No. 4 D. 6.40 a.m. February 13th, 1945.
R. 6.10 p.m. February 14th, 1945.
February 13th, 1945.

Repeated to FOREIGN OFFICE Unnumbered
Gibraltar No. 40

b b b b

[Nazi ?] civil and military authorities have received orders for immediate removal of Franco picture from their walls.

?Local

Z 2144
15 FEB 1945

15 FEB 1945
FO. REGISTRY

95A

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Group....FO.....

Class ....371.....

Piece .....49587.....

Following document(s)*

~~retained in the Department of origin*~~

transferred to PRO Safe Room*

Z 2155 / 233 / 41

and closed until....1996.....

*delete as necessary

25

1945

Z

SPAIN

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Z 2274

17 FEB 1945

* Registry Number | Z 2274/233/41.

TELEGRAM FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 136.

Dated 16th Feb. 1945.

Received in Registry | 17th Feb. 1945.

Z: Spain.

Bomb explosion in Falange Pass Office.

Repeated Lisbon and Gibralter Saving.
Reports explosion of two bombs in the Press and Propaganda section of the Falange of the 15th February. The origin of the explosion is still unknown.

Last Paper.

Z 2155/9

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Mr Ceail, Capt Courtenay Young } c/o Lon 17. Feb. 17.

(Minutes.)

Copied as shown.

15/2

(Action completed.)

20/2

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

Z 2747

22175 2'41 F.O.P.

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[CYPHER] GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

2

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FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Bowker
No. 136
February 16th, 1945.

D. 8.04 p.m. GMT February 16th, 1945.
R. 10.10 p.m. BST February 16th, 1945.

Repeated to Gibraltar Saving
Lisbon Saving

b b b b

Two bombs exploded in Press and Propaganda Section of Falange last night. Origin is so far unknown.

Z 2274
17 FEB 1945

O.T.P.

17 FEB 1945 PO MADRID

26

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 2747

28 FEB 1945

90

Registry Number Z 2747/233/41.

FROM Foreign Office Minute. Mr. Garran.

No.

Dated 23rd February 1945

Received in Registry 28th February 1945

Z : Spain.

Falange report to General Franco: Soviet-Spanish relations

Draft letter to Monsieur Francfort, French Embassy, returning copy of report to General Franco drafted by a leading member of the Falange, and commenting that General Franco does not seem to have followed the recommendation that he should try to restore diplomatic relations with Russia.

Last Paper.

Z 2274

References.

(*Minutes.*)

See within.

1/3

(*Print.*)

(*How disposed of.*)

Off) M. Francfort, from Mr. Garran. Feb 23.

(Aotion completed.)

Kwd 2/3

(Index.)

9/7.

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2 2953 16

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

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OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W. 1.

23rd February, 1945.

Z 2747

28 FEB 1945

I return with thanks the copy you kindly lent me of the Report to General Franco drafted by a leading member of the Falange.

Franco does not seem to have followed the recommendation in this report that he should try to restore diplomatic relations with Russia. In any case, if he were to try, he would not succeed.

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) P. GARRAN.

Monsieur P. Francfort,

French Embassy.

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" 1945

WESTERN

188
Z 2953
3 MAR 1945
/G

Z 2953/233/G 41

Mr Bowker
Madrid
124
Dated 24 Feb
Received 3 March

Spain: Penal System

Refs to Madrid despatch 123 (Z 2952/~~233/G~~ 89/41)
The copy of minute by Mr Malley arising from a conversation with the Director General of Prisons.

Last Paper.

Z 2952

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

The result of the enquiries will make interesting reading & but I doubt if there will be instructions on it publication.

C Mangold
7/3

M. Bromley THS 10/3

See minutes on Z 2952/G

RG
9/3

(Action completed.)

D.F. 9/3

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 5448

22953
BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.
8 MAR 1945

101

No. 124.

24th February, 1945.

SECRET

Sir,

I have the honour, with reference to my ..... despatch No. 123, to transmit to you herewith a copy of a most interesting minute by Mr. Malley, arising out of a conversation held by him on the 19th February with the Director-General of Prisons. Mr. Malley's minute, besides affording yet another account in a long series of the corruption with which the Spanish penal system is riddled, contains interesting corroborative evidence of the German influence still existing in the Spanish Police.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect, Sir,

Your most humble obedient Servant,

Vaughan Lockhart.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W. 1.

COPY SECRET

H.M. Chargé d'Affaires

Secret.

102

I gathered from a long conversation with the Director General of Prisons yesterday that the internal situation in that important section of the Ministry of Justice is rapidly coming to a head. The inquiry into the conduct of the Director General of Prisons which followed his handling of several grave occurrences at the Carabanchel prison (Madrid) is almost finished. He has had to answer 23 charges, and these answers constitute a document which will produce the biggest political scandal of the Franco régime. Indeed, the Director said it may unseat more than one Cabinet Minister. He hoped that Señor Aunós would have the courage to read this document at the next Council of Ministers. If not, he would take steps to see that each Minister receives a copy. It seems fairly certain to me, after hearing the description of the immorality of well known officers both in the prison service and in the police (Seguridad), that both these Ministerial departments are rotten to the core. Indeed it must be an impossible situation for any man who has any sense of decency left in him. The Director warned me seriously against Señor Vivancos (who holds high office under him). This man is a clever lawyer who was governor of the Porrijos (Madrid) prison. He is a believer in cruelty of the worst kind and the prison in his charge was the worst in Spain. Vivancos is the person responsible for urging the inquiry. The Director told me he was certain that Vivancos is working for the Gestapo. I have met Vivancos several times in company with other people of the judicial world and was so impressed that I was on my guard at once. From my own observations I should imagine the Director'S CHARGE IS JUSTIFIED.

Passing on to the police, the Director said that Señor Rodriguez (Director General de Seguridad) was invited to a dinner party at the German Embassy six days ago and there received a German decoration. Señor Santandreu (Jefe Superior de Policia) told the story adding that he thanked Heaven he had not been asked to attend the ceremony. The Director had no good word for Rodriguez but said Santandreu was an honest man although he did not know how long he would retain his clean record as he was in a place "donde hay mucho dinero".

Another /

SECRET

COPY

H.M. Chargé d'Affaires

Another German decoration, this time of a naval character, has been awarded to Señor Sarria, who was described as distributor (under the Campsa) of petrol in Madrid. He actually showed the decoration in its case to the Director adding that it had been given to him "for services rendered to the German Navy" (from Madrid ! ! !)

The Director ended by saying: "Lord Templewood was right".

B.M.
20.2.45.

29

Z

SPAIN

1945

124

Z 3150

8 MAR 1945

Registry Number Z 3150/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 122

Dated 24th Feb.1945.

Received in Registry 8th Mar.1945.

Z : Spain.

Ban on showing of British Film in Almeria.

Refers to his despatch 78 of the 5th February (Z 1997/233/41). Transmits copies of reply from Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated the 10th February regarding the Civil Governor's ban on the showing of the film "Blood, Sweat and Tears" in Almeria. Senor Satorres, in delivering this reply, hinted to Mr.Bramwell that it would be appreciated if such protests could be made in aless official manner.

Last Paper. (Z1997) Z2953 G

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Miss Harris A.6/1. March 16

(Minutes.)

Para 3. puts the problem very clearly.

Copy Miss Harris. M.f.1.

R Bramwell 10/3

I am sure that it is better to avoid arousing Spanish pride, which only leads to Embarrassment.

P.G. 13/3

F.O.R.J E.D.G. 15/III

See within:-

1) Chancery, Madrid, to Western Department. P.W.21/27/45 of 23rd March.

Z3353.

(Action completed.) 16/3

(Index.) 9/7

Next Paper.

Z3353.

No. 122.

Z 3150

8 MAR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

24th February, 1945.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 78 of February 5th, transmitting copies of a Note Verbale to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs protesting against the ban placed by the Civil Governor at Almeria on the showing of the British film "Sangre, Sudor y Lagrimas", I have the honour to transmit herewith copies in translation of the Ministry's reply dated February 10th.

2. In handing this reply to the First Secretary on February 16th, the Head of the European Division at the Ministry repeated the argument which it contains, that the Spanish Government could not in such a case accept our charge that the Civil Governor's action was a breach of neutrality, a charge which besides being irrelevant, was unwarranted by reason of the real efforts which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were making on our behalf. Mr. Bramwell went through our note with Señor Satorres and pointed out that all we were saying in it was that instances of the kind complained of were inconsistent with the Spanish Government's declared intention to be neutral, which was true. Señor Satorres then shifted his ground and made it evident that what the Ministry would prefer is that we should say this sort of thing in softer tones, preferably not in an official note but orally with perhaps an aide memoire in support. In this way, Señor Satorres implied, we should avoid flogging a willing horse and could hope for better results from our representations. Mr. Bramwell agreed that we might be willing to meet the Ministry on the point of form, on the understanding, however, that we could count on them to reciprocate by keeping to the essentials of our grievances and not quibbling, as was sometimes, and indeed, rather too often, their wont.

3. This interview affords an example of the dilemma facing those who have to deal with Spanish officials. On the one hand Spanish pride jibs at stiff language, on the other Spanish official complacency is apt to regard mildly-worded notes as confirming the wishful thought that all is well in the best of all possible Spains.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

James Bowker

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

106

TRANSLATION.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
Note Verbale No. 136

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs present their compliments to His Britannic Majesty's Embassy and in reply to their Note No.158 of the 5th of the current month, referring to Note No. 84 of January 19th last, have the honour to inform them that as the Embassy was informed on the 29th of the same month, the latter Note was duly communicated to the competent authorities, from whom the information requested has not yet been received.

In so far as concerns the projection of the English film "Blood, Sweat and Tears", which was the subject of the first of the Notes under reference, this Department considers that no question connected with Spanish neutrality is raised as indicated in that Note, since this Government is not in the least obliged to authorise the showing of the film in question; this is all the more so when, in order to do so it is always necessary to have recourse to the authority of the official police which, in the last instance and with a competence exclusive to itself and not for considerations relating to neutrality but simply for reasons of public order, can authorise or reject the showing in Spain of foreign films.

Madrid, 10th February, 1945.

His Britannic Majesty's Embassy.

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F 3150 / 233 / 41
29 MAR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

PW.21/27/45. 23rd March, 1945.

Dear Department,

Our despatch No. 122 of 24th February, contains a typing error in the penultimate sentence of paragraph 2. "Representatives" should read "representations".

Yours ever,

Chancery.

Western Department,
Foreign Office,
S.W. 1.

30

Z

1945

SPAIN

108

Z 3353

13 MAR 1945

Registry Number	Z 3353/233/41
FROM	Mr. Bowker, Madrid.
No.	136 (102/4/45)
Dated	2nd Mar. 1945
Received in Registry	13th Mar. 1945
Z:	Spain

Political assassinations in Madrid.

Reports press announcement on 27th February of the murder of two Falangists by Communists, at the same time as the announcement of the execution of sixteen communist terrorists. Describes the leading article in "Arriba" on this subject, and A.B.C. comments. Gives details of the funeral procession and the political cries which attended it which were after described by "Arriba" and "Ya". Discusses the results and underlying causes of this demonstration. Copied Lisbon, Gibraltar, and Ministry of Information.

Last Paper.

Z 3150

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

9) Washington no: 478 March 22

(Minutes.)

The assassination has given an excuse for further boost for the Falange.

R Thorpe 16/3

F.O.A.D. 2.D.9.24/iii

Copy Washington

R. Garran 21/3

This just shows how tricky it is to eliminate Falange too much.

21.3

(Action completed.)	(Index.)
Kwk 21/3	9/7.

Next Paper.

Z 3250

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

109 2

No. 136
(102/4/45)

Z 3353
13 MAR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.
2nd March, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on the 27th February the Spanish press gave the news that, on the night of the 25th February, two Falangists belonging to the headquarters of the Cuatro Caminos district of Madrid (one of the poorest and reputedly most revolutionary quarters of the city), had been assassinated in their offices by "a group of communists armed with pistols". In sinister juxtaposition to this announcement was a further one under the heading of "Sentence Carried Out", which announced that at dawn on the 27th February, sixteen "terrorist communists, among whom figure various group-leaders who had filtered through the Pyrenean frontier and had committed various crimes and acts of terrorism" had been executed. It is generally accepted that this was an act of reprisal - at least in its timing - and by way of a warning against further murderous attempts; people have been grimly recalling the political assassinations and reprisals which marked the last months of the Republic.

2. The leader in "Arriba" was plainly written to instructions and conveyed the impression, confirmed from other sources, that moderation has been enjoined on all commentators and that they were not to read into the event any implication of international importance. The leader said that its theme was for Spain the central event of the day, even if the war might seem to sleepy consciences to reduce it to a very small affair. It was not only a matter for the Falange, but had an intimate connection with the nation's life. This was not the occasion for raging denunciations. Franco's victory had inaugurated a period of worthy life for Spain under the dominion of law. It had brought in a just policy and a liberal and generous attitude, which furnished the victors with one more title to govern the country. The authors of Sunday's crime had been able to carry it out precisely because of the freedom generously conceded to them, but its effect had been to remind people of the disordered days of the past, whilst demonstrating to them that generosity and high-mindedness had their limits. This momentary reversion to the past should be noted, it said, as a lesson and an example for the blind and the deaf. It meant that Spain was confronted with that universal movement of communistic agitation which Falange had so often denounced. In Spain the agitators had made use of the inevitable resentment and grief brought about by the long Civil War, just as in other countries they made use of conditions produced by the war. Tactics might vary, but the aim was uniform. Whilst in Spain it broke the peace of the civil order, in Bulgaria, for example, it condemned to death the very men who declared war on Germany.

3. So far as one can interpret the final peroration which is in the best tradition of obscure Falangist oratory, it seems to say that Falange will not react in the fashion that the enemy desires. "Our trajectory cannot submit to the course that the

enemy /

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

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109 2

No. 136
(102/4/45)

Z 3353
13 MAR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.
2nd March, 1945.

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enemy /

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

Z 3353
13 MAR 1945
19 MAR 1945

enemy would seek to impose upon it". Presumably this means that violence will not be met with violence, however much the instigators would like conditions of disorder thus to be introduced. "A.B.C."'s commentary was much in the same strain, adding that the effect on the country would be to make the people stand still more firmly on guard round Franco. Firmness and fidelity to Franco, it said, was the order of the day.

4. The funeral duly took place on the evening of the 27th February. All shops and offices had been closed by order, so that the main streets were full of people enjoying the sun and the possibility of a spectacle. The coffins were brought out from the Madrid headquarters of Falange, accompanied by the Minister Secretary of the Party, Señor Arrese, representing General Franco, and the Ministers of Justice, Agriculture, and Labour, as well as all the minor Party chiefs and some thousands of uniformed Falangist youths. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Service Ministers were not present. There were repeated roars of "Franco, Franco, Franco", "Death to Russia" and the incantation: "Espana, si! Rusia, no!". The Falangist hymn, "Cara al Sol", was repeatedly sung and the whole uniformed mob followed the coffins and waggons loaded with flowers down the main avenue of Madrid and up the highway leading to the cemetery. Thousands of spectators dutifully saluted the coffins and the songs with upraised hands. Those who did not do so in many cases came in for some rough handling, though there was no wide-spread disorder. There was very little evidence of police in attendance, and no military show whatever, though the authorities had plenty of forces in reserve. Precautions had been taken at the Embassy in case of disorders or demonstrations after the funeral, but nothing happened.

5. On the following day, the newspapers all devoted their leaders and front pages to the procession. They stated that at least 300,000 persons had been present and ascribed this enormous attendance to resentment against the murder and the Spanish people's determination to consolidate itself with the Falange and the régime against communism promoted from without. The underlying theme in all the commentaries was that the enemy had made a mistake in so much as he had not perceived how unified the country was and how any endeavour to revive the fires of civil war must fail. "Yesterday's rapid, automatic and spontaneous civil mobilisation is a clear enough illustration of the situation and the desires of the country", said Arriba. Ya described the demonstration as "The greatest plebiscite we Spaniards could convoke... Will those who pontificate upon the desires of the Spanish people please take note of this. But we are not writing for foreigners - what matters what the foreign press may say since it is we who are going to decide our own future? What matter the palavers of chanceries, the conferences in other parts of the world, if it is our dead who give the word of order in Spain?... The Blue Shirt is again the anti-communist badge... Spanish firmness cannot be terrified by foreign campaigns or shots in the back".

6. It is /

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6. It is believed that one arrest has been made in connection with the assassination; but the actual authors had planned it carefully, apparently with the object of destroying a file index of political suspects, and all escaped. Although Falangist propaganda would like to see it as a manifestation of a subversive movement planned from without and now thoroughly defeated, the assassination is more likely to be only an isolated outburst from a political under-world which harbours, not without reason, the deepest resentment and desires for revenge. But whatever the assassins hoped to achieve, they could hardly be gratified with the general reaction. To the Falange Party itself it has undoubtedly served as a stimulus. Many Falangists who had conveniently forgotten their earlier beliefs and their blue shirts, adopted them once again for the demonstration. Many timorous people must have felt that Falange was the lesser of two evils and any repressive measures would be justified to prevent any suggestion of civil strife. At the same time, wiser heads shook over the mass hysteria so deliberately produced, judging it an ominous symptom of worse things to come.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Embassy, Lisbon, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and the Ministry of Information.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

Vincent Cowker.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

112

Z 3356

13 MAR 1945

Registry Number	Z 3356/233/41
FROM	Mr. Bowker, Madrid.
No.	142
Dated	6th Mar. 1945
Received in Registry	13th Mar. 1945
Z:	Spain

Changes in military appointments in Spain.

Reports official announcement of the appointment of General Varela as High Commissioner in Spanish Morocco in the place of General Orgaz, who joins the Higher General Staff; of General Solchaga as Captain General of the Fourth Region in the place of General Moscardo, who succeeds General Munoz Grandes as Head of Franco's Military Household; and of General Munoz Grandes as Captain General of Madrid in place of General Saliquet. Comments that General Varela's appointment is the most important, as he is friendly to the Allies. General Solchaga is also welcomed, but not General Grandes, who is on the Russian list of War Criminals. Copied Gibraltar, Tangier and Barcelona.

Last Paper.

Z3353

References.

Valera ff in Library.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) DMI
DNI
ACAS I
9) Washington no: 488
March 23

(Action completed.)

21/3

(Index.)

9/7.

Next Paper.

Z 3523

(Minutes.)

Except for General Munoz Grande's appointment, these changes are for the better from our point of view.

C Hamilton
16/3

Mr Hobbs
F.O.R.D. 2 D 927/iii

Copy Director of Intelligence

R Jarman
20/3

I think we might thank the Ambassador

Oliver
21.3.

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

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2 of 1 113 Z 22

Z 3356
17 MAR 1945

British Embassy,
Madrid.

No. 142. 6th March, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that official announcement was made yesterday of three important changes in military appointments, namely the appointment of General Varela as High Commissioner in Spanish Morocco in the place of General Orgaz, who joins the Higher General Staff (Alto Estado Mayor), the appointment of General Solchaga as Captain-General of the Fourth Region (Cataluña) in the place of General Moscardo, who succeeds General Muñoz Grandes as Head of General Franco's Military Household, and, finally, the appointment of General Muñoz Grandes as Captain-General of Madrid in place of General Saliquet, who becomes President of the Supreme Council of Military Justice.

2. Of these appointments the most important, from the point of view of British interests, is the change of High Commissioner in Spanish Morocco. It will be remembered that General Varela resigned his post of Minister of War in September, 1943, as a result of an attempt made on his life by a group of Falange extremists, who threw a bomb at him as he was leaving the Church at Begoña after an official ceremony. The incident precipitated the dismissal of Señor Serrano Suñer as Minister for Foreign Affairs. It may be hoped that the appointment as High Commissioner in Morocco of this able and experienced officer, who is a keen monarchist and friendly to the Allies, will render possible the settlement of the various problems connected with British interests in the Spanish zone and Tangier which have arisen largely as a result of the intransigence of General Orgaz,

/ 3.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

3. The appointment of General Solchaga, an old and loyal friend of Great Britain, to what is now the most important of the provincial commands, is also to be welcomed.

4. The choice of General Muñoz Grandes, the Commander of the Blue Division, who figures on the Russian list of war criminals, as Captain-General of Madrid, is not calculated to make a very favourable impression abroad. But at least the change is not a change for the worse, since the new and the retiring Generals are equally adherents of General Franco and Germanophil in sentiment.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to the Acting British Consuls-General at Tangier and Barcelona.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

James Bowker.

32

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 3523

16 MAR 1945

Registry Number	Z 3523/233/41
FROM	Mr. Bowker, Madrid.
No.	157
Dated	13th Mar:1945
Received in Registry	16th Mar:1945
Z :	Spain. +

Comparative strength of the Spanish General Staff and the Falange in Spain.

Encloses copies of letter of 17th January from Mr. Farquhar, Barcelona, suggesting that the Alto Estado Major and General Vigon are stronger in Spain than the Falange and Senor Sequenica. Describes the various functions of the A.E.M. shich appears to have been formed on the German model. The Chiefs of the various sections are General Davila, General Arsenio Martinez Campos, Rear Admiral Arturo Genava and Colonel Felife Lapfita. Relations between A.E.M. and the Falange are not good. It is rumoured that Franco is considering disbanding the Falange as a gesture to America although the Flange is still as strong as ever.

(minutes.)

Even if the real power still lies with the Alto Estado Major, I do not think the Falange will submit to disbandment without some sort of a fight. As a gesture to the U.S., Franco might well consider it too expensive.

R Hankey
17/3

This is an interesting despatch and should, I think, be printed. It is the first account we have had from Madrid of the power and scope of the Alto Estado Major and it shows very clearly that even if General Franco should bring himself to suppress Falange there would still remain a much more powerful and sinister body

Last Paper.

Z 3356

References.

(Print.)

PRINTED for Embassy Spain

(How disposed of.)

En print
9) Washington no 989
Lisbon no 131
Paris no 975
9 June 8
8) DMI
DNI
ACAS I
9 June 8

(Action completed)

(Index.)

9/7.

Next Paper.

Z 3624

Z 3523
MAR 1943

body in Spain, professedly Axis. German and inimical to our interests. This despatch makes it clear why our efforts to secure the removal of German agents from Spain have been so deliberately and regularly frustrated.

Copy Washington
Lisbon
Paris
Directors of Intelligence
} in print

F.O.R.D. 9.3.42/iv

This is interesting. It confirms our view that the mere disappearance of Serrano by itself will not mean a real reform in the Spanish regime. Either Franco must go too, or if he stays, he must get rid of Arrese the Fascist pro-German elements in his administration — or Interesting. I am surprised he has remained at the head of affairs. D.G.Sargent 10.4.24

Ask Peake. Hildyard 24/3 23.3

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ARCHIVES

[Z 3523/233/41] Copy No. 8

Mr. Bowker to Mr. Eden.—(*Received* 16*th March.*)

(No. 157.)

Sir, *Madrid*, 13*th March*, 1945.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of a letter from His Majesty's Consul-General at Barcelona, in which he raises the pertinent question whether the Spanish General Staff, usually known as the A.E.M. (or Alto Estado Major) does not represent a more fundamental and dangerous weapon for authoritarian rule in Spain than the Falange itself.

2. The A.E.M. owes its existence and powers to a decree of the 30th August, 1939. It consists of three sections—(*a*) Military: for the co-ordination of plans, &c., between the three services; (*b*) Economic: to advise on the utilisation "of the entire national resources in the case of war"; (*c*) Intelligence: to "study the military strength and economic resources of other countries." Its personnel are appointed directly by the head of the State.

3. The exercise of these functions gives the A.E.M. power unequalled by any other body in the State, including the Council of Ministers, and it holds the secrets which cannot be trusted to any Ministry, with its numerous officials. Under (*a*) and (*b*) above it can control the use of raw materials. It has absolute authority in all matters dealing with armaments, &c., and the plans concerning the construction of the new Spanish fleet are known only to it. No Ministry can interfere with its work or its decisions. Under (*c*) it has in its hands the entire system of espionage and counter-espionage in the country. All military, air and naval attachés abroad are directly subject to it. It has a specially-trained army of observers who are engaged in watching the frontiers. Every kind of secret service work is under its authority. The Directorate-General of Security must submit all information which reaches it to the A.E.M. and all arrests of any importance must be communicated to it. It is the supreme police authority in Spain and is controlled by the picked officers of General Franco. The Gestapo branch of the A.E.M. has been skilfully built on German models and, particularly since Himmler's visit in 1941, German officers have ensured that its development has not diverged from German lines. In military intelligence and counter-espionage it has, in fact, consistently worked in close co-operation with the Germans, by whom it has been, and presumably still is, subsidised. The information which it has obtained from its various sources abroad and in Spain is at the disposal of the Germans, and German agents work in conjunction with its agents. If our efforts to clear up once and for all the network of German agents which still exists in Spain have been consistently torpedoed it can be safely asserted that the independent and super-ministerial position of the A.E.M. and its pro-German bias have been largely responsible.

4. The military side of the A.E.M. is also an entirely German creation. As an example of the close co-operation which still exists between it and the Germans, I am told that the two German officers who accompanied the Spanish diplomatic messenger from Berlin on the 6th February drove straight to the A.E.M. on their arrival in Madrid.

5. The chief of the A.E.M., General Davila, though apparently a colourless individual, was probably the most efficient commander in the civil war. He was subsequently made Minister of War and has since unobtrusively, but in effect, been the most important element in the direction of the A.E.M. The intelligence section is under General Arsenio Martinez Campos, who was formerly a notorious pro-German, but whose wealth and business connexions have recently inclined him to wish to be friendly with the winning side. The most active and intelligent members of this section appear to be Lieut.-Colonel Antonio Gores, Air Force Colonel José Juste Iraola, and especially a certain Major Pedro Martinez. The chiefs of the other two sections are understood to be Rear-Admiral Arturo Genova (military) and Air Force Colonel Felipe Laffita (economic).

6. The A.E.M. may be regarded as a logical projection, on the German model, of the disproportionately powerful political aspirations nourished by the

Spanish generals for a century or more past. Nevertheless, nothing like it has existed before in Spain and the mere fact that it exists, by increasing and giving a kind of constitutional permanence to the power of the armed forces as a whole, tends to reduce the power of individual generals. By its presence everywhere and in everything it binds the army to the head of the State, making *pronunciamentos* by local commanders in the old style less likely to succeed.

7. In spite of its German origin, and the peculiarly unpleasant German character of some of its offshoots, there is no close understanding between the A.E.M. and the Falange. On the contrary, their dislike for each other is mutual. Highly-placed members of the party frequently show unmistakable signs of hatred for certain generals and senior officers. The Spanish army of to-day, especially the middle and junior ranks, which were largely embodied during the civil war and after, has developed a strong professional spirit and the party has not succeeded, as it hoped to do, in "falangising" the armed forces. This is due partly, perhaps, to the fact that during the war young Falangists who joined the army developed a healthy dislike for their former comrades who were profiting from their position behind the lines to play at politics and enrich themselves in the process. Consequently, it may well be that if and when the Falange is done away with, it will be the generals who will deliver the blow, with the certain knowledge that the rank and file of the army will support them.

8. However, this does not mean that the Falange is already half-dead or moribund. Far from it. It is true that its influence on foreign policy has steadily declined since the fall of Serrano Suñer, Nevertheless, the Falange leaders still have frequent access to General Franco. Arias Salgado, the Vice-Secretary for Press and Propaganda, sees him with some frequency and intimacy, while Arrese, the Minister-Secretary of the party, is still one of Franco's intimate Counsellors, even if the relationship is more personal than political. The Minister for Foreign Affairs himself propounded a surprising theory in a recent interview with me by affirming that while Falange had no influence on Spanish foreign policy, it was a useful internal element for General Franco in that it gave him a broader basis for his Government than would have been the case with a purely military administration. If, Señor Lequerica said, after the civil war General Franco had formed a purely military Government, this would inevitably have been a reactionary administration. The inclusion of the Falange, which embraced a number of political elements, gave the régime a much broader basis. Perhaps, also, General Franco and the A.E.M. know that they have in the Falange a scapegoat for the hostility which is always felt in Spain for any régime in power, and particularly a dictatorship.

9. I have recently heard indirectly from a well-informed source that General Franco intends to disband the Falange shortly and that he is planning to do this soon after the arrival of the new United States Ambassador as a special gesture to the United States. It is very probable that the Spanish Government (and particularly, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce) are preparing bouquets for Mr. Armour and it is possible that some such gesture as this may be included among them, although hitherto I have received the impression that General Franco neither wishes, nor sees any necessity, to deprive himself of Falange, which has recently shown fresh confidence with the public's renewed fear of extremist disorders and which General Franco seems to think will soon be recognised abroad as embodying the finest Spanish traditions and as serving as a model for other nations. The disbandment of Falange would, no doubt, make a considerable impression on public opinion abroad. But, as Mr. Farquhar suggests in his letter, it would not remove the Germanophil influences in the Spanish régime. Falange leaders are mainly young men without deep background or convictions, to whom a change of political outlook need not present great difficulties. But the Germanophil sentiment of the leading members of the A.E.M. is deep-rooted and it is the removal of these men, who are much more likely to perpetuate the spirit of German militarism in Spain than the Falange chiefs, which would be a convincing proof of a change of heart in General Franco and a genuine desire on his part to adapt his policy to one of real friendship with the United Nations.

I have, &c.

R. J. BOWKER.

Spanish generals for a century or more past. Nevertheless, nothing like it has existed before in Spain and the mere fact that it exists, by increasing and giving a kind of constitutional permanence to the power of the armed forces as a whole, tends to reduce the power of individual generals. By its presence everywhere and in everything it binds the army to the head of the State, making *pronunciamentos* by local commanders in the old style less likely to succeed.

7. In spite of its German origin, and the peculiarly unpleasant German character of some of its offshoots, there is no close understanding between the A.E.M. and the Falange. On the contrary, their dislike for each other is mutual. Highly-placed members of the party frequently show unmistakable signs of hatred for certain generals and senior officers. The Spanish army of to-day, especially the middle and junior ranks, which were largely embodied during the civil war and after, has developed a strong professional spirit and the party has not succeeded, as it hoped to do, in "falangising" the armed forces. This is due partly, perhaps, to the fact that during the war young Falangists who joined the army developed a healthy dislike for their former comrades who were profiting from their position behind the lines to play at politics and enrich themselves in the process. Consequently, it may well be that if and when the Falange is done away with, it will be the generals who will deliver the blow, with the certain knowledge that the rank and file of the army will support them.

8. However, this does not mean that the Falange is already half-dead or moribund. Far from it. It is true that its influence on foreign policy has steadily declined since the fall of Serrano Suñer, Nevertheless, the Falange leaders still have frequent access to General Franco. Arias Salgado, the Vice-Secretary for Press and Propaganda, sees him with some frequency and intimacy, while Arrese, the Minister-Secretary of the party, is still one of Franco's intimate Counsellors, even if the relationship is more personal than political. The Minister for Foreign Affairs himself propounded a surprising theory in a recent interview with me by affirming that while Falange had no influence on Spanish foreign policy, it was a useful internal element for General Franco in that it gave him a broader basis for his Government than would have been the case with a purely military administration. If, Señor Lequerica said, after the civil war General Franco had formed a purely military Government, this would inevitably have been a reactionary administration. The inclusion of the Falange, which embraced a number of political elements, gave the régime a much broader basis. Perhaps, also, General Franco and the A.E.M. know that they have in the Falange a scapegoat for the hostility which is always felt in Spain for any régime in power, and particularly a dictatorship.

9. I have recently heard indirectly from a well-informed source that General Franco intends to disband the Falange shortly and that he is planning to do this soon after the arrival of the new United States Ambassador as a special gesture to the United States. It is very probable that the Spanish Government (and particularly, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce) are preparing bouquets for Mr. Armour and it is possible that some such gesture as this may be included among them, although hitherto I have received the impression that General Franco neither wishes, nor sees any necessity, to deprive himself of Falange, which has recently shown fresh confidence with the public's renewed fear of extremist disorders and which General Franco seems to think will soon be recognised abroad as embodying the finest Spanish traditions and as serving as a model for other nations. The disbandment of Falange would, no doubt, make a considerable impression on public opinion abroad. But, as Mr. Farquhar suggests in his letter, it would not remove the Germanophil influences in the Spanish régime. Falange leaders are mainly young men without deep background or convictions, to whom a change of political outlook need not present great difficulties. But the Germanophil sentiment of the leading members of the A.E.M. is deep-rooted and it is the removal of these men, who are much more likely to perpetuate the spirit of German militarism in Spain than the Falange chiefs, which would be a convincing proof of a change of heart in General Franco and a genuine desire on his part to adapt his policy to one of real friendship with the United Nations.

I have, &c.
R. J. BOWKER.

Enclosure.

Mr. Farquhar to Mr. Bowker.

Barcelona, 17*th January*, 1945.

AFTER nearly four years here I have seen Anglo-Spanish relations pass through various phases and the present one, in which we and the Spaniards are sulking and the Spaniards and Americans flirting, has tempted me to think aloud and to inflict my thoughts upon you.

2. On more than one occasion I have been struck with the fact that, although Falangists are noisy, obstructive and offensive, they are not the real obstructionists who are much better camouflaged and must be sought elsewhere. I may be wrong but I sometimes wonder whether Franco and that group of powerful and influential generals in his civil and military establishment, together with the all-pervading influence of the Spanish General Staff, are not more dangerous than the Falange which they use as a screen. I doubt whether Franco and his generals have any real belief in Falange ideology, and I suspect them of a profound admiration for the German General Staff and of trying to constitute here a form of camouflaged military domination over Spain in the same way as the German Grosser Generalstab has, for many years, exercised power in Germany. To draw a bow at a venture, it would not surprise me if General Vigon, an out-and-out admirer of German military methods and of the German General Staff, does not have more influence on Franco as far as foreign policy is concerned, than does Lequerica, who seems, in any case, to be a bit of a light weight. The fact that the Spanish General Staff are hand in glove with the Germans and that the Spanish police services of all sorts and kinds seem to work hand in glove with the Gestapo might perhaps fit into this picture.

3. The days of Falangism are probably numbered. They would be a blatant and ridiculous anachronism in any post-war Europe, but would the Allies (and incidentally the Spanish people) gain anything if Franco and his generals merely changed the puppets on the scene whilst remaining in the background, pulling all the strings, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit, aims and ideals of authoritarianism on the German General Staff model? And for as long as Franco and his generals remain at the head of affairs in Spain, will not German militarism be able to count on a bolt-hole and a spiritual home?

Would it be too far-fetched to seek a parallel in the Argentine where they have something worse than a bunch of generals—they are nearly all colonels!

HAROLD FARQUHAR.

1207

Z 3523
16 MAR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

No. 157.

13th March, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of a letter from His Majesty's Consul-General at Barcelona, in which he raises the pertinent question whether the Spanish General Staff, usually known as the A.E.M. (or Alto Estado Major) does not represent a more fundamental and dangerous weapon for authoritarian rule in Spain than the Falange itself.

2. The A.E.M. owes its existence and powers to a Decree of August 30th, 1939. It consists of three Sections; (a) Military: for the coordination of plans, etc., between the three Services, (b) Economic: to advise on the utilisation "of the entire national resources in the case of war", (c) Intelligence: to "study the military strength and economic resources of other countries". Its personnel are appointed directly by the Head of the State.

3. The exercise of these functions gives the A.E.M. power unequalled by any other Body in the State, including the Council of Ministers and it holds the secrets which cannot be trusted to any Ministry, with its numerous officials. Under (a) and (b) above it can control the use of raw materials. It has absolute authority in all matters dealing with armaments, etc., and the plans concerning the construction of the new Spanish fleet are known only to it. No Ministry can interfere with its work or its decisions. Under (c) it has in its hands the entire system of espionage and counter-espionage in the country. All Military, Air and Naval Attachés abroad are directly subject to it. It has a specially-trained army of observers who are engaged in watching the frontiers. Every kind of secret service work is under its authority. The Directorate-General of Security must submit all information which reaches it to the A.E.M. and all arrests of any importance must be communicated to it. It is the supreme police authority in Spain and is controlled by the picked officers of General Franco. The Gestapo Branch of the A.E.M. has been skilfully built on German models, and, particularly since Himmler's visit in 1941, German officers have ensured that its development has not diverged from German lines. In military intelligence and counter-espionage it has, in fact, consistently worked in close cooperation with the Germans, by whom it has been, and presumably still is, subsidised. The information which it has obtained from its various sources abroad and in Spain is at the disposal of the Germans, and German agents work in conjunction with its agents. If our efforts to clear up once and for all the network of German agents which still exists in Spain have been consistently torpedoed it can be safely asserted that the independent and super-ministerial position of the A.E.M. and its pro-German bias have been largely responsible.

4. The military side of the A.E.M. is also an entirely German creation. As an example of the close cooperation which still exists between it and the Germans, I am told that the two German officers who accompanied the Spanish diplomatic messenger from Berlin on February 6th, drove straight to the A.E.M. on their arrival in Madrid. . . .

5. The Chief of the A.E.M., General Davila, though apparently a colourless individual, was probably the most efficient commander in the civil war. He was subsequently made Minister of War and has since

/unobtrusively,

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

15 MAR 1945

2 3523

unobtrusively, but in effect, [illegible] most important element in the direction of the A.E.M. The Intelligence Section is under General Arsenio Martinez Campos, who was formerly a notorious pro-German but whose wealth and business connections have recently inclined him to wish to be friendly with the winning side. The most active and intelligent members of this Section appear to be Lt. Colonel Antonio Cores, Air Force Colonel José Juste Iraola, and especially a certain Major Pedro Martinez. The Chiefs of the other two Sections are understood to be Rear-Admiral Arturo Genova (Military) and Air Force Colonel Felipe Laffita (Economic).

6. The A.E.M. may be regarded as a logical projection, on the German model, of the disproportionately powerful political aspirations nourished by the Spanish Generals for a century or more past. Nevertheless, nothing like it has existed before in Spain and the mere fact that it exists, by increasing and giving a kind of constitutional permanence to the power of the Armed Forces as a whole, tends to reduce the power of individual generals. By its presence everywhere and in everything it binds the Army to the Head of the State, making pronunciamentos by local commanders in the old style less likely to succeed.

7. In spite of its German origin, and the peculiarly unpleasant German character of some of its offshoots, there is no close understanding between the A.E.M. and the Falange. On the contrary, their dislike for eachother is mutual. Highly-placed members of the Party frequently show unmistakable signs of hatred for certain generals and senior officers. The Spanish Army of today, especially the middle and junior ranks, which were largely embodied during the civil war and after, has developed a strong professional spirit and the Party has not succeeded, as it hoped to do, in "falangizing" the armed forces. This is due partly, perhaps, to the fact that during the war young Falangists who joined the army developed a healthy dislike for their former comrades who were profiting from their position behind the lines to play at politics and enrich themselves in the process. Consequently, it may well be that if and when the Falange is done away with, it will be the generals who will deliver the blow, with the certain knowledge that the rank and file of the army will support them.

8. However, this does not mean that the Falange is already half-dead or moribund. Far from it. It is true that its influence on foreign policy has steadily declined since the fall of Serrano Suñer. Nevertheless, the Falange leaders still have frequent access to General Franco. Arias Salgado, the Vice-Secretary for Press and Propaganda, sees him with some frequency and intimacy, while Arrese, the Minister-Secretary of the Party, is still one of Franco's intimate Counsellors, even if the relationship is more personal than political. The Minister for Foreign Affairs himself propounded a suprising theory in a recent interview with me by affirming that while Falange had no influence on Spanish foreign policy, it was a useful internal element for General Franco in that it gave him a broader basis for his Government than would have been the case with a purely military administration. If, Señor Lequerica said, after the civil war General Franco had formed a purely military Government, this would inevitably have been a reactionary administration. The inclusion of the Falange, which embraced a number of political elements, gave the régime a much broader basis. Perhaps, also, General Franco and the A.E.M. know that they have in the Falange a scape goat for the hostility which is always felt in Spain for any régime in power and particularly a dictatorship.

9. I have recently heard indirectly from a well-informed source /that

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that General Franco intends to disband the Falange shortly and that he is planning to do this soon after the arrival of the new United States Ambassador as a special gesture to the United States of America. It is very probable that the Spanish Government (and particularly the Ministry of Industry and Commerce) are preparing bouquets for Mr. Armour and it is possible that some such gesture as this may be included among them, although hitherto I have received the impression that General Franco neither wishes, nor sees any necessity, to deprive himself of Falange, which has recently shown fresh confidence with the public's renewed fear of extremist disorders, and which General Franco seems to think will soon be recognised abroad as embodying the finest Spanish traditions and as serving as a model for other nations. The disbandment of Falange would, no doubt, make a considerable impression on public opinion abroad. But, as Mr. Farquhar suggests in his letter, it would not remove the Germanophil influences in the Spanish régime. Falange leaders are mainly young men without deep background or convictions, to whom a change of political outlook need not present great difficulties. But the Germanophil sentiment of the leading members of the A.E.M. is deep-rooted and it is the removal of these men, who are much more likely to perpetuate the spirit of German militarism in Spain than the Falange chiefs, which would be a convincing proof of a change of heart in General Franco and a genuine desire on his part to adapt his policy to one of real friendship with the United Nations.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

James Bowker.

124

[redacted]/5/45.

Top-Secret.

British Consulate-General,

Barcelona.

17th January, 1945.

After nearly four years here I have seen Anglo-Spanish relations pass through various phases and the present one, in which we and the Spaniards are sulking and the Spaniards and Americans flirting, has tempted me to think aloud and to inflict my thoughts upon you.

2. On more than one occasion I have been struck with the fact that, although Falangists are noisy, obstructive and offensive, they are not the real obstructionists who are much better camouflaged and must be sought elsewhere. I may be wrong but I sometimes wonder whether Franco and that group of powerful and influential generals in his civil and military establishment, together with the all-pervading influence of the Spanish General Staff, are not more dangerous than the Falange which they use as a screen. I doubt whether Franco and his generals have any real belief in Falange ideology, and I suspect them of a profound admiration for the German General Staff and of trying to constitute here a form of camouflaged military domination over Spain in the same way as the German Grosser Generalstab has, for many years, exercised power in Germany. To draw a bow at a venture, it would not surprise me if General Vigon, an out-and-out admirer of German military methods and of the German General Staff, does not have more influence on Franco as far as foreign policy is concerned, than does Lequerica, who seems, in any case, to be a bit of a light weight. The fact that the Spanish/

J. Bowker, Esq.,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

Spanish General Staff are hand in glove with the Germans and that the Spanish police services of all sorts and kinds seem to work hand in glove with the Gestapo might perhaps fit into this picture.

3. The days of Falangism are probably numbered. They would be a blatant and ridiculous anachronism in any post-war Europe, but would the Allies (and incidentally the Spanish people) gain anything if Franco and his generals merely changed the puppets on the scene whilst remaining in the background, pulling all the strings, and thoroughly imbued with the spirit, aims and ideals of authoritarianism on the German General Staff model? And for as long as Franco and his generals remain at the head of affairs in Spain, will not German militarism be able to count on a bolt-hole and a spiritual home?

Would it be too far-fetched to seek a parallel in the Argentine where they have something worse than a bunch of Generals - they are nearly all Colonels!

(Sgd) HAROLD FARQUHAR.

33

1945

Z

SPAIN

126

Z 3624

10 MAR 1945

Registry Number Z 3624/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 144 (102/5/45)

Dated 7th March, 1945.

Received in Registry 19th March, 1945.

Z: Spain

Unrest in North Spain resulting from Falangist murders.

Refers to Madrid despatch 136 of the 2nd March (Z 3353/233/41). Transmits copy of letter from Consulate General, Barcelona, dated 1st March, reporting great publicity given to the murder of the two Falangists in Madrid, and describing the various feelings on the matter. It is thought that the success of the United Nations will increase the unrest.

Last Paper.

23523

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.) Kwd 26/3.

(Index.)

(Minutes.)

Mr Bromley 24 Mar 45. 22/3

Next Paper.

23879

127 Z

No. 144
(103/5/45)

HIS Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid,
presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A.,
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Madrid.

7th March, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:
Madrid Despatch No. 136 of 2nd March, 1945.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of letter to Chancery from Consulate-General Barcelona, dated 1st March, 1945.	Unrest in the North as a result of the murder of two Falangists ~~by Maquis~~.

Z 3624
10 MAR 1945

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128

COPY

H/21/45.

British Consulate-General,
BARCELONA.
1st March, 1945.

Dear Chancery,

There has been a great deal of attention paid by the local press to the murder of the two Falangists in Madrid and a certain amount of clamour for reprisals against the Communists. We think that we can sum up the local feeling as follows:-

(a) the murder is a direct reprisal for the killing of 16 Maquis captured in the North;

(b) the local Falangists seem to be feeling rather nervous. The Civil Governor has not improved matters by making a rather inflammatory speech to the local "Guardia de Franco" at Sardañola, and although it has not been definitely established we think that these youths have since been furnished with automatic pistols;

(c) the Falange papers have for several days published an announcement ordering all the members of the Vieja Guardia of Falange to report for enrolment in the "Guardia de Franco". In this connection we have heard that there has been a certain amount of coercion and even threats in the case of party members who have become tepid in their loyalty;

(d) it is reported that in the districts of Sans and La Tarrasa Maquis elements are actively at work and such would appear to be their power there that threats of vengeance have been received by the local officials should any Maquis be imprisoned.

2. The foregoing shows that there is considerable unrest in the province and this is likely to increase as the victory of the United Nations in Europe grows closer.

3. We will keep you informed of any further developments.

Yours ever,
CONSULATE-GENERAL

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

34

1945

Z

SPAIN

121

Z 3879

24 MAR 1945

z Registry Number } Z 3879/233/41.

FROM Chancery, Madrid to Western Department

No.

Dated 20th March,

Received in Registry } 24th March, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Assassination of Dr. Morales in Barcelona

Refers to Madrid despatch No. 136 of 2nd March (Z 3353/233/41). Transmits copy of letter from Consulate-General, Barcelona, H/23/45 of 12th March, describing the assassination of Dr. Morales, Provincial chief of the C.N.S. on 4th March, following his address to a Falangist meeting and the elaborate funeral which followed. It also described the requiem mass held for Jacques Doriot, and comments on it.

Last Paper.

Z3624

References.

Ref in FORD.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

FORD - E.D.G. 27/iii

Z 3879 24/3

(Action completed.)

29/3

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

Z3944

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

130 Z

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

20th March, 1945.

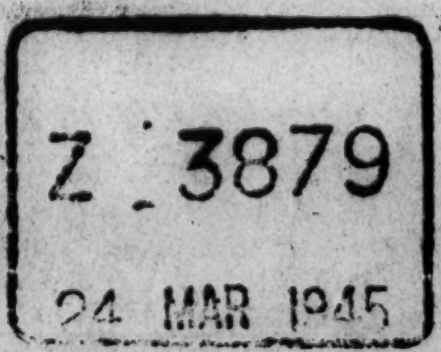
With the compliments of

CHANCERY.

Z

Reference Madrid Despatch No. 136
of the 2nd March, 1945.

Western Department,
Foreign Office.



COPY

130

British Consulate-General,
Barcelona.

H/23/45. 12th March, 1945.

Dear Chancery,

Two events have occurred locally during the past week which may be of interest to you.

2. On Sunday, 4th March, Dr. Morales, Provincial Chief of the C.N.S. was stopped on the main road between Falset and Reus and killed by shots from a roadside bus. His body was then placed in his car and left by the roadside. This assassination is the more ironical in that three days before, Dr. Morales had addressed a meeting of Falangists in Reus during which he stated "for every Falangist dead we will shoot ten hostages".

3. Following the murder, an elaborate funeral was held in Reus: the populace were compelled to attend and all business houses and factories were closed. The Civil Governor of Tarragona was the principal mourner and made an inflammatory speech which was broadcast by Radio Tarragona and Radio Reus. Among the many party wreaths was one bearing a large swastika from the German Consul-General in Barcelona, and as the funeral procession moved through the streets uniformed Falangists shouted "Down with Russia", "Down with the United Nations" and "Long Live Germany".

4. On March 3rd a requiem mass was held for the notorious Jacques Doriot. This was attended by the Vichy ex-Consul-General, the German Consul and several leading representatives of the Falange, including the Civil Governor's private secretary representing his chief. It is remarkable that this incident should have occurred in that the Front Populaire was so hostile to the Spanish Nationalists during the Civil War. As Doriot was an atheist the French church refused to allow the mass to be celebrated in the church of the French colony.

Yours ever,

CONSULATE-GENERAL.

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

35

1945

Z

SPAIN

132

Z 3944

26 MAR 1945

Registry Number Z 3944/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 158 (102/12/45)

Dated 14th March, 1945.

Received in Registry 26th March, 1945.

Z: Spain

Speech by Senor Fernandez Cuesta in defence of Falangism.

Refers to Madrid despatch 136 of 3rd March (Z 3353/233/41). Describes speech given at Valladolid by Senor Fernandez Cuesta, the President of the Conseijo del Estada, where he referred to the ideals of Falangism and defined the Party's doctrine. The speech acknowledged the existence of those who dislike Falange and said the Falange would go if it were found to be an hindrance.

Last Paper.

23879

References.

Ref in FORD

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Mpl.

Mar. 29th

(Minutes.)

Copy Mpl.

FORD. SDG 29/3

28/3

(Action completed.)

3/4

(Index.)

9/7.

Next Paper.

23945

133 Z

Z 3944

26 MAR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

No.158.
(102/12/45)

14th March, 1945.

Sir,

Z

With reference to my despatch No. 136 of March 3rd, I have the honour to inform you that on March 5th Señor Fernandez Cuesta, the President of the Consejo del Estado, delivered a long speech at Valladolid. After having been introduced with a few truculent words by the Civil Governor recalling the assassination of the two Falangists on 25th February, Señor Fernandez Cuesta embarked on a long and somewhat tedious defence of Falangism, containing all the usual platitudes. The mission of the Falange, he said, was to give "political substance to a régime which otherwise perhaps would have had a purely negative character". After the Civil War many people entered the Falange "in order to climb on to the chariot of victory", and later, when the course of the war altered, found themselves out of sympathy with Falange ideas. This situation had resulted in a failure to appreciate that Falange had its own independent ideals, and that it was not a mere imitation of Fascism of the Italian or German brand. Consequently, he declared, (after somewhat pathetically admitting that it seemed to be the fate of the Falange never to be understood) the best service he could render was to define once more the Party's doctrine. The speaker thereupon did so at length and the picture he drew was as confused as that of other Falange speakers who have attempted the same task before him.

2. In spite of the length of the speech and the considerable prominence given to it in the Press, it contained only two new points:

(i) It openly acknowledged that there were people who in good faith thought that the disappearance of the Falange would save Spain and that she was lost if the Falange continued.

(ii) It stated that the Falange would not "continue in its post" if it felt that it was not properly serving Spain, and that it was really only an obstacle.

3. Although, after making these points, Señor Fernandez Cuesta went on to declare that the dissolution of the Falange would be the wreck of Spain, this is the first public mention of a possibility which has hitherto been unmentionable.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Samuel Bowker.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.
Foreign Office.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

134

Z 3945

26 MAR 1945

Registry Number Z 3945/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 164 (1/56/45)

Dated 17th March, 1945.

Received in Registry 26th March, 1945.

Z: Spain

Unrest in Spain resulting from Falange methods.

Refers to Madrid despatch 136 of 2nd March (Z-3353/233/41). Transmits copies of reports from Valencia, Alicante, Vigo and Ribadeo, reporting the spreading of unrest in those districts because of the recent Falange murders and bomb explosions. Suggests this is due to the Allied Victories and the threat to the position of the Falange.

Last Paper.

Z 3944

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

S/H & L. April 3

(Action completed)

S. dealt with 24/4

(Index.)

9/7.

Next Paper.

24137.

(*Minutes.*)

Copy not.

Foreign Office 29/3

F.O.R.D. 2.D.G.3/10

The consular reports enclosed in this despatch are interesting. They all bear witness to the increase of unrest in Spain and some of them contain evidence of the growing violence of the extreme Falangists as they feel their position weakening.

See also Z 3946 (for Tenerife).

1864/41

R. Garran 28/3

H.M. 29.3

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Z 3945

26 MAR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

No. 164.
(1/56/45.)

17th March, 1945.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 136 of the 2nd March, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith copies of reports which have reached me from Valencia, Alicante, Vigo and Ribadeo, regarding the political situation in those areas. It will be seen from these reports that the general unrest of which symptoms have been the recent bomb explosions and the murder on February 27th of two Falangists in Madrid and which has been reported from Barcelona as existing in that area as well, is becoming widespread at least in South East and North West Spain, and that the Falange in these districts are reacting violently to the threat to their position.

2. It is likely that this unrest is largely due to the apparently imminent collapse of Nazism before the Allied armies, and that it will increase steadily until the day of victory.

I have the honour to be with the
highest respect, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

James Bowker.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

136

SECRET

British Consulate,
VALENCIA.

6th March, 1945.

Dear Chancery,

Political executions. None have come to my knowledge since my last report, but there has been a large increase in the number of arrests, made by Falange members without any warrant of authority, usually in the small hours of the night.

In the majority of cases, the persons arrested have been released after a short questioning regarding their political colour and their connection with any elements outside Spain; those with communist tendencies or antecedents have suffered physical violence.

Yours ever,

VALENCIA.

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
MADRID.

14 137

CONFIDENTIAL

COPY

26th February, 1945.

BRITISH VICE CONSULATE
Alicante

Dear Chancery,

GENERAL REPORT

On the 23rd instant a police agent was murdered by some men whom he was trying to arrest in a country house within the boundaries of Elche. The agent in question - a member of the Vieja Guardia etc., was a first class Falangist and, consequently, there has been a bit of an uproar. There are many versions of the affair, all based on the murderers being communists but we can pretty safely assume that it happened as follows: the dead man and two others had not been sent officially to arrest the people in question. They had found out that some men met in the house and it is believed that they were communists possibly celebrating some Red Anniversary. The agents drove upto the house, knocked at the door and in reply to an enquiry from within stated that they were police officers. The door opened, one of them walked in, was met by a fusillade of pistol shots and the other two agents ran away. There does not appear to be any truth in the versions that the occupants of the house had a machine gun, wierless transmitter etc.-

As this is the first case of violent resistance to the authorities there has been quite a lot of comment which has not been encouraged by the authorities apart from the fact that a public funeral was held at Elche on the 24th at which all the Military, Civil and Falangist authorities assisted. There have not been any public statements about reprisals etc., although so far between 100/250 people have been arrested in Elche and some 7/8 here, but it is known that members of the Falange have been ordered to have no compunction in "bumping off" suspects if found with firearms, particularly so in Murcia.

It is thought here that the affair is a result of recent circulars distributed by Falange threatening everybody 'if anything happens' and it is believed that this will not be the only case as it is obvious that, at this stage of affairs, nobody who has reasons to believe that he may be beaten or shot is going to

/let

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
MADRID.

let himself be arrested in the middle of the night.

There is some nervousness as it is also feared that the Falangists will start taking the law into their hands and shooting some Reds in reprisal, thus starting a chain which might result in a general débacle.

POLITICAL GROUPS: All opposition groups are now more or less organised in this province and have their contacts in all towns. The new ALIANZA NACIONAL DE FUERZAS DEMOCRATICAS which includes all parties except the Communist, appears to be growing in favour, although the presence in their midst of the C.N.T. is not viewed with sympathy by moderate groups. I take it that you have seen their circulars. I enclose their 'official' introduction to this province, dated February 1945, giving the terms of agreement between the strongest groups, namely Republican, Socialist, U.G.T. and C.N.T.-

It is generally agreed by most people (of different social standing) that the Franco régime is bound to collapse and that steps should be taken to avoid a sudden change before the end of the War. However, nobody seems to know who is going to take over with sufficient influence and strength to avoid any trouble as there is no single individual, with the possible exception of possibly the Duke of Alba, who would be respected by all parties at a moment's notice.

Yours ever,

ALICANTE.

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1 CH 139

COPY

S E C R E T.

MEMORANDUM No. 7.

From: Acting British Consul, VIGO
To: H.M. Chargé d'Affaires, British Embassy, MADRID.
Date: 12th March, 1945.
(By Bag - 12.3.45.)

Presumably as a result of the assassination of two "Falangistas" in Madrid recently (believed in some quarters to have been instigated by their own Party), local members of the Party are going about more in semi-uniforms. Slogans have appæred on prominent buildings, such as "La Falange espera", and at least one political opponent has been beaten up, so badly that he is at present in a nursing home in a critical condition. A cutting from the "Faro de Vigo" of the 2nd March is attached, giving the name of the person and the nature of his injuries but refraining from making any reference to the cause or possible cause of such injuries.

2. Orders to the militant members of the Party have been issued through the Press and by private circular to the militant members only. Copies of both are attached, from which it will be noted that there is a fundamental difference between the two versions.

3. Whereas the Order, as published in the Press, states that all commentary, criticism or censure of the Régime, Falange or the Caudillo shall be immediately reported to the authorities, the Circular states that such commentary, criticism or censure shall be repressed in the act with all violence, energy and efficacy.

4. It will also be noted that the last paragraph has been altered in the Press version, this latter making no mention of the time-limit imposed for applications to be made to become members of the "Guardia de Franco" and it refers to all militant members "who really possess the spirit of Falange", whereas the Circular says "Every militant who wishes to continue to be such....."

5. There is no doubt that the authorities are turning a blind eye to this outburst of brutality as there is no evidence that any effort has been or is being made to bring the culprits to justice, although it is said that at least one or two of them are known to the general public.

6. As distinct ffom the Falange, the police have recently been rounding up so-called communists and putting them in jail and there is quite a number of them in prison at the present time, many of them "incomunicados". Our latest information is that some eight persons have been released.

7. We asked the Vice-Consulates at Corunna and Gijon to send us in a report on the situation in their districts in order to be able to make this report cover the whole area.

8. Corunna replied saying that they had reported direct by telegram and despatch, dated 1st and 8th March respectively, and enclosing a copy of their despatch.

9. Gijon replied as follows:-

"It would not appear that Falange have recently been in

/open

open conflict with their political opponents. Many arrests have been made during the last few months for political reasons, and there are many cases of people disappearing, of whom no trace can be found, but it is impossible to say if any of the arrests have been made at the instigation of Falange nor if they are in any way responsible for the disappearance of individuals as they were formerly reported to be. The position is rather obscure and complicated as so many of the police are reported to be members of Falange".

10. Finally, up to the moment of closing this report no further instances of beating-up have been brought to our notice.

---------- (initialled) A.L.

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COPY By Bag.

NO. NA.13/45.

British Vice Consulate,
Ribadeo.

SECRET

19th February, 1945.

Sir,

I beg to report that there is a very decided tightening up of the inspection of all road traffic in this area, especially Asturias, by the Authorities. I have been out all day with the car along the coast in Asturias and was stopped time and again at short distances by armed carabineers (Guardia Civil de Las Costas). My identification papers were examined and a copy taken, registration number of car was noted down, and interrogation made as to where I had come from, where I was going, and the object of my journey. It seems to be all a formality to impress the civil population who see all that is going on. The Civil Guards are also out patrolling the roads in greater numbers than usual, but they are not stopping traffic by day.

2. The control is particularly noticeable at cross-roads and side roads leading down to coastal villages and small harbours off the main road. I went down to the small harbour of PUERTO DE VEGA, which is two miles off the Coast Road, where the wooden landing stage ex Normandy coast was brought in by fishermen ostensibly to find out what had happened to it but in reality to get details of the harbour. While having a walk along the harbour I was accosted by a carabineer who examined my identification papers and as I did not have a military pass he insisted that I must leave the place. He had been given definite instructions by the Captain of carabineers in Luarca not to allow any foreigners down to the harbour unless they could produce a military pass. When I asked for an explanation he maintained that the whole of the north coast of Spain is a prohibited area and that all foreigners passing through must not leave the main roads. I continued my journey to Luarca and called on the Captain of the Port who is responsible for this part of the coast and he confirmed what the carabineer had told me. I explained I had come along to ascertain what had happened to the landing stage. It is lying in the harbour at San Esteban de Pravia and has not yet been put up for sale by auction. As soon as I left the Captain I was again stopped in the town of Luarca and my identification papers examined. It all seemed so very much overdone but the public were looking on.

3. Several incidents have made it clear that I am being very closely watched since the car arrived. I was anxious to get photographs today of the sandy beach at Tapia and the harbour at Puerto de Vega, but carabineers kept bobbing up everywhere and so I thought it wiser not to run the risk of getting into trouble. I did, however, manage to get other photographs - see my No. 14.

4. Luarca is the centre of this control where there is a Captain of Civil Guards and also a Captain of Carabineers, and they are both very pro-German. The present Captain of Carabineers in Luarca is the man I had trouble with in Vivero. He is to be transferred to San Esteban de Pravia on the 1st March next.

5. The secret police are also very active in this area, frequenting bars and keeping a watch on the quays. For some reason I have been unable to discover they are keeping a close watch on FOZ. They operate from Lugo and their numbers have been considerably increased. Arrests of prominent left wing agitators are being made.

/6...

Naval Attaché,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

6. The carabineers engaged on road control have been specially drafted into the area and are in addition to the usual strength. There has been trouble in SAN CIPRIAN where the Lieut. in charge was ordered to report to his Captain in Vivero, but he suspected that he was going to be arrested so he made off to the hills with three of his companions, and joined up with those in hiding there. I have been anxious to get a report sent in on SAN CIPRIAN for some time, but in view of the tension there have considered it prudent to keep away. It is right off the Coast Road and an unusually large number of carabineers are stationed there. In view of today's experience it looks as though I won't be allowed to go there without a military pass, at least while the present tension lasts. This restriction is going to prove a decided handicap as I do not wish to deliberately provoke the Authorities. I willymake enquiries in La Coruña about the possibility of getting a military pass.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

(signed) WILLIAM GRAY.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

143

Z 4137

30 MAR 1945

Registry Number Z 4137/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 179

Dated 27th Mar. 1945.

Received in Registry 30th Mar. 1945.

Z : Spain

Meeting between General Franco and the Consejo Superior del Ejercito.

Gives details about a recent meeting between General Franco and the Consejo Superior del Ejercito, provided by General Kindelan, and confirming an account of it given by General Aranda. General Franco begin the interview by saying that Spain's internal, and external situations were excellent and that the only future danger to the world would come from Freemasonary and Communism and Great Britain, not from Russia. General Kindelan's remonstrances were brushed aside. Copied Washington and Lisbon.

Last Paper.

Z 3945

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

i) Major Gaze M.I.3.A W.O.
ii Waldock Cetty
W/C McLaren A.M.
May 16

(Minutes.)

Most of General Franco's remarks are nonsense which he can hardly believe himself but his statements about American support are borne out by Mr. Bowker's despatch No 182 on Z 4147/587/41.

J.D. Scott

N.A. Dept. 9/4

Northern Dept. 27/5

This is an amazing rigmarole from General Franco, but I think that some method can be detected in his madness. He knows that the Generals are talking and thinking about replacing him and Falange by a monarchy and that they are hoping for at least some moral support from Great Britain. He therefore sets out to belittle Great Britain as "finished" and a nest of communists and freemasons. The real power of the future, he says, will be the U.S.A., and he blandly states that he has a personal assurance from President Roosevelt of support for his Government. I do not doubt that this is pure fiction, but if, as the silence of the Generals (except for General Kindelan) at the end of his address suggests, he got away with such a whopping lie, it will no doubt have served his purpose of discouraging the Generals from active monarchist intrigue.

Copy to Major Gaze, M.I.3.a., War Office, Mr. Waldock

(Action completed)

Gdbch 18/5

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

Z 4228

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Waldock, Admiralty, and Wing-Commander Maclaren, Air Ministry.

P Garran

April 3rd 1945.

pair up with

If the Generals are fools enough to swallow this stuff, then heaven help us if these same Generals are the people who reflect Franco & the Falange!

Franco's remarks are however interesting as showing yet another attempt on his part to persuade that he has the support of the Hunting Packs.

His real feelings about Russia may be very different from those he expresses in his speech. Many Spaniards seem to expect that Russia will be our or the Allies' friend after the war among [illegible] to make things pretty uncomfortable [illegible]

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URGENT

No. 179

Z 4137
30 MAR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.
27th March, 1945

Sir,

I have the honour to report the following information given to the Military Attaché by General Kindelan about a recent meeting between General Franco and the Consejo Superior del Ejercito. The information confirms an account of the meeting given me by General Aranda.

2. According to General Kindelan's account, the 26 members of the Consejo Superior del Ejercito were summoned by General Franco the day before the manifesto was announced on the foreign radio. Before going to the Prado, the Generals had a preliminary meeting among themselves, at which General Kindelan obtained agreement with Generals Varela, Ponte and Bautista Sanchez that if it became necessary to put certain views to General Franco, the four Generals would act together. At the interview, General Franco spoke to the assembled Generals for more than an hour on the following lines. General Franco had heard that certain of the Generals were concerned over the present internal and external situation of Spain. He could reassure them on both points. As regards the internal situation, Spain had never been more quiet, orderly or contented. As for Falange, this was an element of stability and after the war foreign countries, especially the United States of America, would imitate and adopt Falange principles. As regards the external situation, there was equally little cause for worry. General Franco's relations with General de Gaulle were excellent. Great Britain was finished, and after the war would count for nothing. General Franco held the British Prime Minister in high esteem, but the latter had confessed to him that he was in the hands of the Freemasons. Moreover, he could not forget that Mr. Churchill had sent Lord Templewood to Spain with the task of replacing General Franco's régime by a monarchy or as later appeared easier, by Communism, and had used the services of the traitor Madariaga. Russia would be exhausted by the war and at the end of hostilities would withdraw within her frontiers. Any danger of Communism there might be after the war would not come from Russia but from France and Great Britain, where Freemasonry would inevitably give place to Communism. The 18 Spanish divisions on the Pyrennean frontier were there to deal, not with any possibility of attack from Russia, but with the danger of Communism in France and Great Britain. The only country which would count after the war was the United States of America, with whom Spain was on the best possible terms, and General Franco had a personal assurance from President Roosevelt of support for his Government. General Franco concluded by saying that he supposed that the account of the situation which he had given would set the Generals' minds at rest, but that if

any /

The Right Honourable Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,

etc., etc., etc.

Foreign Office.

...ICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION

30 MAR 1940

Z 4137

any of them had any observations to make, he was ready to hear them.

3. In answer to this invitation, General Kindelan alone stepped forward. He said that while he was concerned over the situation before coming to see General Franco, he was considerably more concerned after hearing General Franco's remarks. He affirmed that as long as Falange were retained, cordial relations with Great Britain and France would be impossible. Spain's existence, both politically and economically, depended on cordial relations with her two European neighbours and it was pure illusion to bank on the support of the United States of America. These observations were treated with kindly derision by General Franco and the generals were dismissed.

4. General Kindelan is a calm and objective person, one of the few protagonists in the present drama who possess those qualities, and his account of General Franco's astonishing harangue to the Generals must, I think, be credited. Apart from other things, it shows General Franco to be the victim of an "American complex", evidence of which is markedly increasing, and on which I am commenting in a separate despatch.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Lisbon.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant.

James Bowker

338

1945

Z

SPAIN

107

Z 4228

3 APR 1945

Registry Number } Z 4228/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 176

Dated 24th Mar. 1945

Received in Registry } 3rd Apr. 1945

Z: Spain

Activities of Spanish Government against underground political groups.

Reports a concerted "drive" against the political groups working underground in Madrid and Barcelona against the present Spanish Government, and the various captures and imprisonments which have taken place. Gives details of the arrests of the members of the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo and of Communists, followed by arrests of Madrid Socialists. Falange confidence appears to be increasing. Copied Lisbon and Gibraltar.

Last Paper.

24137

References.

Z 3881/233/41

(Print.)

PRINTED

W. Europe. Spain.

In print (How disposed of.)

Q.) W'ton No 1015

Paris No 1000

June. 12

(Minutes.)

F.O.R.D.-E.D.G. 27/iv

F.O. Read 5/4

Violence and brutality are certainly on the increase in Spain. The régime and Falange have made sure that they would be the first to strike and they seem to have been pretty thorough. So long as they have the upper hand, all will go well with them, but they are laying up trouble for themselves for the future.

? Print

and copy in print to Washington and Paris.

R Garran 5/4

This renewed confidence on the part of the Falange confirms what Mr. Bowker

(Action completed.)

K.H.C.9 12/6

(Index.)

9/7.

Next Paper.

Z 4586

27437 F.O.P.

148

Spanish Chargé d'Affaires

ordered me today about

Rancho Lowing strengthening his

position extending east

but avoiding his Cow & work.

H Augustus Wilbur

6.4

7/IV

ARCHIVES

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THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

SPAIN. April 3, 1945.

SECRET. SECTION 1.

[Z 4228/233/41] Copy No. 8

Mr. Bowker to Mr. Eden.—(Received 3rd April.)

(No. 176. Secret.)

Sir, *Madrid, 24th March*, 1945.

I HAVE the honour to report that since the last week of December 1944 a concerted "drive" has been carried out against the political groups which had been working underground in Madrid and Barcelona against the present Government. The result of this sustained police activity has been the capture and imprisonment of a number of leading adversaries of the régime and, also, of several hundreds, at least, of their most trusted supporters. At the same time a considerable number of persons who, although actually unconnected with the underground movements, are reckoned potential enemies have also been arrested and incarcerated.

2. The "drive" may be summarised thus: Following the sensational arrest in Madrid on the night of the 22nd December and subsequent days, reported in my despatch No. 806 of the 20th December, it became clear that the coalition movement in which General Aranda had been negotiating with representatives of the Right and Left Republicans, with friends of Gil Robles and with some Monarchists, had been discovered and put out of gear. Towards the end of the month about 150 members of the once powerful C.N.T. (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo), organisation of Left syndicates, were arrested. Whether there existed a conspiracy is not clear, but the action of the police appears to have crippled Left activities in Barcelona. As far as is known, none of the persons arrested in Madrid were shot. In fact personal messages from them to their friends contain an assurance that they are being well treated. The news from Barcelona, however, was different. It was alleged that executions had taken place. As in the case of the Madrid groups, there had been a traitor in the camp and men for whom the police had searched for years were captured with ease. It is probable that those marked "dangerous" were not allowed to live long. The C.N.T. organisation in Madrid has not yet been located. The leaders are unknown to the police. They live on the outskirts of Madrid and possess motor-cars and a printing press. It was this press which produced a well-written double sheet addressed "To the British and United States of America Ambassadors," under the date January 1945, calling on Great Britain and the United States of America to support the elements in Spain which had risked their lives in showing their sympathy with the Allies during the early years of the war. If these people are taken, no mercy will be shown them and every means will be used to force them to betray others.

3. The Communists have received their share of the punishment meted out to anti-Fascists. It is impossible to obtain accurate information showing how many persons have been murdered as a reprisal for the assassination of the two Falangists in Madrid. But the arming of all members of the Old Guard and the organised agitation ordered by the party throughout the country cannot but have resulted in many acts of savage vengeance. Anybody known to have belonged to the Communist party before or during the civil war who has not joined the Falange would certainly stand in danger of losing his life.

4. The latest result of the sustained "drive" has been the capture of sixty-five members of the Socialist party in Madrid. They were betrayed by a distributor of their insignificant weekly sheet produced by a "Roneo" machine which the police have impounded. Several of the arrested were formerly prominent members of the party. The secretary, Carlos Arevalo, has so far succeeded in escaping the police net.

5. In none of the results of police action does there appear any trace of discovery of arms or ammunition; but this may have been kept secret. Otherwise the police seem to have had an easy task. Sympathisers with the former political régime have yet to learn their lesson. The circumstances of all

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these cases seem to show that the Gestapo side of the Spanish police machine is well developed.

6. Meanwhile the renewed confidence shown by the Falange following on the murder of the two Falange officials has recently shown definite signs of increasing. There are no signs of qualms among prominent Falangists as regards the possibility of partial absorption or dissolution of the party, nor do they seem perturbed by the apparent proximity of the end of the war. This is in marked contrast to the position when Mussolini fell in the summer of 1943, when for a time there was a feeling that can only be described as a mild panic. One National Delegate of Falange actually sent his wife to ask the assistant press attaché to take charge of his children. There have been no such approaches at this time when, with the Allied armies well into Germany, the position would logically be far worse for the Falange. Moreover, in several districts in the provinces, there have been renewed outbursts of violence by local Falange against suspected opponents.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Embassy, Lisbon, and his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have, &c.

JAMES BOWKER.

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Z 157

Z 4228
3 APR 1945

SECRET. BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

No. 176 24th March, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that since the last week of December, 1944, a concerted "drive" has been carried out against the political groups which had been working underground in Madrid and Barcelona against the present Government. The result of this sustained police activity has been the capture and imprisonment of a number of leading adversaries of the régime and, also, of several hundreds, at least, of their most trusted supporters. At the same time, a considerable number of persons who, although actually unconnected with the underground movements, are reckoned potential enemies, have also been arrested and incarcerated.

2. The "drive" may be summarised thus: Following the sensational arrests in Madrid on the night of December 22nd and subsequent days, reported in my despatch No.806 of the 29th December, it became clear that the coalition movement in which General Aranda had been negotiating with representatives of the Right and Left Republicans, with friends of Gil Robles and with some Monarchists, had been discovered and put out of gear. Towards the end of the month about 150 members of the once powerful C.N.T., Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, (organization of Left Syndicates), were arrested. Whether there existed a conspiracy is not clear, but the action of the police appears to have crippled Left activities in Barcelona. As far as is known, none of the persons arrested in Madrid were shot. In fact personal messages from them to their friends contain an assurance that they are being well treated. The news from Barcelona, however, was different. It was alleged that executions had taken place. As in the case of the Madrid groups there had been a traitor in the camp and men for whom the police had searched for years were captured with ease. It is probable that those marked "dangerous" were not allowed to live long. The C.N.T. organisation in Madrid has not yet been located. The leaders are unknown to the police. They live on the outskirts of Madrid and possess motorcars and a printing press. It was this press which produced a well written double sheet addressed "To the British and United States of America Ambassadors" under the date January 1945, calling on Great Britiain and the United States of America to support the elements in Spain which had risked their lives in showing their sympathy with the Allies during the early years of the war. If these people are taken, no mercy will be shown them and every means will be used to force them to betray others.

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murdered /

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

murdered as a reprisal for the assassination of the two Falangists in Madrid. But the arming of all members of the Old Guard and the organised agitation ordered by the Party throughout the country cannot but have resulted in many acts of savage vengeance. Anybody known to have belonged to the Communist Party before or during the civil war who has not joined the Falange would certainly stand in danger of losing his life.

4. The latest result of the sustained "drive" has been the capture of 65 members of the Socialist Party in Madrid. They were betrayed by a distributor of their insignificant weekly sheet produced by a "Roneo" machine which the police have impounded. Several of the arrested were formerly prominent members of the Party. The Secretary, Carlos Arevalo, has so far succeeded in escaping the police net.

5. In none of the results of police action does there appear any trace of discovery of arms or ammunition; but this may have been kept secret. Otherwise the police seemed to have had an easy task. Sympathisers with the former political régime have yet to learn their lesson. The circumstances of all these cases seem to show that the Gestapo side of the Spanish police machine is well developed.

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7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Embassy, Lisbon and His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

Samuel Hoare.

39

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 4586

11 APR 1945

127

z Registry Number } Z 4586/233/41.

FROM Chancery Madrid to Western Department

No.

Dated 29th March,

Received in Registry } 11th April, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Removal of pictures of General Franco

Transmits copy of letter from Mr. Goldie Malaga dated 21st February. Refers to Cartagena telegram No. 4 from Cartagena to the Foreign Office (Z 2184/233/41). This is the first time a telegram has been sent direct to the Foreign Office from Cartagena and it is impossible to account for departure from usual procedure.

There is no confirmation concerning Mr. Leverkus report ~~concerning~~ about the removal of pictures of General Franco.

Last Paper.

24228

(*Minutes.*)

References.

(*Print.*)

(*How disposed of.*)

(Action completed.)	(Index.)
16/4	9/7

Next Paper.

24682

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Z 4586

11 APR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

29th March, 1945.

With the compliments of

Chancery.

Z 2144/233/41.

Reference: Cartagena's telegram No. 4 to Madrid of 13th February, 1945.

Western Department,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W. 1.

(5-5-1-45).

British Consulate,
Malaga.

108

21st February, 1945.

Dear Chancery,

2166/033/41

Your letter 1/35/45, of the 15th about the telegram sent by Leverkus to the Foreign Office, and the one sent by Ronco to the Ministry of Information.

2. As far as I know, this is the first time that such telegrams have been sent direct to London from Cartagena or Almeria; it is probably quite impossible to account for this sudden departure from the usual procedure; I would classify it as "Vice Consular Vagaries".

3. So far, there has been nothing whatever to confirm Leverkus' report about the removal of Franco pictures. I do not believe the report and it seems probable that, if orders were in fact received by the civil and military authorities, they were a hoax.

Yours ever,

(signed) R.G. GOLDIE

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
MADRID.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 4682

13 APR 1945

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Registry Number } Z 4682/233/41

FROM Foreign Office Minute Mr. Hoyer-Millar.

No. -

Dated 6th April, 1945
Received in Registry } 13th April, 1945.

Z: Spain

Effect of Don Juan's recent manifesto in Spain.

Gives an account of a conversation with the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires who expressed the view that if the Franco régime disappeared, the monarchy was the only thing to take its place without an upheaval. He stated that the manifesto had been badly timed, and that it strengthened General Franco's position because the people in Spain are anxious about the future and unwilling to embark on a new administration. After emphasising this disinclination of the Spanish people to make a change he mentioned a letter sent to the Spanish Foreign Minister concerning his impressions of the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards General Franco and his régime.

Last Paper.

Z 4585

References.

Z 4041 / 1484/41.

Z 4138/1484/41.

(*Print.*)

(*How disposed of.*)

(*Minutes.*)

R.L.H.S.
12/4.

(Action completed.)	(Index.)
W 17/4	S 17/4.

Next Paper.

Z 4687

29082 F.O.P.

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Z 4682

13 APR 1945

I asked the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires to-day what effect he thought Don Juan's recent manifesto had had in Spain.

The Marques de Santa Cruz said that, speaking as a monarchist himself, he thought that if the Franco régime was to disappear the monarchy was really the only thing which could take its place without there being a real upheaval in Spain. The reason for this, he explained quite frankly, was that the Army Officers, civil servants, clergy etc. all knew that if the monarchy were restored they would be able to keep their own jobs and were not likely to suffer in any way personally. On the other hand, if the Republic were to be restored all these classes of people - on whom the administration of the country largely depended - feared that they ran the risk of losing their jobs, and in some cases of being put into prison. All these people would therefore much prefer to see Franco remain than have the Republic brought back. They would, however, be quite happy to see the monarchy return.

As regards the actual manifesto, Santa Cruz confessed that he himself thought it had not had much effect in Spain, and that it had in fact been badly timed. He said that he knew that a large number of monarchist supporters in Spain felt the same about the timing and he knew that many of them had begged Don Juan to postpone issuing the manifesto until later on. Santa Cruz went on to explain that in his view people in Spain were at the present moment generally very nervous about the future. They were worried as to what might happen after the war and what Spain's position would be in the international field. That being so, many of them were rather inclined, however much they might dislike Franco, to feel that it would be better to go on supporting his régime than embark on a new administration just at this critical time. In so far as Don Juan's manifesto had had any effect it had been simply to increase this general nervousness and strengthen Franco's hands.

Santa Cruz went on to say that in his opinion Franco's own position had, thanks to this general feeling of nervousness in Spain, definitely improved during the last six months. This was not because Franco or the Falange were any less unpopular in Spain, but simply that people were more disinclined than ever to make a change. Had Don Juan's manifesto been issued two years ago it would have seriously embarrassed Franco. As it was, it had not worried him at all. Santa Cruz went on to say that he had recently written a letter to the Spanish Foreign Minister summing up his impressions after six months in this country. They were:

(a) That for the reasons explained above, Franco's own position in Spain had improved recently and that there were little signs of his disappearance in the near future.

(b) That as long as Franco himself remained in power relations between the Spanish Government and His Majesty's Government could not be cordial. The best that could be hoped was that these relations should not deteriorate and become definitely unfriendly.

(c) That as a result Spain must resign herself to having to remain outside, or at least on the edge of, the general international set-up in the immediate post-war years.

Yes. After April 8 I saw Sr. Sanz Briz. Ch. d'Aff's views were about right. Maurice Peterson

April 6th 1945.

41

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 4806

17 APR 1945

Z Registry Number } Z 4806/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker
Madrid

No. 196 (30/4/45)

Dated 4th April,

Received in Registry } 17th April, 1945.

Z: France

Activities in Spain of the Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo

Refers to Madrid despatch No. 176 (Z 4228/233/41). Transmits translation of clandestine leaflet which has been circulating widely in form of an open letter from Confederacion Nacional de Trabajo to British and United States Embassies in Spain. Describes distribution of leaflet and comments on the strength and aims of the organisation.

Last Paper.

Z4682

References.

Z 2568/18/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

8 dec 12/5

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

Z 4808

(Minutes.)

Ref in Sept

A reasonably worded appeal, which may to some extent be met by Franco's recent decisions in favour of civil liberties and political amnesty.

If the C.N.T. is voicing its genuine aims and feelings, especially as regards Communism, then it constitutes an opposition element which may sooner or later deserve our encouragement.

A.L.W. Sloan.
22/4.

F.O.L.D. E.D.G. 2/5

It is very difficult to know just how much importance to attach to a pamphlet such as this, or what sort of clandestine organisation the C.N.T. has in Spain today. It was, of course, in the days before the civil war, a very powerful organisation. This leaflet is restrained in tone and apparently "moderate Socialist"

...ICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION

4808
17 APR 1915

socialist" from the political ~~basis~~ point. But whether the C.N.T. in action would show similar restraint is more than doubtful.

R. Garran
25/4

I'm afraid the C.N.T
are proving more effective a
force than in action.

Hayter Preston

26/4

Mr. E. Harding
Noted
9/5.

CM
29/4

160 Z

Z 4806
17 APR 1945

British Embassy,
Madrid.
4th April, 1945.

No. 196.
(30/4/45)

Z 4228/233/41.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 176, paragraph 2, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy in translation of the clandestine leaflet which has been lately circulating widely in the form of an open letter from the Confederación Nacional de Trabajo to the British and United States Embassies in Spain.

2. Evidence exists that the distribution of the leaflet has been made with some care and not indiscriminately and it is believed to be an authentic production printed in Spain. The numerical strength and organisation of the C.N.T. cannot be ascertained in present circumstances; all that can be said is that it is still by no means a negligible body, and it is worth recalling that the clandestine organisation, Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas, which was the subject of my despatch No. 104 of February 14th last, claimed to include the C.N.T. among the various dissident groups of which it was composed.

Z 2268/18/41.

3. It will be recalled that this latter organisation, unlike its rival, the Junta Suprema de Unión Nacional, lays special emphasis in its programme on the need for collaboration with the Allies and the French Government. Consequently, special interest attaches to the veiled threat on page 3 of the enclosed leaflet, which runs as follows and which is presumably a reference to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:-

> "If you do not wish our people to place their only hopes in a country, worthy of great respect for its impressive contribution of blood, but whose political mentality is not compatible with our national character."

4. I understand that on receipt of this document the United States Embassy asked the authors of it what action they expected the

/ United

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

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United States and British Embassies to take. In their reply, the C.N.T. only recapitulated the requests of a general nature which they had already put forward in the original document.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

James Bouverie.

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Ambassadors of Great Britain and the United States of America.

Ambassadors:

The National Confederation of Labour, a powerful and ancient organisation with such deep national and political roots that nothing stable or democratic can be done without it or against it, considers that it is its supreme duty to lay before you certain considerations of a political kind with regard to the Spanish situation. We have endeavoured that the most dispassionate objectivity should inspire our statement and in this objectivity is perhaps to be found one of our greatest renunciations. Since we believe that the shortest truths are the truest, we will condense into the fewest words the maximum of ideas; thus will our letter be less fatiguing and the end which we have in view will be realised much sooner.

At the time of the collapse of Republican Spain with the resulting triumph of Falangist Fascism, an interminable wave of terror invaded the provinces not originally dominated by Franco. Mass shootings, bestial beatings-up in the police stations, arbitrary dismissals, vengeance, vengeance..... Those were the first measures of pacification put into force by the man whom "Divine" Providence appointed for our luckless Spain; Francisco Franco Bahmonde.

The people suffered stoically the vandalism of "spur and cassock", (Army and Church). The doors of the Embassies were not opened to us, no Red Cross protected us, nor did the Philantrophic and Humanitarian Societies, of which there are so many in the Free Countries, mobilize themselves on our behalf. And why should they have helped us in our day of defeat when they did not help us even when we were fighting? In fact, let us be objective, for this is a rigid consequence albeit of a primary inconsequence. A few months later Germany was attacking Poland and there began the war between the Axis and the Democracies, and Spain - the true Spain that lives, suffers and dies in the mountains, in the prisons and in the workshops, - vibrated with deep enthusiasm, siding, in spite of certain natural resentments, with those who represented Liberty and Cluture.

Do you remember, Ambassadors, those sombre days in which Franco's Press proclaimed his decision to declare himself a Non-Belligerent? In which the Germans reached the Pyrenean frontier and then paraded triumphantly through the streets of San Sebastian?

Do you remember those frightful days in which the Falange in blissfulustupidity, rushed about Madrid madly shouting "Death to England and the United States", and clamouring for the restoration of Gibraltar by violence?

Those memorable days in which the British Embassy was assailed with stones and it was hardly possible to publish Allied information in our Press.

Oh! Ambassadors: we carry engraved on our mind's eye those humiliating scenes; we will never forget them. England and the Democracies had no greater champions in Spain - mark our words, Ministers of the United States and England - than the poor and forsaken, workmen and intellectuals who measured their scanty arms for more then three heroic years against the German and Italian Divisions. Hardly any English press arrived, severe penalties were imposed for listening to British broadcasts; to be found in possession of an "Information Bulletin" was to run a tremendous risk and the official Spanish Press devoted all its pages to boosting the impressive Teutonic successes. Those tragic days coincided with the period of most severe

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persecution of the Spanish anti-fascists. The dark period in which democrats would commit suicide in the police stations of Almagro, Jorge Juan, Governación, Serrano, etc. not being able to bear the horrible tortures; the period in which every night a part of the Porlier garrison was emptied of democratic and anti-fascist prisoners who fell before the thick walls of the Almudena cemetry. And the same happened, Oh! Ambassadors, in Valencia, Barcelona, Alicante and many provinces besides.

Yet, nevertheless, it was the anti-fascists who listened every day to the British broadcasts; who distributed British bulletins. The British Press was read furtively in prisons, factories and workshops and the name of England, the United States and all their valiant allies fired hearts with uncontrollable enthusiasm, for to say Democracy was to say Liberty.

You, Ambassadors, have not seen, but your employees have, the bricklayers and other labourers snatch precious minutes from their lunch-hour to go to the Press Department of the British Embassy to collect "Information Bulletins" and news of the war. Your staff have seen mechanics, shop-assistants and men of the liberal professions and all those who trusted in you as a People and in your Cause as a matter of principle - we do not yet know whether ingeniously. Many of them were arrested and beaten up by the Falangists who kept an eye on the gates of the Embassies, others lost their employment and all without exception were "rojos" - that is to say, anti-fascists, or, to put it another way, democrats. Then, to be allied or pro-allied, was to be a traitor to Spain - according to the pharisaical orthodoxy of the Falange - and for that reason the pro-allied "rojos" were arrested, were bludgeoned, were shot.

All this happened yesterday, yesterday, Oh! Ambassadors - and yet it seems so long ago.

For today we know and see that British and Allied Embassies are like beehives into and from which come and go every day thousands of people in (Is there no decency!) blue shirts who search for, admire and wrangle over a portrait of Winston S. Churchill and of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The British Institute swarms every afternoon with Franco intellectuals who flatter Mr. Starkie, and Anglo-Saxon propaganda is read at leisure in the coiffeur's, in the trams and in the underground. Already it is hardly necessary for the bricklayers, mechanics, shop-assistants and men of the liberal professions to steal a few minutes from their working and leisure hours to obtain news from the Allied Embassies.

Spain is now "organically democratic"; she celebrated with a rare fervour her "Syndical elections" and stretched forth her friendly hands to the two great democracies; one to England, renouncing Gibraltar and other parts of her Empire; the other to the United States, forgetful of ..... the expulsion of the Spanish from Cuba. "Let bygones be bygones. Long Live the Winner"! is now the shout of Franco's Press and, oddly enough....., the armies of the democracies are now on German soil.

But, Ambassadors: inhuman tortures are still being carried on in the Ministry of the Interior; people are still imprisoned for defending the democratic Republic (which has no connection with "organic democracy") and, what is more ignominious still, men who defended England in the streets, in the police stations and in the prisons when her invasion appeared imminent and now that her triumph seems imminent, still defend her principles, continue to be methodically and inhumanly shot.

What has England done? How have the Democracies requited us? Ah! Ministers of the great Allied Powers..... We, the National Confederation of Labour, a very considerable part of loyal and civilised Spain indeed which marshalled together behind the stirring watchword of our martyr Durruti "We renounce everything but victory" over fascism, we turn to you, to your Foreign Ministers, to your respective heads of government,

to tell you without truculence yet without false humility:

If you do not wish Spaniards completely to lose their faith in the principles of Liberty enscribed on your War banner:

If you do not wish us to doubt your "fair play" which until now has seemed to us an historic precept of the Anglo-Saxon race:

If you do not wish our people to place their only hopes in a country which, although worthy of great respect for its impressive contribution of blood, whose political mentality is not compatible with our national character:

If you do not wish our nation, hounded to desperation, to plunge into a new civil war, more bestial and destructive than the last... INTERVENE. Intervene - not to unseat Franco: that is a duty which falls to us exclusively to us, his victims. No. Intervene so that the laws of humanity which govern the relations between the people and the rules of life within the nation may be fulfilled; so that the contradiction of a fascist country surrounded by democracies which are fighting fascism and within which democrats are exterminated, may be brought to an end. So that the political prisoners in the police stations and in the prisons for the awful crimes of not making declarations such as the police require, or for being found in possession of a sheet of democratic propaganda, may not be extinguished; so that once and for all political crime may cease; so that the principles of the Atlantic Charter may be applied, the four liberties established and, in one word: so that the intangible rights of the individual may be respected and thought may no longer be regarded as a crime. Intervene, for you have the duty, the reason and the power to do so.

Ambassadors: these appeals which are just minimal, and fundamental, would not have been made had the Germans been on the Pyrenees. Today, yes, since you are powerful and since, to use a very Spanish expression, Franco is turning his coat in the most ignoble way - the National Confederation of Labour, which is united with the Republican and Socialist forces of Spain in favour of a common programme of parliamentary Democracy, can readily offer you - if you should require it - material proof of the inhuman treatment recently meted out in the Ministry of the Interior to political prisoners, and a list of all the anti-fascists who have been shot within the last three months in various parts of Spain.

Take for instance a very recent happening, the spectacular arrests of Barcelona when within the space of three nights, some 300 confederates were arrested without definite charges being brought against them; Madrid, where about 100 are imprisoned in the basements of the Ministry of the Interior, completely cut off from the outside world, and to this number must be added some dozens of leading Liberals, Republicans, professional soldiers and even Catholics of undoubted standing and Conservatives; members of the Accion Popular party. Albacete, Alicante, Sevilla and several other cities are at present under a savage repression comparable only with that which they endured in the dark days which followed the triumph of General Franco. These arrests have so little justification and are dependent so entirely on caprice or fear that it is a monstrous fact that in Madrid they are made - not by the Brigada Social, within whose competence they should properly come, - but by the Brigada Criminal. Thus the Dirrecion General de Seguridad seeks to justify its abritrary actions in the face of a possible diplomatic "showdown" or the intervention of private individuals.

Let us leave to the rectitude of your personal and political consciences the effects which our dispassionate letter may produce upon them. We carry out our duty in calling your attention to the psychological reactions which the Spanish people are undergoing. We believe that uncontrolled reactions (rea esporadicas) can be avoided if an energetic, consequential and sound democratic policy is applied to fascism. The

world and history will very soon judge every people. Spain comes magnificently up to scratch, being the first to take up arms against fascism though she may be the last to save herself through her own efforts and her own bravery.

Long live our unconquered National Confederation of Labour!

Long live the national alliance of democratic forces !!

Long Live Popular Democratic and Free Spain !!!

Signed: National Committee of the Liberation Movement.

JW/OAH

27.2.45

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Z 233 / 233 / 41

WESTERN

1945

F.O.
371

SPAIN

FILE No. 233

Pp. 4808 To 6456

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UNTIL
1972

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1945

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SPAIN

Z 4808

17 APR 1945

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Registry Number } Z 4808/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 198/ (1/77/45)

Dated 4th Apr. 1945.

Received in Registry } 17th Apr. 1945.

Z : Spain

Swearing in of first five "Centuries" of General Franco's Personal Bodyguard on the 31st March.

Transmits copy of memorandum addressed by Military Attaché to War Office about swearing in ceremony of first five "Centuries" of General Franco's personal bodyguard on the 31st March. Reports that these men took part in Annual Review held on the following day in commemoration of General Franco's entry into Madrid at the end of Civil War.

Proposes to express surprise to Under Secretary at Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Head of State should have given this special mark of honour and confidence to Falange and Blue Division when His Majesty's and United States Goveroments have just expressed their repugnance at Falange.

Last Paper.

24806.

References.

24824/233/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

F.) Service Depts. M.O.I.

49588

(Action completed) Sde Chr 11/5.

(Index.) 9/7

Next Paper.

24809

(Minutes.)

Copy. Service Depts. M.O.I.

Mr. Bowker may do well to express surprise, if Franco learns of our disgust it will probably cause him, in his present mood, some satisfaction. But the more closely he identifies himself with the Falange, the more obsolescent must he appear. It is typical of this dictators conceit that, like Hitler and Mussolini, he should blindly favour instruments which will do him more harm than good in the long run.

R.L.G. Sloan 21/4.

F.O.R.D.E.D.G. 7/v

One moment. General Franco pays honour to Falange; the next he puts forward 'enlightened' reforms, of which the ostensible object is to weaken the political powers

~~3 Falange~~ 5. It is all very inconvenient and therefore very Spanish. General Franco relies on the support of Falange and he will not lightly throw it away. He still hopes to settle his affairs with the Americans and ourselves (but principally the Americans) and get back Falange.

P. Garran
24/4

JMcm
24.4

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Z 4808

17 APR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

No. 198
(1/77/45).

4th April, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to send you the accompanying copy of a memorandum addressed by the Military Attaché to the War Office about the swearing-in ceremony, on the 31st March, of the first five "Centuries" of General Franco's Personal Bodyguard. These men took part in the Annual Review held on the following day in commemoration of General Franco's entry into Madrid at the end of the civil war, on which I am reporting in a separate despatch. Z 4824/233/41

2. I propose, on my next visit to the Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to express surprise that the Head of the State should have given this special mark of honour and confidence to Falange in general, and the Blue Division in particular, at a moment when His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America have been at pains to emphasise the repugnance with which Falange is regarded in Great Britain and the United States of America.

I have the honour to be with the
highest respect, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,

James Bowker.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Foreign Office,
S.W. 1.

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SPAIN/XX - Formation of a Falange Bodyguard to Franco. 5

FROM: M.A. Madrid. No. 61/S/45. Date: 3rd. April 1945.

TO: M.I.3 Colonel. (Copy to Governor & C.in C. Gibraltar).

---

1. I attach two copies of a report by Major Haslam on the swearing-in ceremony, on 31st. March, of a new Falange body called the Guards of Franco, which I sent him to witness un-officially as we were naturally not invited to it.

2. This appears to be a kind of Corps d'Elite consisting of the most fanatical elements drawn from all sections of Falange. Its formation, and the publicity given to the swearing-in, is evidently a gesture on the part of Falange to emphasise its existence, its responsibility for maintaining the régime, and its determination to do so at all costs. Franco, in approving this, has once again given his blessing to a party which puts itself on a level with the army as the defender of the State, - and of a rigidly conceived totalitarian State with Franco, irremoveable, at its head.

3. With the rapidly approaching disappearance of a totalitarian party system in Germany, it was generally expected that Franco would by now be taking some steps to remove at least some of the more obtrusive manifestations of Falange power in Spain. For the last two years I have been at intervals assured by the Generals and others that while it was too much to expect that the whole Falange organisation would disappear at one blow, yet steps were being taken whereby little by little it would recede into the background, until finally there would be nothing left of it. This seemed both reasonable and credible, and when time passed and nothing of the kind happened, the only possible explanation seemed to be that Franco did not understand the course of the war was taking and still did not believe in the defeat of Germany and disappearance of Nazism; when at last he did he would surely be at pains to re-arrange his own system so that he would not be left in lonely splendour, the only totalitarian dictator in Europe.

4. However, it is now obvious that however much Franco may have misjudged the military situation, this was not the cause of his delay in dissolving the Falange. He never intended to do so, and intends so less than ever now, in the moment of Allied victory and, incidentally, in the face of the recently issued Manifesto by Don Juan pointing out the danger to Spain of isolation if the present régime is maintained.

5. What the results of this anachronistic (and therefore typically Spanish) policy will be for Spain, it is not for me to say; but the fact remains that in Spain there exists, and in an increasing degree, a totalitarian party, modelled on and inspired by Nazism and Fascism, with both of which it has the deepest sympathy, and both of which it will undoubtedly do its best to help and preserve in the moment of their defeat.

(Sgd) W.W.T.TORR.

Brigadier,
Military Attaché.

Enc.

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M.A.

Inauguration Ceremony of the first five "Centuries" of General Franco's Personal Guard.

As instructed by you I attended the parade at the University City on 31 March in plain clothes. I append my report.

Part I. General.

The ceremony took place an hour after the time announced in the newspapers.

Little public interest was shown in the parade and the spectators seemed mostly to be relatives of the new guards.

The recruits were divided into five "Centuries" each of 120 men.

The oath was administered by the Provisional Head of the Falange and Civil Governor of Madrid, Don Carlos RUIZ who also inspected the guards and took the March Past. The religious part of the ceremony was in the hands of Padre TASCON of the Order of "Predicadores".

Part II. Detail.

1. Personnal.

The six hundred men on parade represented an unusual cross section of society. There were a number of working class men of all ages from eighteen to forty-five and a fair proportion of recruits from the professional classes.

It was evident that the backbone of the new guard was composed of ex-members of the Blue Division. There was also a high percentage of men who had served in the Civil War.

I estimate the composition of the New Guard as follows:-

Blue Division	20%	
Civil War Veterans	35%	
Age-Groups not seriously involved in the Civil War	25%	a) Underage.
	20%	b) Over age doctors etc.
	100%	

2. Turn Out.

The uniform consisted of a red beret with a gold centre, a blue Falange shirt, a wide black belt

page 2/ and field.....

7

and field grey trousers tucked into half boots. The brassard was well-embroidered and consisted of two crossed cross-hilted swords imposed on the five Falangist arrows with a yoke on each side and three gold stars across the centre.

Nobody was armed.

3. Discipline and Training.

The men had certainly drilled very little together before. The middle-aged men were quite inclined to treat it as a joke, the young men were very serious and the Blue Division soldiers rather bored. The six hundred, however, stood steadily enough during the inspection.

4. The Oath.

"I swear, on joining Franco's Guard, to serve with constant high endeavour, with fanaticism and discipline and to be loyal unto death to the National Head of the Falange".

5. The Speeches.

Padre TASCÓN spoke at considerable length and with great fervour. He welcomed the men who had already fought so valiantly against the Russians.

Don Carlos RUIZ laid much emphasis on the "fanaticism" which was required to maintain the present order in Spain.

6. Conclusions.

The Personal Guard of Franco is instituted in an endeavour to give Falange yet another prop.

A Body Guard must ipso facto be armed and I think there is little doubt that in a short while these new Centuries will be issued with weapons of some sort.

The New Guard took part in the Desfile on 1 April and, unless the present régime undergoes a substantial change, I anticipate that by next year Franco's Guard will have taken over the functions previously performed by the Falange Armed Militia.

(sgd) C.B. HASLAM.
Major
Assistant Military Attaché.

British Embassy,
Madrid.
1 April 1945.

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Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 4809

17 APR 1945

8

Registry Number } Z 4809/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker. Madrid.

No. 199 (1/78/45)

Dated 5th Apr. 1945.

Received in Registry } 17th Apr. 1945.

Z : Spain

Commemoration of 550th Anniversary of return to Spain of Christopher Columbus after discovery of America.

Reports that on the 16th March a function was organised by Spanish Consejo de Hispanidad to commemorate anniversary of Columbus's return to Spain after discovering America in 1492. Describes proceedings which were held with one eye on economic benefits from United States and the other on chances of reasserting Spain's claim to cultural and spiritual leadership of the Latin-American world.

Copied to Lisbon.

Last Paper.

Z 4808

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Sdeh 24/4

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

Z 4824

(Minutes.)

Para 1. Like Mr. Bowker or the Spaniards are 100 years out.

Paras 4 & 6 indicate that Sir Lequerica is prepared to look, like Franco now, away from Germany and towards the New World.

Otherwise there is little of political import and I would not consider this despatch worth printing.

F.O.R.D. (Mr. Garran) may be amused.

R.K.G. Sloan. 20/4.

E.D.A. 23/iv

D Garran 20/4

Mw. 20.4

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9 2

Z 4809

17 APR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

No. 199
(1/78/45).

5th April, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on March 16th a function was organised by the Spanish Consejo de Hispanidad to commemorate the (550th) anniversary of the return to Spain of Christopher Columbus after the discovery of America in 1492. The heads of all the South and Central American Missions in Madrid and the Nuncio were invited to take part. As the new United States Ambassador arrived in Madrid only two days before the ceremony was to take place the United States of America were represented by a First Secretary, Mr. Bonsal, who is also the equivalent of Embassy Press Attaché.

2. After some preliminary junketing in Seville, the whole party proceeded in the company of the Minister for Foreign Affairs himself, supported by members of his Ministry, to the little town of La Rabida, situated on the south side of the estuary of the Guadalquivir, opposite Huelva. It was from here that Christopher Columbus started his voyage. The commemorative function of March 16th took the form of a special session in the quadrangle of the Monastry at La Rabida of the Royal Columbian Academy.

3. Speeches were made in turn by all concerned, extolling in various degrees the merits of "Pan-Hispanidad" and emphasising the magnificent achievement of Christopher Columbus and the greatness of the era opened up by his discovery of America.

4. The only speech which deserves special notice was that made by Señor Lequerica. In the course of his oration he pointed out that the pioneers sent out to America by the Catholic monarchs were the product of a form of government which had perhaps anticipated all contemporary governments in its legislation guaranteeing the rights of human personality. These rights were limited by the powers of the State, on the one hand, and, on the other, were defended by laws and local customs stronger and more effective than those of other nations. The Catholic monarchs did not send people who had been subjected to despotic powers; "the Spaniard", said Señor Lequerica "is a bad subject for such experiments". The profound and intense Spanish democracy still existed, he said, after having passed through a thousand political forms (but without clothing itself in any compulsory foreign forms), all of them peculiar to and representative of Spanish individuality. After these remarks (which might be read as an attack on the Falange State, if it had not previously been qualified by higher Spanish authority as an "organic democracy" of a peculiarly Spanish kind), Señor Lequerica led up to an account of the way in which the people who had colonised America, both North and South, had all been of an independent-minded and virile type, whether they had come from Spain and Portugal or from "another great European race, upright men of conscience, struggling against the dangers which were then inherent in the crises of religion".

5. The ceremonies were very fully reported in the Press. Although comment was in the main restricted to minute descriptions of the various functions, the opportunity was seized to indulge

/in

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Foreign Office.

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9 Z

Z 4809

17 APR 1945

No. 199
(1/78/45).

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

5th April, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on March 16th a function was organised by the Spanish Consejo de Hispanidad to commemorate the (550th) anniversary of the return to Spain of Christopher Columbus after the discovery of America in 1492. The heads of all the South and Central American Missions in Madrid and the Nuncio were invited to take part. As the new United States Ambassador arrived in Madrid only two days before the ceremony was to take place the United States of America were represented by a First Secretary, Mr. Bonsal, who is also the equivalent of Embassy Press Attaché.

2. After some preliminary junketing in Seville, the whole party proceeded in the company of the Minister for Foreign Affairs himself, supported by members of his Ministry, to the little town of La Rabida, situated on the south side of the estuary of the Guadalquivir, opposite Huelva. It was from here that Christopher Columbus started his voyage. The commemorative function of March 16th took the form of a special session in the quadrangle of the Monastry of La Rabida of the Royal Columbian Academy.

3. Speeches were made in turn by all concerned, extolling in various degrees the merits of "Pan-Hispanidad" and emphasising the magnificent achievement of Christopher Columbus and the greatness of the era opened up by his discovery of America.

4. The only speech which deserves special notice was that made by Señor Lequerica. In the course of his oration he pointed out that the pioneers sent out to America by the Catholic monarchs were the product of a form of government which had perhaps anticipated all contemporary governments in its legislation guaranteeing the rights of human personality. These rights were limited by the powers of the State, on the one hand, and, on the other, were defended by laws and local customs stronger and more effective than those of other nations. The Catholic monarchs did not send people who had been subjected to despotic powers; "the Spaniard", said Señor Lequerica "is a bad subject for such experiments". The profound and intense Spanish democracy still existed, he said, after having passed through a thousand political forms (but without clothing itself in any compulsory foreign forms), all of them peculiar to and representative of Spanish individuality. After these remarks (which might be read as an attack on the Falange State, if it had not previously been qualified by higher Spanish authority as an "organic democracy" of a peculiarly Spanish kind), Señor Lequerica led up to an account of the way in which the people who had colonised America, both North and South, had all been of an independent-minded and virile type, whether they had come from Spain and Portugal or from "another great European race, upright men of conscience, struggling against the dangers which were then inherent in the crises of religion".

5. The ceremonies were very fully reported in the Press. Although comment was in the main restricted to minute descriptions of the various functions, the opportunity was seized to indulge

/in

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Foreign Office.

12 APR 1945

Z 4809

17 APR 1945

in the hyperbole customary on such occasions, and more than one reference was made to the famous statement by Gómara in the dedication of his history of Charles V that Columbus's first voyage was only second in magnitude in the history of the world after our Redemption by Christ. On their return to Madrid the diplomatists who had been invited gave a banquet at the Ritz Hotel in Señor Lequérica's honour in order to return the hospitality shown by the Spanish Government. The proceedings were rounded off by a showing of the now celebrated Walt Disney comic film "Saludos Amigos".

6. The whole function may be regarded as a rather forced, but from all accounts, well-appreciated gesture of friendship towards the New World, with one eye on economic benefits from the United States of America and another on the chances of reasserting Spain's claim to the cultural and spiritual leadership of the Latin-American world.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,

Vincent Sackville

44

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 4824

17 APR 1945

4

Registry Number Z 4824/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 206(1/86/45)

Dated 10th Apr. 1945.

Received in Registry 17th Apr. 1945.

Z : Spain

Annual celebration of day of victory in Spain.

Refers to Madrid despatch No. 198 of the 4th April (Z 4808/233/41). Transmits copy of report by Military Attaché to War Office on the parade of the 1st April to mark the sixth anniversary of the capture of Madrid and the end of the Civil War. Reports that invitations were not issued to Diplomatic Corps as a whole but only to service Attachés.

Copied to Lisbon and Gibraltar.

Last Paper.

Z 4809..

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8.) Service depts.
Mop I.
M.E.W.
Q(S)I
2 May

(Minutes.)

Copy Service Depts.
M.O.I.
M.E.W.

There is, I believe, some faint satisfaction to be derived from Franco's displays of vanity, even when they arouse so little enthusiasm. To this extent the supplies of petrol, which enabled A.F.V.s to drive past or break down, and which, I suppose, came from Allied sources, may be justified.

See also minute on Z 4808. R.L.G. Sloan. 21/4.

F.O.R.D. E.D.C.5/5

In action.

A.R.D.M. 24.4

Garran 24/4

(Action completed)

8 Dec 1945 S/S.

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

Z 6902

PROPERTY OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE WITHOUT PERMISSION

Z 4824
17 APR 1945

12

British Embassy,
Madrid.
10th April, 1945.

No. 206.
(1/86/45)

5c each.

Sir,

I have the honour, with reference to my despatch No. 198 of the 4th April, to send you the accompanying copy of a report by the Military Attaché to the War Office on the parade of the 1st April to mark the sixth anniversary of the capture of Madrid and the end of the Civil War.

2. Perhaps as a result of various hints which it was possible to convey to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the effect that the Allied Missions would be less inclined than ever this year to make an official appearance at a function which served to perpetuate the bitter memories of the Civil War and was habitually used as an occasion to glorify Falange, invitations were not issued to the Diplomatic Corps as a whole, but only to Service Attachés, though a box was reserved for any members of the Diplomatic Corps who expressed a wish to attend; this box had few persons in it.

3. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, and to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Samuel Hoare.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

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Annual Victory Parade.

Military Attaché, Madrid. 66/S/45 5th April 45.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX To:- M.I.3 Colonel,
(copy to G.S.(I)., G.H.Q., Gibraltar.

This parade took place on 1st April and marked the sixth anniversary of the Nationalist victory in the Civil War.

2. General Franco, accompanied as usual by his Moorish Guard, arrived at the saluting base in the Avenida del Generalísimo at 1100 hours. He left his closed car and mounted a horse to review his troops before distributing decorations and before the March Past which began at noon and lasted for two hours.

3. A list of troops taking part is given in the Appendix.

4. As a military spectacle, this parade was a considerable improvement on those of recent anniversaries. The horses and mules in particular were better fed and better groomed. Motorised and mechanised troops, which had been absent in 1944 owing to the petrol embargo, were able to take part and this equipment showed improvement on the standard of 1943. The Zundapp motor-cycles were new and the veteran 1936 Russian and Italian tanks drove past without mishap. It was left to one of the ex-German Panthers to break down completely in full view of the Generalísimo. The number of troops was given as 25,000, of whom 7,500 were Infantry. See attached photographs.

5. Paradoxically, one received the definite impression that the parade was a Party demonstration rather than a National celebration. Only the Service Attachés of Foreign Missions in Madrid were invited to attend, as a matter of course, but it was made known that any diplomat would receive an invitation on application. Service Attachés were given the box usually reserved for the Diplomatic Corps. The following numbers were present:-

British	3
U.S.A.	3
Italian	2
Brazilian	1
Rumanian	1
Finn	1
Germans	6

6. There were few spectators, even compared with last year, and there was little enthusiasm. The strongest impression received was that the Falange was making every endeavour to force the general public to realise that, whatever might be happening elsewhere in Europe, the National Nationalist Government of Spain was settled firmly in its place and would strongly resist any attempt to undermine its authority. Even in the front of the Service Attachés

Sheet 2/ hen,....

box, armed police were lined up alternately with the soldiers guarding the route, and, when Franco approached, the police turned to face the crowd and stood watching all movement with their backs to the Generalisimo until he had passed beyond hand-bombing range.

7. The Civil Guard took part in the March-Past for the first time. (See photograph)

8. All 600 of Franco's new Falangist Guard (vide my memo 61/S/45 of 3/4/45) were also on parade (see photograph) and the contingents of the Youth Movement seemed more numerous than on previous occasions. As the parade drew to its close, the small boys and girls lining the route changed their cry from "Franco, Franco, Franco, Franco" to "Franco, Falange, Franco, Falange".

9. There were no outbursts of invective as last year when the British women present failed to give the Fascist salute, but it is reported that groups of youths marched up and down outside the British Embassy with their arms raised.

10. Three conclusions may be drawn from this parade. Firstly, the Army is beginning to take an intelligent interest in modern equipment. Secondly, the general public has no further interest in "Victory" celebrations, and, thirdly, the Falangist Party, while realising its unpopularity, is determined to continue in power at no matter what cost to Spain.

(Sgd) W.W.V. Torr.

Brigadier
Military Attaché.

The following is the order of the March-Past on April 1st.

1. Captain General of the 1st Military Regions with his G.S., A.D.C's and escort.

2. Naval Forces
1 Coy. from Cruiser "Canarias".
1 Coy. from Cruiser "Almirante Cervera".
Naval Band.
Bn. of Marines (Infantería de Marina) which mounts guard at Ministry of Navy.

3. Air Force Troops
Air Force Band.
1 Coy from the General Staff.
1 Coy. from the Ministerial Troops.
1 Coy from 1st Legion of Air Force.

4. Infantry Forces
Div Gen. Ricardo RADA Feral, G.O.C.
13th Division, with escort
Gen. Brig. Antonio CASTEJON Espinosa, G.O.C.
Divisional Infantry, 13th Division.
2 Bns. 1st (Immemorial) Infantry Regt.
2 Bns. 5th (Covadonga) Infantry Regt.
2 Bns. 38th (Leon) Infantry Regiment.
2 Bns. 6th (Saboya) Infantry Regiment.
Bn. of the Ministry of the Army.
Sappers Group of the Armoured Division.
Signals Bn. and Mixed M.G. Bn. of 55th (Wad-Ras) Infantry Regiment.

5. Cavalry Forces.
Div. Gen. Gustavo URRUTIA Gonzalez, G.O.C.
Cavalry Division, with escort.
Gen. Brig. Luis REDONDO García, G.O.C.
1st Cavalry Brigade.
2 Groups from 1st (Santiago) Cavalry Regt.
2 Groups from 2nd (Calatravas) Cav. Regt.
2 Groups from 3rd (Montesa) Cavalry Regt.
M.G. Squadron of 1st Brigade.
2 Groups from M.G. Regiment No. 19.
Mixed Squadron of Sappers and Signals.

6. Artillery Forces
Gen. Brig. Pedro MERA de RIVERA y Figueroa (Marques de Somerualos) G.O.C.
Guadarrama Army Corps Artillery.
2 Groups from 11th Artillery Regiment.
3 Groups from 13th Artillery Regiment.
2 Groups from 19th Artillery Regiment.

7. Motorised Forces
Gen. Brig. Rafael IBAÑEZ de ALDECOA y Ureulla, G.O.C. 2nd Cavalry Brigade.
3 Motorised Squadrons.
1 Lorry-borne Squadron.
1 Heavy Weapons Squadron from 4th (Dragones de Pavia) Regiment.
1 Heavy Weapons Squadron from 5th (Dragones de Almansa) Regiment.
M.G. Squadron of 2nd Brigade.
Mixed Sappers and Signals Squadron.
4 Groups from 41st Artillery Regiment, (with equipment) of various [illegible]
3 Groups from the 71st Artillery Regt. A.A.
1 Chemical Defence Company.

8. Motorised Services
Transport Section of the Automobile Groups.
Motorised Ordnance (Intendencia).
Motorised Medical Corps.
Motorised Veterinary Corps.
Motorised Pharmaceutical Corps.

9. Armoured Forces.....

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9. Armoured Forces	190 new motorcycles and combinations. 1 Bn. of tanks, with 45 heavy tanks and 10 extra-heavy tanks. 1 Bn. with material of the 61st (Alcazar de Toledo) Infantry Regiment (Tanks).
10. Civil Guards.	A contingent from the Civil Guard School, with band. 6 Coys. of Civil Guards. 1 Cavalry Squadron of the Civil Guard.
11. Falange.	Sapperx Squadron of the Provincial Militia. Band of "Batalla de Brunete" Youth Group. Provincial Head of F.E.T. & J.O.N.S., Madrid. 1 Century of the Militia. Band of the "Colegio de San Fernando". Franco's Bodyguard (Newly created). Band of the Youth Movement. 10 Groups, each of 500, of the Youth Movement (including Mountain & Ski Gps.)

45

1945

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SPAIN

Z 4902

19 APR 1945

Registry Number } Z 4902/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 207

Dated 10th Apr. 1945

Received in Registry } 19th Apr. 1945

Z: Spain

Conversation between General Franco and Mr. Douglas Woodruff.

Refers to Madrid despatch No. 209 (LC 1511/165/454). Encloses summary of his conversation with General Franco which give further evidence of the latter's apparently sincere belief in the perfection of his regime and his plans for its development and at which were discussed the questions of the new Bill of Rights, Spanish Protestants and the attitude of Great Britain towards Spain. Copied to Lisbon.

Last Paper.

Z 4824

References.

File 2517/41.
2413/233/41
2482/484/41.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) M of I
May 12.

8) British Council
June 5

Copy Miss Nielson
Lisbon
Aug 18

(Action completed)

(Index.)

9/7.

Next Paper.

25392

(Minutes.)

This despatch contains three points of minor interest, which I have side-lined.

(i) Franco's hint at relaxing press control.

(ii) Franco's slightly cryptic comments on the Protestants in Spain.

(iii) Franco's idea of installing a Spanish Institute in London.

Copy M. of I.

~~Library (British Council Section)~~ Hellas 15/5

Cultural Relations Dept. L.K.Co. Sloan. 21/4.

FOED. E.S.G. 27/4

May a copy of the enclosure be sent to the British Council? Y. R.L.W.S. 31/5.

General Franco is trying to pose as an enlightened despot.

R. Garran 23/4

29082 F.O.P.

9

I think the Woodruffe
spoke very well. If Franco was
so thick-skinned or so
complacent, he ought to have
been impressed by this criticism
from an English Roman Catholic.
I have much faith in
another talk about a Bath
of Rights, but Franco's remarks
about the Protestants are an
clear an advance - in strength
clear - of the Church Bishops
going to say ordinary some
practical benefit from them.

H Hoyte Thomas

23.4.

Mrs. E. Nash.

Mary
24/iv

Dft Sanguhar Ftp 24

L.Kldd.
19/6

Z 11a

19

No. 207

Z 4902

19 APR 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

10th April, 1945.

Sir,

LC 1511/165/454.

I have the honour, with reference to my despatch No. 209 about Mr. Douglas Woodruff's visit to Spain, to send you the accompanying summary of his conversation with General Franco.

2. The conversation gives further and striking evidence of General Franco's apparently sincere belief in the perfection of his regime and of his plans for its development. It is to be expected that the new constitution, which he described to Mr. Woodruff as a Bill of Rights containing a guarantee of personal liberties of the most fundamental kind, will be proclaimed shortly with a great flourish of trumpets, and in the expectation that it will have a striking effect on opinion abroad. The sincerity of General Franco's remarks to Mr. Woodruff about Great Britain is made somewhat questionable by the very different views which he is known to have expressed on the same subject in conversation with the Generals and the Duke of Alba, as reported in my despatches Nos. 179 and 204, where he expatiated on the theme that Great Britain was now at the mercy of freemasonry and no longer counted for anything in the world.

Z 4137/233/41

Z 4802/1466/41

3. On the strength of General Franco's assurances to Mr. Woodruff about Spanish Protestants, I shall take an early opportunity of pressing once again with the Under Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the still outstanding question of compensation for the seizure of the Bibles belonging to the Bible Society and restitution of the seized properties of British Protestant Missions.

4. Mr. Woodruff told me that in the course of the conversation General Franco also spoke of the Jews and said that he had resisted strong pressure from the Germans to induce him to introduce anti-Jewish laws.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

H.H. Hankey

for H.M. Chargé d'Affaires.

The Right Honourable Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,

etc., etc., etc.

Foreign Office.

TVH/GJS.

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SECRET

1C

Mr. Woodruff's Conversation with General Franco.

5th April, 1945.

The conversation lasted for just over an hour and a half. General Franco was extremely affable and almost informal. Though he talked a great deal, he did not appear to resent interruptions and listened readily.

He began by saying he was very glad to welcome Mr. Woodruff as a visitor to the country and to have the opportunity to express his appreciation of the attitude taken by English Catholics and "The Tablet" in the most difficult days of the Civil War. He hoped that Mr. Woodruff's visit would be one among many and that more and more people would come to see Spain for themselves. Mr. Woodruff said that he was afraid that Englishmen coming now would not be particularly impressed with what they saw, as they attached the greatest value to conceptions of personal freedom, and would have to conclude that it was very much restricted, if not denied, in Spain today. General Franco replied that it so happened that his previous visitor that morning had been the Minister of Justice, bringing with him the final draft of a Bill of Rights which would shortly become law. It was, he said, a guarantee of personal liberties of the most fundamental kind and had been under close study for over a year.

This led to a discussion, which Mr. Woodruff initiated, to the effect that there should be a return to the old Spanish tradition that the law should be above the executive. General Franco appeared to agree that this was the essence of the matter but went on to say that 20th century conditions, with the vast spread of half-baked education, conflicting ideals and conglomeration of the masses, made it imperative that the executive should be strong. There was no fear so far as Spain was concerned of this leading to totalitarianism, as the Spanish character was a sufficient guarantee against that. He went on to say that Falange was a movement, not a party, and included people of the most varied political ideas, from traditionalists to men hardly diatinguishable from state socialists.

Mr. Woodruff returned to his point that visitors, particularly journalists, would not be impressed by the fact that government control of the press was absolute. He had, he said, visited a great number of newspaper offices during his tour in Spain, and everywhere found well-informed and intelligent journalists who appeared to be quite stultified by government directives and censorship. General Franco replied that censorship was a war-time necessity. At the end of the war the liberty of the press, with many other liberties, was to be restored, but he did not intend to leave it absolutely free, as experience had shown that unscrupulous people and wealthy monopolies could do incalculable harm. The key to every enactment was to be the General Good. That was, he said, essentially the Falangist view.

Mr. Woodruff said it was thought that Falangist ideology penetrated into far too many sections of life, for instance into university and school. General Franco said that that was a misconception, that Falangist organisations in educational circles were/

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were for disciplinary purposes more than anything else and did not invade the actual teaching. There were no special privileges to Falangists as such in the educational world, though the use of badges and other symbols in educational circles was to keep the spirit of Falangism alive among the keener members.

General Franco went on to speak of the social achievements of the Movement, laying special stress on its feminine side, courses in mothercraft, etc., and pointed to the steep decline in infant mortality and the extensive housing plans brought into operation: the rate of re-housing in poor quarters was, he said, now 20,000 a year. He said that only an authoritarian rule could effect such vast improvements. Everybody now spoke kindly of General Primo de Rivera for his social work and so forth, but actually, said General Franco, the dictator had shirked fundamentals, he had never developed a real national unity and a social conscience, and under the surface the country had declined into incipient anarchy.

General Franco said he could not understand why in particular the Labour Party in Great Britain did not appreciate the real social progress being carried on by Falangism. He could understand reactionary conservatives objecting, but not progressive people. It seemed to him that Falangism was practising what the Labour leaders constantly preached. Mr. Woodruff replied by saying that British Labour leaders had very strong views about personal liberty. They were not even impressed by the social achievements of the U.S.S.R. made coercedly. There could be no real social progress so long as a system of arbitrary arrests continued. Freedom from fear was essential. This brought General Franco back to his Bill of Rights which, he appeared to think, would meet all objections of that kind. He said that in any event it was going to be a problem for all the Allied nations throughout the world how to reconcile order with freedom.

General Franco went on to talk of the syndicalist system and said that it was precisely in commercial circles that the social conscience was least developed. Syndicates had been created to correct that, but it was never intended that government control should stultify private enterprise.

Mr. Woodruff mentioned that he was a member of an inter-denominational committee in London presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that he was almost certainly going to be asked about the lot of Spanish Protestants. It was commonly believed in England that they were persecuted. General Franco said that there was no intention of persecuting them. The matter had become complicated during the Civil War, as a certain sector in Madrid had taken up a violent political attitude and issued a paper, which had been disowned even by their brethren in Barcelona. He said that there were now nine Protestant places of worship open in Madrid and that there were nowhere any Protestant pastors in prison. Mr. Woodruff asked him about Protestant schools, whether they would be allowed to function. General Franco replied that, though they could not be given State support, Protestants could have their own schools. Mr. Woodruff asked if he could repeat this to the Archbishop of Canterbury and was told that he could. General Franco added that other questions touching on Protestants were in some cases complicated by the terms of Spain's concordat with the Holy See; he did not give details. He also mentioned that, with regard to setting up places of worship and schools in outlying districts and villages, one had to take into account peasant superstition, and there would be a considerable amount of hostility and suspecion deriving from that but not from the official attitude of the Spanish Government.

General/

22

General Franco then turned to international affairs, beginning on the familiar line of the enormous value of Spain's neutrality in this war. He said it was not an accidental thing, but rooted in the traditional attitude of Spain. She had had no war with England or France since Napoleonic times, and even then was at war through unprovoked aggression. If anyone could be called a peace-loving nation, it was Spain.

With regard to Russia, he said that he thought there were evident signs of an evolution. It was possible that the chaos and tyranny of the communist regime would end to be supplanted by an authoritarian one based on a victorious army and directed by the ablest military commanders who had had now some contact, for the first time in their lives, with the rest of the world. It remained to be seen, however, whether a totalitarian militaristic state of such enormous potential force would in fact be a peaceful collaborator in any future world organisation. He had his doubts.

Finally, General Franco referred to Great Britain and said he had hopes of an ever increasing mutual understanding. He believed that the best basis for such an understanding was in the appreciation of the culture of one country by another rather than by politics. The Civil War had been seriously misjudged by the British. It was far more than a political upheaval, and a struggle for the cultural rights and life of the country for which any of his supporters then would be ready now to die again if it were necessary. He was hoping to initiate closer cultural relations through inaugurating a fully equipped Spanish Institute in London on the lines of the British one here. Mr. Woodruff remarked that he was afraid it would not be welcomed so long as the grounds for a deep political antagonism existed. General Franco became actually merry at this point, and said that, slow as his lawyers had been about drawing up this Bill of Rights, he thought that they would be quicker than the other lawyers who were looking for his Institute in London, and the atmosphere would be considerably clearer by the time the house had been found.

He then reiterated his first sentiments and bade Mr. Woodruff a very cordial goodbye.

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46

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 5392

1 MAY 1945

23

z Registry Number } Z 5392/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker
Madrid

No. 232 (1/103/45).

Dated 24th April,
Received in Registry } 1st May, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Day of Victory Celebrations in Spain: reason for abstention of the syndicates from the parade

Refers to Madrid despatch No. 38 of 6th April (Z 4808/233/41). Transmits copies of Teneriffe despatches No. 38 and 39, to Madrid of 6th April, giving account of the above celebrations. Employers were instructed to parade employees and were made responsible for absentees. When the military were marching past however, the men left their flags and shipped away so that the parade could not take place. Employers have received a note from the syndicate asking for report of absentees and ordering them to appear before the Delegado, it is thought for an enquiry into the fiasco on Victory Day.

Last Paper.

z 4902

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

S.) Col Sykes-Wright Addy.
Major Gane W.O.
W/C Mackarem A.M.
May 12

(Minutes.)

The Captain-General seems to be a faithful disciple.

Copy to Col. Sykes-Wright (Addy)
Major Gane (W.O.)
W/C Mackarem (A.M.)

F.O.R.D. a.a. 20.5.14/v

A.K.C.S.
7/5.

(Action completed)

5 dec 16/5.

(Index.)

9/7.

Next Paper.

Z 5394

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No. 232 (1/103/45)

10v 24 2.

HIS Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid, presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A. and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,

Madrid,

24th April, 194 45.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copies Despatches Nos. 38 and 39 from Teneriffe to Embassy, Madrid, of 6th April, 1945.	The Dia de la Victoria (April 1st) Celebrations.

Z 5392
1 MAY 1945

3479A 24319—3

60

COPY

25

British Consulate,
Teneriffe.

No. 39. 6th April, 1945.

48 & 1233/41

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 38 of April 6th regarding the Dia de la Victoria celebrations I have just learned the reason for the abstention of the syndicates from the parade. The intention to include them was not abandoned as was first supposed.

Employers were in fact instructed to parade their employees and were made responsible for any absentees. The men assembled at the appointed hour but, when the military were marching past, so many of them seized the occasion, when attention was on the soldiers, to leave their flags and slip away that the parade could not take place.

Employers have now received a circular notice from the headquarters of the syndicate asking them to report absentees and they have also been ordered to appear before the Delegado without any stated reason but it is thought for an enquiry into the fiasco on Victory Day.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

With the highest respect,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) ROBERT ROSS.

His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

COPY

26

British Consulate,
Teneriffe,

No. 38. 6th April, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the Dia de la Victoria on April 1st was observed in Santa Cruz with the usual ceremony. Teneriffe was wearing that radiant look of well-being got from the glowing skies and fragrant airs which long ago gave it the name of "Fortunate". And fortunate still must he have thought it to be who, taking up his newspapers before the event, read the recital of benefits, without also considering the defects, that flowed from the regime.

2. The Military parade itself took place after the celebration of a field mass in the Rambla del Generalísimo Franco. A generous crowd of people filled the square and lined the avenue, watching with lively, but not enthusiastic, interest as the soliders swung past the saluting base. There seemed to be fewer men on parade than last year and the intention to include the syndicates appears to have been abandoned at the last moment.

3. After the parade, the Captain-General gave a reception to which, as to the preceding ceremonies, the Consular Corps were invited. He made a short address, in which he justified the intervention of the Army to save Spain from a communistic rabble and to prevent the imposition of a regime which, because it was opposed to their traditional principles, was repugnant to the majority of Spaniards. The National Government (he said) was one of order and justice, a government at peace with the outside world, and therefore deserving of the respect of all nations. Welcoming the foreign representatives present, he expressed the hope that the war would soon end in a humane peace that would efface hatred for ever.

4. The Captain-General then offered wine to his guests. He came over almost immediately to speak to my American colleague and myself and, after some friendly exchange of courtesies, began to speak about the war situation and the prospects of peace and reconstruction. He admitted that the overthrow of Germany was imminent, but he could not disguise his fears of the influence of Russia after the occupation. He hoped therefore that the British and Americans would reach Berlin as soon as, if not before, the Russians. He did not like the San Francisco Conference, more especially as the Soviet Union was demanding separate representation for the Ukraine and White Russia. We interposed here to say that world security could not be left to take care of itself and that the sooner constructive discussions took place the better it would be for humanity at large and that, even if controversial points should arise, the experience of Yalta and previous conferences showed that, notwithstanding the different points of view, there was an essential unity of purpose. The Captain-General acknowledged the responsiblity which rested upon authorities, especially military authorities, today. He then began to talk of Spain. Spain, he said, was not yet ripe for democratic government as we knew it. Force was necessary. In time the exercise of force could be relaxed but not at present. I confess that this bold apology for force rather than law as an instrument of Government dismayed me until I reflected that he was perhaps not so much defending doctrine as vindicating practice in a Spain liable to run amuck if armed control were removed.

5. This /

5. This conversation with the Captain-General lasted fully twenty minutes, a fact which many persons were quick to observe, especially as the German Consul was left without any attention at all. Three years ago this would have been unthinkable. To give an even more practical illustration of this change of attitude, the Captain-General asked me a few days ago, when he was shown "Tunisian Victory" in private exhibition, whether the film could also be shown to his Officers, N.C.Os. and men; a request which, I need not say, my American colleague and I were prompt to meet.

6. How comparable is this forsaking of old associations to the flight from Sodom and Gomorrah; the footsteps are indeed turned towards Zoar, but there are many who, like Lot's wife, look back to the doomed cities. Others who flee from destruction choose the mountain for refuge rather than the lowly plain. "Escape for thy life", was the command, "Look not behind thee: escape to the mountain lest thou be consumed". But Lot said - "Behold now, this city is near to flee unto and it is a little one. Oh, let me escape thither (is it not a little one?) and my soul shall live". The powers in Spain prefer the high places of the mountain. It is enough to read the constant insistence on her historical mission, on her political unity (or "unity in diversity") and on her spiritual leadership which compel her to fulfil her destiny of salvation in the world. I enclose a series of random cuttings which illustrate how this idea is being driven home, day after day, in language so turgid that, if it were not also so remote from the truth, might be amusing.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

With the highest respect,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) ROBERT ROSS.

Z

Z SPAIN

Z 5394

1 MAY 1945

1945

z Registry Number } Z 5394/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker
Madrid

No. 235.

Dated 24th April,

Received in Registry } 1st May, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Communication from the Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas appealing for intervention of the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in Spain

Refers to Madrid despatch No. 196 of 4th April (Z 4806/233/41). Reports that a communication has been received as above, elaborating the miseries of Spanish people since the civil war, asking for intervention to avoid civil war in the forthcoming collapse of General Franco and asking for help to make Spain a home for the entire Spanish people.

Last Paper.

25297

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

This is the third appeal of its kind within the past 3 months. The blatant call for intervention has an odd ring against the background of Spanish xenophobia.

F.O. L.D. 5.5.G. 23/5

R.K.H. Sloan.
17/5.

H.M.
17.5

(Action completed.)

S de Ch 24/5.

(Index.)

Next Paper.

25395

29

Z

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

24th April, 1945.

No. 235.

Z 5394

1 MAY 1945

Z 4308/123

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 196 of April 4th enclosing a copy in translation of a clandestine leaflet circulated by the C.G.T., I have the honour to inform you that a further long communication (of which I will not burden you with a copy) has been received at the Embassy from the Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas addressed "To the Governments of His Britannic Majesty and the United States, the incarnation of gigantic peoples whom the Spanish anti-Fascists admire with fervour."

2. After an elaborate description of the miseries of the Spanish people since the Civil War, the manifesto declares that in present circumstances they cannot reach agreement among themselves. Consequently an appeal is made to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America to intervene in Spanish affairs with the purpose of ensuring that Civil War is avoided in the forthcoming collapse of General Franco's régime and that free elections are held. The manifesto concludes by requesting that the foreign powers should discover a suitable means of intervening between the "combatants" in Spain, helping them to reach some agreement which would make of Spain a home for the entire Spanish people.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,

James Rodgers.

The Right Honourable Anthony Eden,
M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

30

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

No. 235. 24th April, 1945.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 196 of April 4th enclosing a copy in translation of a clandestine leaflet circulated by the C.G.T., I have the honour to inform you that a further long communication (of which I will not burden you with a copy) has been received at the Embassy from the Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas, addressed "To the Governments of His Britannic Majesty and the United States, the incarnation of gigantic peoples whom the Spanish anti-Fascists admire with fervour".

2. After an elaborate description of the miseries of the Spanish people since the Civil War, the manifesto declares that in present circumstances they cannot reach agreement among themselves. Consequently an appeal is made to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States of America to intervene in Spanish affairs with the purpose of ensuring that Civil War is avoided in the forthcoming collapse of General Franco's régime and that free elections are held. The manifesto concludes by requesting that the foreign powers should discover a suitable means of intervening between the "combatants" in Spain, helping them to reach some agreement which would make of Spain a home for the entire Spanish people.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

The Right Honourable Anthony Eden,
M.C., M.P., etc., etc, etc.

(SIGNED) JAMES BOWKER.

1945

WESTERN

Z 5478 /G

3 MAY 1945

31

Z 5478 /233/G 41

Senor Azcarate to Mr Harvey

Dated 25 April
Received 2 May.

Spain: Jose Martinez

States that among a group of ten young men recently condemned to death in Madrid is Jose Martinez whom he knows personally.

Last Paper.

Z 2953

References.

(Print.)

(Minutes.)

See within

1. Senor Azcarate to Mr Harvey 26 April
2. Times extract of 25 April.

See within.

(How disposed of.)

D(i) Senor Azcarate from Mr Harvey 1 May

Tel Madrid/228 28 April

(Action completed.)

D.F. 15/5

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 9612

32

Personal

~~SOUTHAMPTON ROW~~
~~LONDON W.C.1~~

Hill House,
TAPLOW, (Bucks).

April the 25th, 1945.

25478
2 MAY 1945

Dear Harvey

I have been for some time thinking of writing to you about the present terror in Spain, but I have always been very reluctant to raise this sort of question as long as I only disposed of information of a general character, such as the newspapers have been reporting continually these last weeks.

Now, I am informed from a source which I consider reliable, that a group of ten young men have been recently condemned to death in Madrid; among them is one named JOSE MARTINEZ, whom I know personally. He is an officer in the Spanish Republican Army and has taken a very active part in the French Resistence Movement.

I venture to submit this case to you not because it is more important than many others which, unfortunately, have been and are taking place, but, simply, because it happens that I have received a direct and reliable

O.C. Harvey, C.M.G.,
Assistant Under-Secretary of State,
Foreign Office.

information about it. May I emphasize the urgency of this case ? It seems that the sentences have not yet been carried out so far.

I very much hope that you will findeit possible to do something in Madrid to stop these terrible things on a purely humanitarian ground. I know very well that at this moment any representation from you would be most effective.

Yours very sincerely

P. Azcárate

Z

37

HILL HOUSE,
Taplow, Bucks.,

2/5

~~46-KINGSWAY~~
~~LONDON-W.C.2~~
~~TEL:-HOLBORN-4525~~

April 25th., 1945.

Dear Harvey

I am very sorry that in my letter of yersterday's concerning a group of ten men who have been condemned to death in Madrid and in particular to José Martinez I made a mistake. The name is not Martinez but VITIMI and I would be most grateful if you would kindly have it amended.

Yours very sincerely
P. Azcárate

P. de Azcárate.

O.C. Harvey, Esq., C.M.G.,
Assistant Under-Secretary of State,
FOREIGN OFFICE,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

Off. Sec.
Chichester. 9
don't see what
more we can do.

27.4

TIMES.

25 APR 1945

Cutting dated 194

SPANISH GUNMAN TO BE GARROTTED

MURDER OF FALANGISTS

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

MADRID, APRIL 24

The wife of a policeman was among 11 prisoners who came before a court-martial yesterday on a charge of having connived at the murder of two of the Falangist Party at their headquarters in the working-class district of Madrid on February 25. She received the lightest sentence passed at the trial—12 years and a day—for having harboured two gunmen, Felix Plaza and Jose Carmona, who actually committed the murder.

Seven other men are to be shot, but in view of Carmona's criminal record before the civil war, he will be garrotted as soon as the Captain-General ratifies his sentence. He escaped to France after the civil war but re-entered Spain to organize agitation in the capital. Eight sentences of death and three of imprisonment were demanded by the prosecuting counsel at the trial, which was held in the crowded courtroom of the tribunal for the suppression of Freemasonry and Communism.

36.


Lübeck
Weser
münde
HAMBURG
Harburg
Wilhelmsburg
Elbe
Lüneburg
BREMEN
Achim
BRIT. 2ND
Celle
HANOVER
Brunswick
Minden
Hameln
U.S. 9TH
Bielefeld
Halberstadt
Paderborn
HARZ
Göttingen

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No.

I.P.G.

Draft.

To Senor P.Azcarate
Hill House,
Taplow,
Bucks.

(From Mr. Harvey).

Confidential April 1945.

In reply to your letter of the 25th April about the condemnation of a group of prisoners in Madrid, I write to say that we have telegraphed our Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid asking him urgently to consider the possibility of making an unofficial approach to the Minister for Foreign Affairs with a view to preventing the execution of these men.

You will appreciate that it is not possible for us to go any further than this as we have no locus standi for intervening officially in what is, after all, a Spanish internal affair. Moreover, we are at present without any official information regarding the charges on which these men were condemned.

CSM
HC

38

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.,

CONFIDENTIAL. May 1st, 1945.

In reply to your letter of the 25th April about the condemnation of a group of prisoners in Madrid, I write to say that we have telegraphed to our Chargé d'Affaires in Madrid asking him to consider urgently the possibility of making an unofficial approach to the Minister for Foreign Affairs with a view to preventing the execution of these men.

You will appreciate that it is not possible for us to go any further than this as we have no locus standi for intervening officially in what is, after all, a Spanish internal affair. Moreover, we are at present without any official information regarding the charges on which these men were condemned.

(SGD) O.C. HARVEY.

Senor P. Azcárate,
Hill House,
Taplow,
Bucks.

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

[CYPHER]. DEPARTMENTAL No. 2.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO MADRID.

No. 528. D. 7.40 p.m. April 28th, 1945.

April 28th, 1945.

yyyyyy

IMPORTANT.

"The Times" of April 25th publishes a report from its Madrid correspondent that eight men have been condemned to death in connexion with the murder last February of two Falangist officials. An appeal has now been received from Senor Azcarate who says that ten men have been condemned and who begs us to intervene to prevent the carrying out of the sentences, particularly in the case of Jose Vitimi, who is said to have taken an active part in the French resistance movement.

2. The trial and execution of these men is, of course, a purely internal Spanish affair in which we have no proper ground for intervening. Nor do we know the nature of the evidence against the accuser. In view, however, of the obscurity surrounding the murder and the consequent possibility that this trial has been "framed", I shall be glad if you will consider urgently the possibility of making an unofficial approach to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, pointing out (in whatever terms you consider most appropriate) that the execution of eight (or ten) men en bloc, following so soon after the apparently encouraging announcement that no further death sentences were to be passed in connexion with the Civil War, is bound to create an unfortunate impression abroad.

O.T.P.

50

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 5557

4 MAY 1945

40

Registry Number Z 5557/233/41.

FROM Foreign Office Minute Mr. Gascoyne to Mr. Hoyer Millar.

Dated 28th April, 1945.

Received in Registry 4th May, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Future developments in Spain.

Gives ~~an account of~~ his views on future developments in Spain. There are several possibilities 1) Franco will be replaced by a Republican Government, (2) by a Monarch; (3) by a military dictatorship leading to (a) Republic (b) Monarchy or (4) he will remain power as (a) Regent for Don Juan or (b) as head of a semi-military Government of Falangist complexion. Discusses each of these possibilities stating that (b) is probably the most likely.

Last Paper.

Z 5478

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Mr. Gascoyne's "probable starters and jockeys" gives a good check of field. I agree with the general direction of his forecast, but, as suggested in another paper, I believe the most likely outcome is some kind of régime combining Franco and the Generals as a prelude to the restoration of the Monarchy and disappearance of Franco.

R.L.G. Sloan

11/5

R.A.C.S.

13/5

(Action completed)

5 decl 14/5

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 5627

27437 F.O.P.

Enclr.

MINUTE SHEET. Reference

Z 5557 41

4 MAY 1945

Mr. Hoyer Millar

Mr. Garran has asked me what is my view on future developments in Spain. Anyone who makes a prophecy about Spanish politics is taking what I should call an uncoverable risk. But, here, very briefly and for what it is worth, is my opinion.

There are four possibilities:-

1) After the defeat of Germany Franco will fall as a result of a popular rising and be replaced by a Republican Government.

2) In the same circumstances he will be replaced by the Monarchy.

3) He will be replaced by an interim military dictatorship leading to
(a) a Republic
or (b) a Monarchy.

4) He will remain in power (a) as regent for Don Juan
or (b) as head of a semi-military government of Falangist complexion.

This is my view:-

1) I think this is improbable. The dominating political factor in Spain at the moment is fear of bloodshed; this has led to an apathy which seems to paralyse activity. Among the conservative classes the Republic is associated with anarchy and vengeance, and I doubt if the Republican elements inside the country, weakened by persecution, are sufficiently well organized to take command against opposition. Moreover, the disunity among the Republicans does not encourage immediate success.

2) Not very likely, for the Monarchists seem as ill-prepared as their opponents for swift and decisive action.

3)

(a) Slightly more probable than (1) but only if during the interim dictatorship public opinion, stimulated by external pressure from the Democracies and Russia and backed by the Army, should move much more than it has done hitherto.

(b) Perhaps the most likely, for it would give time for the principal backers of Don Juan in big business, the Church and among landowners to persuade those elements of the Army who are not already Royalists - who would also, of course, be worked upon by those of their comrades who are - that it is in their interests to bring Don Juan back.

4)

(a) This compromise, a variant of 3 (b) above, is possible provided Franco can "defalangize" himself. The process of "defalangization" heralded in the Bill of Rights may be beyond Franco's powers. But relative economic prosperity and the fact that he has kept Spain out of the war are in his favour.

(b) Most unlikely. The continuance of the present régime might be acceptable to many Spaniards, but public opinion in Great Britain and the United States, not to mention Russia, would not tolerate the survival of what they rightly consider to be a centre of Fascism.

E.D. Garran

28th April, 1945.

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Gp644/229
(REGIMINT)
CODE 5-34-0

51

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 5637

7 MAY 1945

42

Registry Number. Z 5637/233/41.

TELEGRAM FROM
Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 350

Dated 5th May, 1945.

Received in Registry 7th May, 1945.

Z : Spain.

General Franco's attitude to Don Juan.

Refers to Madrid despatch 247 (Z / /) States that Senor Areikza will leave for Switzerland early next week and that he told the Press Attaché that he is going on General Franco's behalf to explain his attitude to Don Juan who will receive him as a personal friend. He has no power to negotiate but will bring back Don Juan's views.

Last Paper.

25557

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

9.) W. Tem. No 833
Berne No 754
May 14

(Minutes.)

"Will you, won't you, will you, won't you ... ?"

F.O.R.D.E.D.C. 15/v

R. H. D. Sloan.
8/5

Copy Washington & Berne.

P. Garran
10/5

Sir
W.S.

(Action completed.)

S de Ch
2445

(Index.)

6/7

Next Paper.

25667

29082 F.O.P.

[CYPHER]

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Z 5637

7 MAY 1945

Mr. Bowker
No. 350
5th May 1945.

D. 10.10 a.m. GMT 5th May 1945.
R. 1.25 p.m. DBST 5th May 1945.

n n n n

My despatch No. 247.

I learn now that Areilza's visit to Switzerland was only postponed owing to visa formalities and that he is leaving early next week. He has told the Press Attaché that he is going on behalf of Franco to explain the latter's attitude to Don Juan who will receive him as a personal friend. He has no power to negotiate but will bring back any views Don Juan may wish to express.

O.T.P.

52

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 5667

7 MAY 1945

44

Registry Number Z 5667/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid

No. 247 1/116/45

Dated 30th April,

Received in Registry 7th May, 1945.

Z: Spain

Cancellation of Proposed visit by Senor Areilza to Don Juan.

Encloses copy of minute by the Press Attaché, recording conversation of 27th April between United States Ambassador and Senor Areilza. Gives details about Senor Areilza for cancellation of his proposed visit to Don Juan in Switzerland, and effect of failure to re-establish direct contact with Don Juan on General Franco's reported plans for establishment of Regency Council.

Last Paper.

Z 5637

References.

Z 5427 / 1·8/3 —

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

9.) W. Lon No 292 Gloucester 777 Henry 26

(Minutes.)

This despatch has been undertaken by tel. 360. from Madrid (Z 5637/233/41) and Mr. Bowker's despatch (Z ....) covering the new decree supplementing the Bill of Rights. (see attached)

Nevertheless, the conversation between Mr. Armour, who spoke with, and Senor Areilza contains points of interest :-

(i) The prospects of elections to the Cortes in the autumn.

(ii) Franco's predominant interest in Spanish York which suggests that the Generalo might weaken his power if they were to intensify pre-military training in rebel schools etc.

(iii) The spectre of the Inquisition which haunts Franco in religious matters and may explain his reluctance to guarantee full liberty for Protestants in Spain.

N. American Dept. Read 2/5

F.O.R.D. E.D.Q. 15/V

R.L.W. Lloan. 8/5

Sum

(Action completed)

Schedule 10/7

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

25709

27437 F.O.P.

Sir Areilza puts forward another reason why General Franco is reluctant to suppress Falange.

Note the consistently critical line which the Armour d'Oeil of over Falange.

Copy Washington
Berne

R Garran
10/5

H Shaw
10.5.

Z. 46

Z 5667
7 MAY 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

No.247.
1/116/45.

30th April, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to send you the accompanying copy of a minute by the Press Attaché, recording a conversation between the United States Ambassador and Señor Areilza, which took place at luncheon at my house. 1359/233.

2. Señor Areilza, who has been referred to in earlier despatches, is a young lawyer and business man of Bilbao of opportunist tendencies, and "evolutionary monarchist", a friend of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and in close touch with General Franco, who uses him as a feeler in many political directions.

3. As regards Señor Areilza's statement that he was leaving in a few days for Switzerland to see Don Juan on behalf of General Franco, I have now learnt, as reported in my telegram No. 332, that this visit has been cancelled, Don Juan having, it appears, indicated that he was not willing to receive him. It was thought at one moment that Señor Areilza might be accompanied by the Conde de Fontanar, but the latter told the Military Attaché a few days ago that he had no intention of going to Lausanne since he considered that there were no developments in the internal situation which would justify his visiting or speaking to Don Juan. It may be that this led to Don Juan's present unwillingness to receive Señor Areilza. Another explanation may be that, according to what Señor Mateu told the United States Ambassador, leading Monarchists here had advised Don Juan that he should not receive anyone below the rank of General or Minister.

5471/1819

4. It remains to be seen how the failure of this attempt to re-establish direct contact with Don Juan will affect General Franco's reported plans for the establishment of a Regency Council. The effect may well be to precipitate them, but in that case there would seem to be less guarantee than ever that the plans will prove to be more than a means of prolonging indefinitely General Franco's own rule under another name and form.

5. As regards the impending Bill of Rights, which has already been the subject of much inspired publicity, there is still no assurance that, while defining the essential liberties of Spanish subjects, the Bill will be accompanied by measures which will effectively guarantee them.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, and to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,

James Bowker.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W. 1.

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE AMERICAN
AMBASSADOR AND SR. AREILZA ON
27th APRIL, 1945.

.....

Sr. Areilza began by saying straight away that he was leaving for Switzerland in a few days to see Don Juan, being especially charged by General Franco to explain to him the immediate steps in the evolution of the regime which General Franco was contemplating. He was not asked about the part Don Juan might be desired to play in them.

Sr. Areilza began by saying that General Franco had very sweeping changes in mind. The first sign of these had been the announcement of the fueros de los espanoles, or Bill of Rights, which would shortly be passed by the National Council and proceed for approbation by the Cortes.

Mr. Armour took him up at this point and said that neither in the U.S.A. nor in Great Britain was it understood why the National Council of Falange should continue with such powers, nor indeed why Falange should continue at all. He said that to the Anglo-Saxon world the idea of the single party, modelled on the Axis and having many outward symbols identical with it, was abhorrent. Whilst he did not wish in any way to meddle with the internal affairs of Spain, he would like to suggest that the Spanish people might view with some suspicion changes of this kind, which were sponsored by the very thing which they, in common with Allied feeling, were opposed to.

Sr. Areilza said that it was after all necessary to follow a constitutional procedure. There was at present no other machinery to pass such fundamental measures. The machinery itself in any case was to undergo a thorough overhaul. The constitutional life of the Cortes would in normal circumstances end in the autumn and then the Cortes would have to be re-elected. The procedure for the election was itself under revision. A law was shortly to be enacted whereby municipal councils would be elected by householders - councils which would in turn elect their deputies to the Cortes. The rest would be elected by syndicates and other constituted bodies.

Mr. Armour persisted that the difficulty remained of the Falange Party constituting a state within a state. He wondered why it could not pass into the position of being a party or else a body charged with special responsibilities. He said he quite realised that the Auxilio Social, for example, performed a necessary social service which the Falange might feel itself especially responsible for, but that was very different from thinking of the Falange Party as an entity maintaining a totalitarian state.

Sr. Areilza replied that so far as he knew it was General Franco's intention to limit its sphere of influence in that way. General Franco, he said, was very conscious of the fact that the patriotic sentiment of Spanish Youth was at stake. It had been brought up in the atmosphere of the Civil War and was developing in the aftermath of that war. Anything like a wholesale disbandment of Falange would produce a state of disillusion which would rapidly lead to disintegration. He went into a rapid sketch of pre-Civil War conditions: the National Movement had forestalled by a very narrow margin a communist revolt. The cry of the so-called Popular Front had at that time been: "Long Live Russia! Death to Spain!".

/...

The whole impulse of youth on the Nationalist side had been to restore a sense of patriotism, which it would be fatal now to weaken in any way. Therefore changes such as had been discussed must necessarily be very gradual as well as logical.

Mr. Armour remarked that the war was practically over and it seemed to him that General Franco's time sense was badly awry.

Sr. Areilza said that it was perhaps not realised what difficulties with his own councillors General Franco had to cope with. For instance, it was one of General Franco's ambitions to establish as soon as possible the Four Freedoms guaranteed by the Atlantic Charter. In the matter of freedom of religion, there were some fanatical Catholics even among his own Ministers who were "plus papistes que le Pape" and that in the very Council of Ministers which was discussing this point General Franco had been opposed by one of this type. He had to have recourse to the Bishop of Madrid, who agreed with General Franco that freedom of religion was a legitimate tenet.

Mr. Armour said that he hoped that the developments which had been spoken of would in fact take place, but he confessed a scepticism about it; he had been shocked to see, for instance, the announcement that sixteen so-called communists had been executed on the day following the murder of two Falange officials a few weeks ago, and now to see that the actual or alleged authors of the crime had now been arrested and were themselves being condemned.

Sr. Areilza said that it was by a stupid bureaucratic muddle that the announcement of the death of the sixteen so-called communists had coincided with the news of the political murders. They were in fact sixteen brigands who had belonged to the maquis and had come over murdering and pillaging on the frontier. They would have been executed under the law in any other land.

Finally, Sr. Areilza asked Mr. Armour whether, if all the evolution which he had spoken of did in fact take place, Spain would be accepted in a spirit of friendship by the Allies. Mr. Armour's reply amounted to a wholly enigmatic "wait and see".

I should add that throughout the talk Mr. Armour constantly emphasised the unity of American and British purpose, and invited my confirmation of his views.

T. F. Burns
Press Attache

53

1945

4

Z

SPAIN

49

Z 5709

10 MAY 1945

Registry Number Z 5709/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 244 E

Dated 1st May,

Received in Registry 10th May, 1945

Z : Spain. -

Law dated March 17th authorizing modification of existing Customs classifications.

Transmits translation of a Law dated 17th March published in the official Gazette of 19th March authozing the Ministry of Industry and Commerce to issue decrees as above with the object of adjusting them to present economic conditions and providing protection for new industries. Comments on the predominant part played by this Ministry, illustrating Senor Carceller's "cornering propensity". Copied to Department of Overseas Trade and Barcelona.

Last Paper.

2562)

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

P.) D. O.
B.T.
to Ellis Rees Esq
to Thorold Hall
May 28
Off) Sir G. Hadow B.T.
June 23
P.) D.O.
to Ellis Rees Esq
to Thorold Hall Esq
to Chettwood D.O.
June 26

(Action completed)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

26606

(*Minutes.*)

Copy D.O.
Board of Trade.
Mr. Ellis Rees (Treasury)
Mr. Thorold (M.E.W.).

It is impossible at present to assess the implications of this decree, which seems to be to ~~[illegible]~~ ordinary reforms, somewhat wider and without definite political import.

Sr. Carcellers part is of minor interest.

R.K.W.Sloan
17/6

E.L. Dept. J. 23/5

We have before had a bit often ask BOT for their views. Reply June 15

Sloan-
17.5

Dept. R.K.W.S.
20/6

27437 F.O.P.

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50 2.

British Embassy,

Madrid

1st May 1945

No. 244 E.

Copy sent to EAB

Z 5709

10 MAY 1945

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a translation of a Law, dated March 17th and published in the Official Gazette of March 19th, authorizing the Ministry of Industry & Commerce to issue decrees modifying the existing Customs classifications and duties with the object of adjusting them to present economic conditions and providing appropriate protection for new industries. For this purpose the Ministry mentioned will appoint a Technical Commission, on which the Ministry of Finance and the National Delegation of Syndicates will be represented, to examine the existing Tariff and to submit proposals for amendments to the Ministry of Industry & Commerce. A period of three months is allowed for the submission of protests against modified duties from the date they enter into force.

2. A further important provision of the new law prohibits the conclusion of commercial agreements based on the "most favoured nation" principle and states that any existing agreement not complying with these provisions shall be duly revised as soon as possible.

3./

The Right Honourable Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc, etc., etc.,
Foreign Office,
London.

3. A law permitting a greater degree of tariff protection was not unexpected in view of the strongly nationalistic flavour of the resolutions of the recent Congress of Industrial Syndicates, many of which advocated increased tariffs to foment new industries and to save those established during the past few years from ruinous competition from imported goods in the immediate post-war period. Enquiries made of senior officials in the Ministry of Industry & Commerce reveal that a revision of the Customs Tariff is considered long-overdue since the present Tariff was established twenty-three years ago and is now out of date. It is stated that not only does the nomenclature fail to provide for many products new to commerce but in numerous instances results in ill-proportioned duties which often weigh heavily on low grade and too lightly on high grade goods. It does not, however, appear to be the intention to make a readjustment in such cases by reducing the duties on the former but rather by increasing the duties on the latter; in fact, all adjustments seem likely to be in an upward sense. While some modification of the nomenclature is no doubt desirable, it is unfortunate - though not unnatural, especially for the present regime - that the opportunity should be taken to make as many additions as possible to the tariff wall, the more so since the Ministry of Industry & Commerce already have an effective protective weapon in their import licensing system which they use deliberatly to exclude any goods competing with local products. They seem intent on making the proteqtion doubly sure.

4./

52

4. The Ministry of Industry & Commerce have apparently been studying the problem of Customs Tariff revision for the past eighteen months and have already made a detailed examination of import licences from a Tariff angle. Proposals for amendments seem to be well advanced and it is possible that the Technical Commission provided for in the Law of March 17th may merely give its formal approval to modifications drafted in the Ministry of Industry & Commerce. The Commission has not yet been appointed.

5. The predominant part played by that Ministry in the proposed revision of Customs duties, normally a function of the Ministry of Finance, is significant. It provides still a further example of Sr. Carceller's "cornering" propensity.

6. As regards the possible repercussions of the Law of March 17th on United Kingdom trade, the Sub-Secretary of Commerce has stated that Art. II should not be interpreted as an intention to modify the Anglo-Spanish Commercial Agreement, which is based on the "most favoured nation" principle. He looked forward to the development of U.K. trade with Spain and to the continued implementation of that Agreement. Nevertheless there will be considerable pressure from interested local industries to modify some of the import duties covered by that Agreement.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the

Department/

Department of Overseas Trade and to H.M. Consul-General, Barcelona.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
With the highest respect,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Samuel Hoare.

TRANSLATION OF THE LAW OF THE 17TH MARCH 1945 REGARDING MODIFICATIONS OF CUSTOMS DUTIES

Published in the Boletin Oficial, No. 78 of 19th March 1945.

In view of the need for adjusting the prevailing Customs Tariff to the present economic circumstances and also for providing proper protection for new industries which were not envisaged when the Tariff was issued in the year 1922, it is convenient to authorise the Government to introduce partial modifications in the said Customs Tariff by a Decree emanating from the Ministry of Industry & Commerce after a prior report from the Ministry of Finance and with the approval of the Cabinet. These modifications will be introduced as and when they may become necessary.

Consequently, and in conformity with the proposition submitted by the Spanish Parliament

I dispose

Article 1. The Government is authorised by Decree emanating from the Ministry of Industry & Commerce, partially to revise as far as possible, the rates and classifications of the existing Customs Tariff in respect of goods imported into the Peninsula and Balearic Islands.

To this end, and for investigation, report and proposals, the Ministry of Industry & Commerce will appoint a Technical Commission in which the Ministry of Finance

will/

will be represented, and which will also include a representative of the "Delegacion Nacional de Sindicatos" (National Delegation of Syndicates). Under a varying composition and in relation to interests affected by the revision, the Commission will also have a temporary representation from the professional manufacturing Corporations or other official bodies interested in the matters dealt with.

This technical Commission will accept or demand from any firm or concern any verbal or written reports considered necessary for an improved study of matters submitted to its examination.

The said Commission will submit all reasonable proposals to the Ministry of Industry & Commerce, who, in its turn, and if considered proper, will submit, them for the approval of the Cabinet.

As from the date on which these modified duties are declared valid, a period of three months will be granted during which appropriate admission and decision will be given in respect of all justified claims made against the modified classifications and duties.

Article 2. It is prohibited in future to enter into any commercial undertakings or agreements/on the total or indeterminate clause of "most favoured nation". /based

All commercial undertakings and agreements not strictly complying with the provisions in this article will be duly revised as soon as possible.

Article 3./

Article 3. The Ministry of Industry & Commerce will issue complementary rules and regulations considered proper for the application of this Law.

Given in El Pardo on the 17th March 1945.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry
No. Z 5709/233/41.

Draft.

Sir G. Mahon.
Board of Trade.

Copy D.O.
Mr. Ellis Rees (Ty)
Mr. Thorold (M.E.w.)
Mr. Clutterbuck (D.O.)

23 June 1945
+ 3 Cpl. 970

OUT FILE

Dear Mahon,
Will you please
May I refer to Bowker's
despatch from Madrid No. 244 E.
of 1st May? (which we sent you a copy)
concerning the
Spanish Law dated 17th March which
authorizes modification of existing
Customs classifications and duties?

It seems to us that this law
may foreshadow nothing more than
the introduction of minor readjustments
or long overdue reforms, which
would not necessarily carry any
political importance. But it is
difficult to assess its significance
without more details and while
the Commission to be responsible
for executing the Law has not,
so far

so far as we know, have
appointed.

Would you please let me know, however, whether
~~if, however,~~ you have any ~~clear~~ possible
views on the ~~probable~~ effect of the
clause prohibiting the conclusion of
further "most favoured nation" agreements
or on the significance of the
tendency to raise the tariff wall,
and whether you think any grounds exist for
~~I should be very glad to know~~
representations to the Spanish Govt
~~from, in case we may wish to~~
~~take rapid action in Madrid.~~

I am sending ~~a~~ copies of
~~copy~~
this letter to Lillias Rees (Treasury),
~~A~~ Thorold (M.F.H.), Fawcus (D.O.T.)
and Chatterbuck (D.O.)

Yours sincerely
J. Gaptan.

21/6

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

P. A. Clutterbuck C.M.G., M.C.,
~~Dominions Office~~ 59

OUT FILE

FOREIGN OFFICE,
S.W.1.

(Z 5709/233/41)

23rd June, 1945.

Dear Mahon,

Will you please refer to Bowker's despatch from Madrid No. 244 E. of 1st May, of which we sent you a copy, commenting on the Spanish Law dated 17th March which authorizes modification of existing Customs classifications and duties?

It seems to us that this law may foreshadow nothing more than the introduction of minor readjustments or long overdue reforms, which would not necessarily carry any political importance. But it is difficult to assess its significance without more details and while the Commission to be responsible for executing the law has not, so far as we know, been appointed.

Would you please let me know, however, whether you have any views on the possible effect of the clause prohibiting the conclusion of further "most favoured nation" agreements or on the significance of the tendency to raise the tariff wall, and whether you think any grounds exist for representations to the Spannish Government.

We are sending copies of this letter to Ellis Rees (Treasury), Thorold (Economic Warfare Department), Farrer (Department of Overseas Trade) and Clutterbuck (Dominions Office).

Yours Sincerely
P. Garran.

Sir George Mahon, Bt.,
Board of Trade.

54

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 6006

19 MAY 1945

Registry Number Z 6006/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 258

Dated 7th May,

Received in Registry 18th May, 1945.

Z Z: Spain

Conversation between Press Attaché and Senor Areilza: latter's visit to Don Juan.

Refers to Madrid telegram No.212 (Z 4875/234/41). Encloses an account of the above conversation, when Senor Areilza discussed his proposed visit to Don Juan, on behalf of General Franco. He also gave an account of General Franco's intended political administrative changes.

Last Paper.

Z 5709

References.

Z 5637/233/41
Z 4875/234/41.
Z 5667/233/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8.) Miss Harris
No 29.
May 26

(Minutes.)

Since this entertaining despatch was written an important development has taken place in the clear enunciation of Franco's terms which Spanish exiles may return to Spain. But that does not, I think, alter the general situation of vain scheming and vague promises, reflected by Sr. Areilza, which dominate politics in Spain itself.

Copy. M. J. L. (Miss Harris)

F.O.R.D. E.D.9. 17/vi

K.L.B.J. 25/5.

B. U to me Nov: 1st

Released from E.R.D. 2/11

14/x

(Action completed.) 1 dealt with 22/6.

(Index.) 9/7

Next Paper.

Z 6202

61 2

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

(1/121/45) 7th May, 1945.

Z 6006
18 MAY 1945

No. 258

Z 4875/236

Sir,

The new freedom with which foreign correspondents in this country may report to their newspapers (see my telegram 292 of April 17th) tends naturally to lend importance to news which might otherwise have a strictly limited and local significance. An example is the series of rumours and denials about the journey of Señor Areilza to see Don Juan on behalf of General Franco, which was the subject of my telegram No. 350 andearlier correspondence. Newsagencies, the B.B.C. and diplomatic correspondents have all contributed to make it a matter for widespread speculation.

5637/233/41

2. For that reason I am glad to be able to submit to you the enclosed report of a conversation between Señor Areilza and the Press Attaché which summarises the situation as seen by Señor Areilza himself. Neither Mr. Burns nor myself are under any delusions about Señor Areilza. He is as plausible as he is ambitious, as intelligent as he is opportunist. But it must be admitted that he is well placed for the task which he has elected to attempt. He holds no official position and has in fact rejected a recent offer to be Spanish Minister at Berne. Nevertheless he enjoys, so to speak, the confidence of General Franco and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. His wealth gives him a certain independence which he proposes to exercise as a newspaper proprietor. Finally, he is a personal friend of Don Juan.

3. His account of a realistic and almost regenerate Generalisimo is in striking contradiction to reports which have reached me of other recent conversations between General Franco and leading personalities. For instance, Señor Mateu the former Mayor of Barcelona and Spanish representative in Paris, is telling his close friends about a long interview which he had with General Franco last week, in which General Franco appears to have given rein to a fantastic form of megalomania which has been remarked on previous occasions. According to Señor Mateu's account, General Franco presented himself as a Paladin of Christendon against the atheistic hordes of Bolshevism, the only chief of state who was not a free mason (in the special continental significance of the term) and even as the ultimate Generalisimo of forces of the western democracies in an inevitable and final battle against the U.S.S.R. He claimed to have secret and special knowledge of this coming conflict, some of it derived from a microphone concealed in General de Gaulle's own office. The effect of all this on the realistic and cautious Catalan businessman may well be imagined and he has communicated his dismay to Monarchists. They, not unnaturally, see chances of an understanding between the Generalisimo and Don Juan dwindling to vanishing point and openly dissociate themselves from Señor Areilza who seems to exemplify Robert Louis Stevenson's adage: "It is better to travel hopefully than to arrive".

4 /.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

MAY 1945

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4. As Mr. Burns remarked to Señor Areilza, the latter's account of General Franco's intended political and administrative changes amounts to little more than general promises and vague indications. The much heralded Bill of Rights was handed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to foreign journalists on the 5th May, though, presumably because it still has to be approved by the Cortes, it has not yet been published in Spain. The solemn enumeration of the rights of Spaniards will require a considerable amount of supplementary legislation if they are ever to be more than pious affirmations. As regards the Falange, not one of the proposed reforms has yet been put into effect. As regards the monarchy, General Franco's reported intention to restore it, "With or without the previous consent of the present heir to the throne" is an indication of the role which he himself intends to play, in this connexion.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon and His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

.....

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

Samuel Hoare

SECRET

Press Attache's conversation with A. on 4th May, 1945.

Sr. A. said that rumours of the cancellation of his voyage had been put out by interested parties: actually, it had never been cancelled, only postponed on account of special visa restrictions which the Swiss had imposed recently to keep a more stringent frontier control. At the same time he had no wish to make the matter public one way or the other and he thought that the less said about it the better. He was in fact leaving within a few days. He was not going as anything else but as a personal friend of Don Juan's on the one hand and as one entrusted with General Franco's confidence on the other, to put forward fully and frankly the latter's views. He had no powers to negotiate and no idea of what attitude Don Juan would take.

As for General Franco's views, he could speak of them with some confidence as he had been given them very fully. General Franco was convinced that for the good of the country there must be an internal evolution. He had flirted with the idea of a Republican basis with himself as President for an initial term of some length, but he now recognised that a high proportion of his own supporters were in fact monarchists at heart and that the monarchy in some shape or form was the natural evolution of the present regime. He would, then, sooner or later install the Monarchy with or without the previous consent of the present heir to the throne. The Monarchy was for him not a major issue; Sr. A. had discussed it very openly with him and without embarrassment: a much more delicate subject to discuss with him was the internal organisation of the country and in particular the future of Falange and the role of the Army.

Sr. A. said that General Franco now realised that Falange as such could not continue indefinitely, but he was involved in questions of amour propre and as to how best to deal with it. Sr. A.'s own counsel to him had been to arrange for its "voluntary" resignation from the chief offices of state. General Franco would then thank it for "services rendered", leave some of its personalities and departments in charge of subsidiary affairs and thus relegate it to the position of an independent party. Sr. A. estimated that such a step would immediately reduce its numbers from a million to some 30,000, the difference accounting for those who belonged to it simply for the sake of their jobs.

As regards the Army, Sr. A. considered that the main guarantee against a civil war was its unity. Individual generals each had their following, but none had such a grip of the whole as had General Franco. With one or two exceptions, General Franco had more political savoir faire than any of the generals: it was not very great but it was more than the rest had. For the prestige of the army and so as not to plunge the country back into the debate of a civil war fought and won, General Franco must remain in command. But his intention was to clip the army's political wings as Canovas had done before the restoration and to confine it to barracks. Sr. A. remarked that, bad and stupid as General Franco might be, he was better than most of the other generals and that a military coup d'etat would be a greater stumbling-block to progress than was General Franco himself.

/...

Whilst General Franco recognised the importance of having a strong civilian element in the Government, he considered that his own position and prestige would have to be guaranteed if old sores were not to be opened up. He considered that the transition of power to another basis, both constitutionally and for practical reasons, would have to be done by himself. As regards external policy, General Franco was at least half convinced that the economic future of Spain lay in the sterling area, though strong pressure had been brought on him to move towards the U.S.A. Finally, he had asked Sr. A. what would happen to Anglo-Spanish relations if in fact he was successful in reorientating the regime, internally and externally. Sr. A. said that he had answered General Franco's question with a bull-fighting simile: General Franco was in the position of a matador asking what would happen to him if he used his cloak skillfully when the bull appeared on the scene. The only answer Sr. A. suggested to him was that it was far easier to say what would happen to the matador if he did not use his cloak at all and just stayed where he was. Apparently General Franco was highly amused at this and dropped the subject.

Having listened attentively to all this and much more, I simply said that, beyond general promises and some vague indications, there were not in fact many signs of a real change. Only a few days previously, General Franco had elected to parade himself and his personal guard in Falangist uniform with a great flourish of trumpets at a ceremony wholly insignificant in itself, and had taken care to have his gesture emphasised in the press. Sr. A. replied that General Franco had made the gesture intentionally but not with the significance which we attached to it. On the very day that Nazism and Fascism had bitten the dust in the persons of their founders, he had especially paraded himself as the Falangist to show his independence of those two systems. Sr. A. thought it a courageous but extremely foolish gesture, and it had apparently put the Minister for Foreign Affairs into a state of frenzy.

I said it seemed to me that if one accepted the fact that a great many monarchists were violently opposed to General Franco and that the vast bulk of the population from the centre leftwards was his sworn enemy, there could be little hope for a reconstruction of the state along the lines suggested. Everywhere there were evident signs of what I called moral and political sabotage of the whole system, resulting in non-cooperation from many of the soundest elements in the country and acquiescence in corrupt practices. Sr. A. said that I must not judge Spain by Madrid and the big towns. In the provinces among moderate people of all kinds there was still a very solid bloc which supported the Generalissimo, but at the same time he admitted the strength of my observation and could only say that, dubious as the prospects were, all others were still more dubious.

We then turned to press matters. Sr. A. has recently acquired the "Alcazar" and now has plans to launch a big national daily. He said that it would be virtually independent of Party control, which in any case will shortly be strictly limited in the press sphere. I told him that, if he hoped for an approximation of Spanish public opinion to that of the world at large, it was essential to go to the roots of the matter and realise that throughout the war there had been a deliberate and definite policy of presenting contemporary history along the broad lines of German propaganda, with the result that the moral isolation of Spain was almost/

almost complete. Now was the time, with the opening up of Germany and the full revelation of Germans methods, to bring the people face to face with realities. We talked for some considerable time on this topic and Sr. A. appeared to be at least half convinced.

T.F.Burns
Press Attache

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66

Z 6202

03 MAY 1945

1945

SPAIN

Registry Number Z 6202/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 250 (1/117/45)

Dated 2nd May,

Received in Registry 23rd May, 1945.

Z : Spain. -

Report of meeting of Syndicates' Delegado after failure of Day of Victory Celebrations.

Refers to Madrid despatch 232 (Z 5392/233/41) Transmits copy of letter No.42 of 12th April from Mr. Ross Teneriffe, giving a report as above. The Syndicates are to parade again on the Fiesta del Trabajo Nacional on 18th July. Employees who do not attend will be penalized.

Last Paper.

26066

(Minutes.)

F.L.W.S. 26/5.

F.O.R.D. E D G 22/VI

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.) S de Ch 25/5

(Index.) 9/7

Next Paper.

26204

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

No. 250 (1/117/45)

47 Z

HIS Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid presents his compliments to The Foreign Secretary and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Madrid.

2nd May, 1945

Reference to previous correspondence: Z5392/233

Madrid P.L.No.232 (1/103/45) of 24.4.45.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of letter (No. 42) of 12th April from H.M. Consulate, Teneriffe, to H.M. Chargé d'Affaires, Madrid.	Meeting of Syndicates' Delegado.

Z 6202
03 MAY 1945

COPY.

68

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 42.

British Consulate,
Teneriffe.
12th April, 1945.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 39 paragraph 3, last clause, of 6th April regarding a meeting which was being called by the Syndicates' Delegado, I have now received a confidential report on what took place.

2. The meeting was attended by only two persons. Its primary object was not, as was at first surmised, to examine the failure of the syndicates to parade on the Dia de la Victoria but to introduce an official visitor from Madrid. It is certain however that the Victory Day episode would have been discussed, because the matter was touched on at the meeting and some interesting developments came to light.

3. I am informed that the Captain-General was annoyed at the omission of the syndicates from the parade. He accepted the explanation however that the arrangements broke down at the last minute because the officer who was accustomed to organise the syndicates fell ill and there was nobody competent to take control once the assembled workers had dispersed among the crowd. No immediate disciplinary action therefore is being taken. To please the Captain-General, however, it is proposed to summon the syndicates to parade again on the Fiesta del Trabajo Nacional on July 18th, from which attendance they had been absolved on previous anniversaries of this date. In order to control such attendance, lists have to be prepared of all syndicate members who must parade and these lists are to be checked both before and after the parade. Further, employers are to be authorized to deduct a day's wages from any employee who, being otherwise able to attend, abstains from doing so.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
With the highest respect,
Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) Robert Ross.

His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

56

1945

Z

SPAIN

69

Z 6204

23 MAY 1945

Registry Number } Z 6204/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 270

Dated 15th May, 1945.

Received in Registry 23rd May, 1945.

Z: Spain

Unrest prevailing in Spain due to Falange activities.

Refers to Madrid despatch No. 164 of 17th March. (Z 3945/233/41). Encloses copy of Barcelona despatch No. 13 dated 5th April, an aide memoire to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 26th March, a copy of an aide memoire dated 28th March and letter from the Consul General, Cadiz all illustrating violent Falange activities, and the inability of the authorities to control the situation.

Last Paper.

26062

References.

(Print)

PRINTED Spain

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

The salient point from his despatch is that Civil administration in Spain still varies widely from region to region.

The report of 600 arrests in Cadiz, though possibly exceptional, gives some idea of the prevalent degree of repression. It is, I think, interesting that the same methods of terror combined with fear of chaos should keep the proud, fiery Spaniard almost as tame as the stolid Hun.

Mr. Bowker and H.M. Consul seem to be well informed and to be doing their best on delicate ground – though I am inclined to think that reiterated representations against individual Spaniards for pulling faces at us are as futile as they are undignified.

? work. printing

F.O.R.D. 16/7 Copy to Paris, M.E.D., D.O. R.H.W.S. 24/5

this R.H.W.S. Sloan 28/5

(Action completed)

Selected 4/6

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

26206

26513 F.O.P.

This despatch indicates a very unhealthy state of affairs in Spain, but if no one is prepared to do anything about it Salamanca touches can presumably go on beating up whomsoever they wish for a long time to come.

I agree that the aide mémoire in Z 6206 is rather undignified. If something must be said to the M.F.A. I should prefer verbal representations more in Sorcan than in anger.

I agree that this might be printed.

R Sarcan
29/5

Ah this is due to the Salazar & the gangster system of govt. It is primarily for the Spaniards themselves to get rid of the Salazar - But I'm rather inclined to suggest that when the Duke of Alba asks to see the S.S. - as he is to do with the Duke after he gets back this week - the letter might make

Minutes.

Make use of some of this

Mr Crowe's report in these papers

— we could produce a short note of

them — to emphasise once more

to the Ambassador what it is

that we look for in the Islands is

that Franco if he is

successful by

impossible terms to regard his

Franco regime as the sole which

we can have anything like

cordial relations — though we

must not give the impression that

the Islands is our only concern of

complaint against Franco. Altogether this

29.5 I/

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

72

72

I agree. Please ensure from Private Secretary that we know if the Secretary of State is to see the Duke of Alba, and then let him have a note as proposed.

Franco seems to be going backwards again. I must say I prefer him in his blackest and truest colours, to pretending to be one of us.

CR.

May 31st, 1945.

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

ARCHIVES

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

SPAIN. May 23, 1945.

SECRET. SECTION 1.

[Z 6204/233/41] Copy No. 8

Mr. Bowker to Mr. Eden.—(*Received 23rd May.*)

(No. 270.)

Sir, *Madrid, 15th May, 1945.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 164 of the 17th March, I have the honour to inform you that a number of further reports have been received which indicate the general nervousness and unrest prevailing.

2. In some cases the local authorities have shown a firm hand in their endeavours to suppress the excesses of Falange. From Vigo the Acting Consul reports that following a beating administered in March by members of Falange to a political opponent, the Civil Governor took energetic steps to prevent a repetition, and recently the Civil Governor and Provincial Head of the Falange in Pontevedra gave strict orders that members of the Falange were not in any circumstances to take the law into their own hands, and that the only executive bodies were the Civil Guard and the Policia Armada.

3. On the other hand, a report from Barcelona dated the 5th April, indicates that the Civil Governor there (although noted for being one of the few good men whom the party has thrown up in Spain), was showing a singular inability to control the wilder members of the Falange in his district. I enclose a copy of the despatch which was sent by the acting consul-general at Barcelona in this connexion, together with copies of an aide-mémoire which I subsequently left with the Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Consul Hillyer at Barcelona, acting on my instructions, also raised the matter with the Civil Governor personally. Another incident reported from Barcelona to have occurred at Reus, is summarised in the attached copy of another aide-mémoire which I left with Señor Castillo on the 28th March.

4. In other cases no indication has been furnished of the efforts, if any, which the local Civil Governors have made to curb excesses on the part of the Falange. From Malaga it was confirmed in a report dated the 22nd March, that the distribution of firearms to members of the Falange had been going on for some time. This was also occurring at Almeria and at Granada, where a state of serious unrest had existed since a squad of special police was sent to the district in November last in an effort to stamp out subversive elements in those districts. Special precautions have also been taken at Cartagena to guard against the acts of sabotage inspired by the Communists. The attached copy of a letter from the consul at Cadiz reports more elaborate precautions, and the arrival of a special squad of police to arrest suspects followed, as at Granada, by the usual brutalities. Similar arrests and ill-treatment are reported from a number of places in the district of the vice-consul at Alicante, including Elche, Callosa and Orihuela, where an arrested man was beaten to death. It was claimed that some kind of Communist organisation had been discovered in those parts. From Santander the vice-consul reported on the 30th March that the local Falange were restive and were believed to have shot several people following the assassination of the two Falangists in Madrid on the 25th February.

5. At Almeria the Civil Governor appears as the villain of the piece. The vice-consul reported on the 3rd May as follows :—

> " Terrorist campaign is being carried out by Civil Governor by means of Government and party police assisted by Blue Division and a few Falangists.
>
> " People caught listening to British or American broadcasts have been beaten and detained by Falangists and sets confiscated by the Government.
>
> " People who have publicly expressed satisfaction at downfall of Germany have been arrested and beaten.
>
> " A bar has been closed because owners had been privately listening to Moscow.
>
> " Streets are patrolled at night and people terrorised to stay home.

"These are undoubtedly orders to make the people feel the strong hand of dictatorship. The slightest breach of any regulation is punished harder than ever before. The Falange deliberately pick quarrels and beat people with impunity.

"Swastikas are worn by Blue Division, party police and Falangists on police duty."

As the Civil Governor at Almeria has been a frequent offender for many months past in the licence which he has allowed for ruffians of the Falange and Blue Division to behave in the manner described, often affecting British interests more directly by interfering with the normal publicity work of the vice-consulate, I intend to present the Ministry for Foreign Affairs with a catalogue of his recent misdeeds, of which a copy will be sent to you separately.

6. Even in Madrid it is believed to be unwise, for persons not holding party membership cards, to walk about the streets late at night, as several cases have occurred in which individuals have been picked up and beaten more or less seriously without apparent provocation on their part.

7. It would clearly be unwise to attach too much importance to these incidents. Judging by precedent they are to be expected in Spain as symptoms of the climacteric periods of successive régimes, such as that through which the Franco régime is at present passing. It may be regarded as surprising that in such circumstances more serious incidents did not occur on and after VE-day. But the calm, almost apathy, with which the news seems to have been greeted by the Spanish people is undoubtedly due in part to the imprisonment during the last few months of most of the more excitable individuals whose pro-Allied sympathies might have involved them in clashes with the Falange. The ardour of the remainder has probably been damped by the fear that they too might be imprisoned (or beaten up by Falange toughs), combined with a growing realisation of the hard fact that Allied victory in Europe does not necessarily mean the early collapse of the Franco régime.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon and His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
JAMES BOWKER.

Enclosure 1.

Consul-General Hillyer to Mr. Bowker.

(No. 13.)

Sir, *Barcelona, 5th April, 1945.*

IN compliance with your circular telegram No. 5 of the 21st March I have the honour to enclose herewith an interesting political report which has been compiled by Mr. Dorchy, press attaché at this post. I fully endorse the opinions which he has drawn from recent occurrences here which would seem to foreshadow further unrest. The Falange gangs are just as arrogant as ever and, as an addendum to Mr. Dorchy's report shows, we have had three British flags torn off our cars in the past few days.

2. I propose to visit the Civil Governor and suggest quietly that in 1945 we would expect the British flag to be respected.

I have, &c.
R. A. HILLYER.

Enclosure 2.

(Secret.)

Press Attaché, Barcelona, to Acting Consul-General, Barcelona.

Political Report.

There has been marked political activity in Barcelona during the past fortnight and, in accordance with the established custom, I beg to report the following:—

(1) The press have been given confidential instructions, purporting to emanate from Madrid, to give a "most favoured" treatment of the present

war news to the Americans, with a view of "proving Spain's understanding with America." This was supplemented verbally by another directive to give little or no prominence to any British success, it being stated that Britain's policy was to frustrate any Spanish attempt of good relationship with the States. The press carried this instruction out with obvious reluctance, the party papers being still pro-German and the better-class papers, such as *Vanguardia* and *Diario de Barcelona*, maintaining strict fairness.

(2) The party authorities continue to maintain an attitude anything but neutral. I enclose carbon copy of an instruction passed by the Civil Governor to the Chief Censor Aliberch to the effect that no mention must be made in the press of an "intimate ceremony" which took place at Dr. Kroll's residence when Correa, with a number of his young friends of the Frente de Juventudes, was presented with a personally autographed picture of Hitler. According to an ocular witness, the speech made by Correa on that occasion was anything but neutral.

(3) Prior to the victory parade on the 1st April, from which we wisely abstained from appearing, the German consular representative was cheered and greeted by the leaders of the Frente de Juventudes. After the parade, groups of this youth movement paraded in the main Paseo de Gracia shouting "Viva Alemania!" &c.

(4) I beg to attach a report by Don Juan Llop Busquets, whose bar was completely smashed up by a number of youths on the 28th March. After completely destroying the establishment, these gallant party youths painted "F.E." all over it. Although Sr. Llop has denounced this both to the Comissaria and to the Juzgado to this day no action has been taken and he was told that none would be as the authors were members of the party and it was his fault for having British and American propaganda in the bar. Llop had always received our material regularly since 1940 and the American since 1943, but whilst he had it available for his customers to read, he never distributed any large quantities. This man, whose sole crime according to the police is "to have received British and American propaganda," is now ruined, and without any hope of justice.

(5) I beg to attach roneod propaganda sheets insulting the Prime Minister and President Roosevelt. Another, dated the 31st January, 1945, anti-British and containing gross insults.(1)

(6) First reports from a colonel friend of mine on General Solchaga are rather startling. After taking over officially on Saturday last, addressing his senior officers he is alleged to have stated that, "although it may cause misgivings in the hearts of many of us, our duty is blind loyalty to the Caudillo and to Spain" ("Aunque algunos de nosotros deben retorcer sus corazones, nuestro deber queda en una fé ciega en España y su glorioso Caudillo"). This has been taken by some Monarchist elements as a warning, although Solchaga has been here too little time to be correctly assessed.

(7) Reactions to Don Juan's manifesto are varied. The nobility and high industry, after clamouring for Don Juan during four years, have gone chicken-hearted and now proclaim loudly that the manifesto was issued at the wrong moment, that the Franco régime is the only one which can save Spain, that Don Juan will receive no backing, &c. The lower classes have greeted the promises of the manifesto rather sceptically but are already aware that the upper classes are prepared to let him down. A comment often heard in the more populous barrios of Sans, Pueblo Nuevo, &c., is that "if the Right do not restore the monarchy, the people will." The party are indignant and are trying many methods to discount the manifesto. Some say it is pure fiction invented by the B.B.C. to cause trouble in Spain (this was believed by a considerable number of the upper class until the news of Alba's alleged resignation filtered through). A number of fake manifestos are also circulating, some alleged to emanate from such diverse personalities as Miguel Maura and the Marqués de Estella (Miguel Primo de Rivera). In general, most sensible people think that the manifesto, unless backed by a general resignation, will have little or no effect.

(8) I beg to enclose copy taken of an original note sent by José Barnabé Oliva, Jefe provincial de Prensa, to Don Pedro Roma Campi, director of the "Correo Catalan" and head of the Falangist Requetés who brought "Carlos VIII" and his mother, Doña Blanca, to Barcelona, some months ago under the wing of the party and the Civil Governor. It would appear that his "pretender" can no longer pay his bills at the Ritz and that both Oliva and the Civil Govenor are trying to get out of the impending fracas. I have it from good authority that some time ago, through the Jefe Provincial de Espectáculos. Correa

(1) Not printed

informed all "cabaret" owners, &c., not to grant further credit to his ex-protégé and would-be pretender.

(9) On Easter Sunday afternoon, a large force of political police with Guardia Civil, raided a factory at Santa Maria de Moncada, arresting about one hundred cell leaders of the reorganised C.N.T.-U.G.T. Shots were exchanged and there were a few wounded, but all were taken. Colonel Castán and his friends are very satisfied with this operation in which they have captured an important nucleus of would-be trouble-makers. I am informed that the prisoners are being submitted to the usual S.I.M. treatment with a view to their confessing the names of all those involved.

E. M. M. DORCHY.

5th April, 1945.

Enclosure 3.

Aide-mémoire.

Activities of the Falange in Barcelona.

IN spite of the assurances received that the Falange have no influence on foreign policy, there have recently been several cases in Barcelona in which members of the Falange have given public and unimpeded manifestations of their sympathy with Germany and their hostility to Great Britain and the United States.

Prior to the Victory Parade on the 1st April the German consular representative was cheered and greeted by the leaders of the Frente de Juventudes. After the parade groups of the Frente de Juventudes paraded in the Paseo de Gracia shouting "Viva Alemania!" &c.

Sheets containing anti-British propaganda and insulting the British Prime Minister and President Roosevelt have been circulated by the Falange. Samples are attached.(1)

At about 10 o'clock on the 28th March some fourteen individuals between 20 and 25 years of age entered the premises of the Bar Llop situated in the Calle de Ramon y Cajal, 47, the property of Don Juan Llop Busquet, alleging that they were Policias de la Brigada Social-político, but giving no proof of their identity. One of the young men demanded to be shown the telephone. The wife of Señor Llop, who was behind the counter, acceded to this request, and the young man thereupon cut the telephone wires with a pair of pincers which he was carrying, while the others immediately set about destroying the whole contents of the bar. The damages caused amount to 10,000–15,000 pesetas, and represent Señor Llop's entire savings. Although the matter has been reported both to the Comisaria and to the Juzgado, no action has yet been taken by the authorities to apprehend or deal with the culprits, and Señor Llop was told that nothing would be done since the perpetrators were members of the party and it was his fault for having British and American propaganda in the bar. This man, whose sole crime according to the police is "to have received British and American propaganda," is now ruined.

Madrid, *5th April*, 1945.

Enclosure 4.

Aide-mémoire.

ON Sunday, the 4th March, Dr. Morales, the Provincial Chief of the C.N.S., was assassinated when travelling between Falset and Reus. As his funeral procession moved through the streets of Reus, uniformed Falangists shouted "Down with Russia!" "Down with the United Nations!" and "Long Live Germany!"; a large swastika from the German Consul-General in Barcelona appeared among the many party wreaths.

Madrid, *26th March*, 1945.

(1) Not printed.

77

Enclosure 5.

Consul, Cadiz, to the Consul-General, Seville.

Dear Seville, *Cadiz, 12th April, 1945.*

FURTHER to my telegram of the 17th March last, addressed to Chancery, in which I informed them of the arrests which had been taking place locally, I have now received a report from the brother-in-law of one of the men arrested in this connexion, which I think may be of interest to you. I might say here that my informant is entirely reliable—amongst other things, he has lived in the United States for some years, and was himself once arrested for having listened to the B.B.C.

It would appear that a special squad of secret police agents arrived in Cadiz from Madrid, the local police receiving instructions to take orders from them and to carry out all the arrests which they ordered. These were then commenced and, in batches, a total of some 600 were taken at all hours of the day and night and shut into a small cell in the " comisaria "—a cell which normally holds some two or three people and into which were placed some twenty-eight at a time. Here they were kept for two days and nights without food or water, and as there were no sanitary arrangements of any kind and they were not allowed out, a small corner of the cell was used by them when necessary.

They were then taken to the local jail, where they were placed in cells to await their turn for questioning.

Most of those arrested were men who had already been arrested suspected of being " Reds " and who had been let out on provisional liberty.

When my informant's brother-in-law was called for questioning in the jail, he was put through the third degree, being continuously beaten with knotted leather thongs and lengths of iron chain, the questions thrown at him being where and how the " Reds " received their arms, whether these were brought in ships and, if so, what ships, to what port and by whom. He himself lost consciousness twice during this beating, but was brought round and the whole thing started afresh.

A number of those arrested have now been released, and some are in the jail hospital, too ill to be moved. Amongst the latter is my informant's brother-in-law, who has to lie on his stomach as his back is just so much raw flesh.

My informant is allowed to visit him on occasions, and asked me whether I would not arrange to do so as well, but I have thought it advisable to do nothing except to inform you of the matter.

Yours ever,
CADIZ.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

Z 6204

23 MAY 1945

No. 270

(1/124/45)

15th May, 1945.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 164 of the 17th March, I have the honour to inform you that a number of further reports have been received which indicate the general nervousness and unrest prevailing.

2. In some cases the local authorities have shown a firm hand in their endeavours to suppress the excesses of Falange. From Vigo the Acting Consul reports that following a beating administered in March by members of Falange to a political opponent the Civil Governor took energetic steps to prevent a repetition and recently the Civil Governor and Provincial Head of the Falange in Pontevedra gave strict orders that members of the Falange were not in any circumstances to take the law into their own hands, and that the only executive bodies were the Civil Guard and the Policia Armada.

3. On the other hand, a report from Barcelona dated April 5th, indicates that the Civil Governor there, (although noted for being one of the few good men whom the Party has thrown up in Spain), was showing a singular inability to control the wilder members of the Falange in his district. I enclose a copy of the despatch which was sent by the Acting Consul-General at Barcelona in this connexion, together with copies of an aide-mémoire which I subsequently left with the Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Consul Hillyer at Barcelona, acting on my instructions, also raised the matter with the Civil Governor personally. Another incident reported from Barcelona to have occurred at Reus, is summarised in the attached copy of another aide-mémoire which I left with Señor Castillo on March 28th.

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5. At /

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

18 MAY 1945

7_6204

5. At Almeria the Civil Governor appears as the villain of the piece. The Vice-Consul reported on May 3rd, as follows:-

"Terrorist campaign is being carried out by Civil Governor by means of Government and Party Police assisted by Blue Division and a few Falangists.

"People caught listening to British or American broadcasts have been beaten and retained by Falangists and sets confiscated by the Government.

"People who have publicly expressed satisfaction at downfall of Germany have been arrested and beaten.

"A bar has been closed because owners had been privately listening to Moscow.

"Streets are patrolled at night and people terrorized to stay home.

"These are undoubtedly orders to make the people feel the strong hand of dictatorship. The slightest breach of any regulation is punished harder than ever before. The Falange deliberately pick quarrels and beat people with impunity.

"Swastikas are worn by Blue Division, Party Police and Falangists on police duty".

As the Civil Governor at Almeria has been a frequent offender for many months past in the licence which he has allowed for ruffians of the Falange and Blue Division to behave in the manner described, often affecting British interests more directly by interfering with the normal publicity work of the Vice-Consulate, I intend to present the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a catalogue of his recent misdeeds, of which a copy will be sent to you separately.

6. Even in Madrid it is believed to be unwise, for persons not holding Party membership cards, to walk about the streets late at night, as several cases have occurred in which individuals have been picked up and beaten more or less seriously without apparent provocation on their part.

7. It would clearly be unwise to attach too much importance to these incidents. Judging by precedent they are to be expected in Spain as symptoms of the climacteric periods of successive régimes, such as that through which the Franco régime is at present passing. It may be regarded as surprising that in such circumstances more serious incidents did not occur on and after V-E day. But the calm, almost apathy, with which the news seems to have been greeted by the Spanish people is undoubtedly due in part to the imprisonment during the last few months of most of the more excitable individuals whose pro-Allied sympathies might have involved them in clashes with the Falange. The ardour of the remainder

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has probably been damped by the fear that they too might be imprisoned (or beaten up by Falange toughs), combined with a growing realisation of the hard fact that Allied victory in Europe does not necessarily mean the early collapse of the Franco régime.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon and His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

James Bowker.

COPY

81

AIDE MEMOIRE

On Sunday March 4th, Dr. Morales, the Provincial Chief of the C.N.S. was assassinated when travelling between Falset and Reus. As his funeral procession moved through the streets of Reus, uniformed Falangists shouted "Down with Russia", "Down with the United Nations" and "Long live Germany"; a large swastika from the German Consul-General in Barcelona appeared among the many party wreaths.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

26th March, 1945.

COPY

42

A I D E M E M O I R E.

Activities of the Falange in Barcelona.

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Prior to the Victory Parade on the 1st April the German Consular representative was cheered and greeted by the leaders of the Frente de Juventudes. After the Parade groups of the Frente de Juventudes paraded in the Paseo de Gracia shouting "Viva Alemania", etc.

Sheets containing anti-British propaganda and insulting the British Prime Minister and President Roosevelt have been circulated by the Falange. Samples are attached.

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Señor Llop /

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VIDE MEMORIE.

Facilities to the Embassy at Barcelona.

COPY

43

Despatch No. 13.
H/30/45.

British Consulate-General,
Barcelona.

5th April, 1945.

Sir,

In compliance with your Circular telegram No. 5 of 21st March I have the honour to enclose herewith an interesting political report which has been compiled by Mr. Dorchy, Press Attaché at this post. I fully endorse the opinions which he has drawn from recent occurrences here which would seem to foreshadow further unrest. The Falange gangs are just as arrogant as ever and, as an addendum to Mr. Dorchy's report shows, we have had three British flags torn off our cars in the past few days.

2. I propose to visit the Civil Governor and suggest quietly that in 1945 we would expect the British flags to be respected.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) R.A. HILLYER.

R.J. Bowker, Esq.,
H.M. Chargé d'Affaires,
Madrid.

COPY

94

SECRET

5th April, 1945.

To: British Acting Consul-General, Barcelona.

From: Press Attaché, Barcelona.

POLITICAL REPORT:

There has been marked political activity in Barcelona during the past fortnight, and in accordance with the established custom, I beg to report the following:

(1) The press have been given confidential instructions, purporting to emanate from Madrid, to give a "most favoured" treatment of the present war news to the Americans, with a view of "proving Spain's understanding with America". This was supplemented verbally by another directive to give little or no prominence to any British success, it being stated that Britain's policy was to frustrate any Spanish attempt of good relationship with the States. The press carried this instruction out with obvious reluctance, the Party papers being still pro-German and the better class papers such as "Vanguardia" and "Diario de Barcelona" maintaining strict fairness.

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(3) Prior to the Victory parade on the 1st April, from which we wisely abstained from appearing, the German Consular representative was cheered and greeted by the leaders of the Frente de Juventudes. After the parade, groups of this Youth Movement paraded in the main Paseo de Gracia shouting "Viva Alemania", etc.

(4) I beg to attach a report by Don Juan Llop Busquets, whose bar was completely smashed up by a number of youths on the 28th March. After completely destroying the establishment, these gallant Party youths painted F.E. all over it. Although Sr. Llop has denounced this both to the Comissaria and to the Juzgado, to this day no action has been taken and he was told that none would be as the authors were members of the Party and it was his fault for having British and American propaganda in the bar. Llop has always received our material regularly since 1940 and the American since 1943, but whilst he had it available for his customers to read, he never distributed any large quantities. This man, whose sole crime according to the police is "to have received British and American propaganda" is now ruined, and without any hope of justice.

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(6) First /

85

(6) First reports from a Colonel friend of mine on General Solchaga are rather startling. After taking over officially on Saturday last, addressing his senior officers he is alleged to have stated that "although it may cause much misgivings in the hearts of many of us, our duty is blind loyalty to the Caudillo and to Spain" ("Auque algunos de nosotros deben retorcer sus corazones, nuestro deber queda en una fé ciega en España y su glorioso Caudillo"). This has been taken by some Monarchist elements as a warning, although Solchaga has been here too little time to be correctly assessed.

(7) Reactions to Don Juan's manifesto are varied. The nobility and high industry, after clamouring for Don Juan during four years have gone chicken-hearted and now proclaim loudly that the Manifesto was issued at the wrong moment, that the Franco régime is the only one which can save Spain, that Don Juan will receive no backing, etc. The lower classes have greeted the promises of the manifesto rather sceptically but are already aware that the upper classes are prepared to let him down. A comment often heard in the more populous barrios of Sans, Pueblo Nuevo, etc., is that "if the Right do not restore the Monarchy, the people will". The Party are indignant, and are trying many methods to discount the manifesto. Some say it is pure fiction invented by the BBC to cause trouble in Spain (this was believed by a considerable number of the upper class until the news of Alba's alleged resignation filtered through). A number of fake manifestos are also circulating, some alleged to emanate from such diverse personalities as Miguel Maura and the Marqués de Estella (Miguel Primo de Rivera). In general, most sensible people think that the Manifesto unless backed by a general resignation will have little or no effect.

(8) I beg to enclose copy taken of an original note sent by José Barnabé Oliva, Jefe provincial de Prensa to Don Pedro Roma Campi, Director of the "Correo Catalan" and head of the Falangist Requétés who brought "Carlos VIII" and his mother Doña Blanca to Barcelona some months ago under the wing of the Party and the Civil Governor. It would appear that this "pretender" can no longer pay his bills at the Ritz and that both Oliva and the Civil Governor are trying to get out of the impending fracas. I have it from good authority that some time ago, through the Jefe Provincial de Espectaculos, Correa informed all "cabaret" owners, etc., not to grant further credit to his ex-protégé and would-be pretender.

(9) On Easter Sunday afternoon, a large force of political police with Guardia Civil raided a factory at Santa Maria de Moncada arresting about one hundred cell leaders of the reorganized CNT-UGT. Shots were exchanged and there were a few wounded but all were taken. Col. Castán and his friends are very satisfied with this operation in which they have captured an important neucleus of would-be trouble-makers. I am informed that the prisoners are being submitted to the usual S.I.M. treatment with a view to their confessing the names of all those involved.

(Signed) E.M.M. DORCHY.

COPY

COPY

British Consulate,
Cadiz.

84

S. 13/45.

12th April, 1945.

Dear Seville,

Further to my telegram of the 17th March last, addressed to Chancery, in which I informed them of the arrests which had been taking place locally, I have now received a report from the brother-in-law of one of the men arrested in this connection, which I think may be of interest to you. I might say here that my informant is entirely reliable - amongst other things, he has lived in the U.S.A. for some years, and was himself once arrested for having listened to the B.B.C.

It would appear that a special squad of secret police agents arrived in Cadiz from Madrid, the local police receiving instructions to take orders from them, and to carry out all the arrests which they ordered. These were then commenced and in batches a total of some six hundred were taken at all hours of the day and night and shut into a small cell in the "comisaria" - a cell which normally holds some two or three people and into which were placed some 28 at a time. Here they were kept for two days and nights without food or water, and as there were no sanitary arrangements of any kind, and they were not allowed out, a small corner of the cell was used by them when necessary.

They were then taken to the local jail, where they were placed in cells to await their return for questioning.

Most of those arrested were men who had already been arrested suspected of being "reds" and who had been let out on provisional liberty.

When my informant's brother-in-law was called for questioning in the jail, he was put through the third degree, being continuously beaten with knotted leather thongs and lengths of iron chain, the questions thrown at him being where and how the "reds" received their arms, whether these were brought in ships and if so, what ships, to what port and by whom. He himself lost consciousness twice during this beating, but was brought round and the whole thing started afresh.

A number of those arrested have now been released, and some are in the jail hospital too ill to be moved. Amongst the latter is my informant's brother-in-law, who has to lie on his stomach as his back is just so much raw flesh.

My informant is allowed to visit him on occasions, and asked me whether I would not arrange to do so as well, but I have thought it advisable to do nothing except to inform you of the matter.

Yours ever,

CADIZ.

H.M.B. Consul General,
British Consulate General,
Seville.

57

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 6206

23 MAY 1945

87

Registry Number Z 6206/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 273 (21/56/45)

Dated 15th May, 1945.

Received in Registry 23rd May, 1945.

Z: Spain .

Reports regarding Unneutral behaviour of certain elements in population at Almeria.

Refers to Madrid despatch 270 (Z 6204/233/41). Transmits copt of aide memoire No. (21/55/45) to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 14th May, giving a summary of reports received since January illustrating these unneutral activities.

Last Paper.

Z 6204

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

8 de Chu 7/6

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

26327

(Minutes.)

See Madrid despatch 270 para 5.

Almeria looks a tough spot.

R.H.B. Sloan

28/5.

F.O.R. D W E C

See on Z 6204

RG

29/5

No. 273
(21/56/45)

HIS Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A. and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy
Madrid.

15th May, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence: Madrid despatch No. 270 of 15.5.45.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Aide Memoire (21/55/45) to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 14th May, 1945.	Reports regarding Unneutral behaviour of certain elements in the population at Almeria.

Z 6206
23 MAY 1945

21/35/45.

ALMERIA

The following is a summary of reports received by the Embassy since January 1st, 1945, regarding the unneutral behaviour of certain elements in the population at Almeria:-

(1) The British film "Sangre, Sudor y Lagrimas" which was due to be shown at Almeria on January 26th, was banned by the Civil Governor following a campaign of threats levelled by members of the local Falange and former members of the Blue Division against the owner of the cinema there with the purpose of preventing the exhibition of the film.

(2) In January of the current year the Civil Governor was reliably reported to have called the attention some time towards the end of 1944 of the Jefe de Estudios of the Instituto de 2ª Ensenñ at Almeria to the fact that young students visited the British Vice-Consulate there to collect publicity material, and emphasised the need for putting a stop to this "shameful thing".

(3) In March last the British Vice-Consul reported that the Teatro Apolo which is used by the Falange organisation, Educación y Descanso, was exhibiting German war propaganda pictures every Sunday morning at 11 o'clock. The invitations were always issued, not by the Germans, but by the Chief of the local Falange syndicates, Don Mario Lopez Rodriguez.

(4) According to a report from the British Vice-Consul of April last, a permanent watch is kept on the Consulate. British publicity material found in the course of police searches on men employed by e.g. the Regiones Devastedas and the Ciudad Jardin, has been destroyed. The name of the police officer who carried out the suppression of British publicity material in the works of the Ciudad Jardin on April 12th, is believed to be Antonio Garcia Rodriguez.

(5) Pamphlets containing propaganda hostile to the United Nations were distributed in the principal streets of Almeria on

/Sunday.

April 15th, by former members of the Blue Division, and those who refused to accept them were violently handled.

(6) According to a report from the British Vice-Consul dated April 23rd, in the course of a procession on April 21st, which was led by the Civil Governor and the local Falange leaders, shouts were continually heard such as "Down with England" "Down with Russia" "Long live Hitler and Germany".

(7) According to a further report dated May 3rd, the general situation in Almeria had practically developed into an organised campaign carried out by the police, with the assistance of former members of the Blue Division and the Falange, against persons who had only expressed satisfaction at the collapse of Germany. The report added that Swastikas were being worn by members of the Blue Division, the Party police and members of the Falange.

S370

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

14th May, 1945.

S370

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1945

Z

SPAIN

91

Z 6327

26 MAY 1945

Registry Number Z 6327/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM

Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 69 Saving

Dated 18th May,

Received in Registry 26th May, 1945.

Z: Spain

Spanish reaction to Allied victory: [redacted] of authorities.

Refers to Madrid despatch 270 (Z 6204/233/41) The Allied Colonies have been permitted to celebrate, but names of Spaniards attending private parties are being taken by the police.

Fifty bodies were found in a cave, and rumours persist that they are the remains of persons who disapp[redacted]at beginning of the movement.

Last Paper.

Z6206

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8.) Col Sykes Wright
Kelly
to be seen Adm.
Major Gane W.O.
May 28

(Minutes.)

Ref = Dept.

Copy. Col. Sykes Wright (Adty.)
W/C. Maclaren (R.A.)
Major Gane (W.O.)

See also Z6202/233/41 which shows that Party discipline at Tenerife is seriously weakened, and suggests that something in the nature of a vote of confidence meeting is fixed for 18th. July.

R.K.W. Sloan
26/5.

F.O.R.D. a.a. 29.5.45/vi

29
V 26/5

(Action completed.)

Sde Clwy
22/6

(Index.)

9/7.

Next Paper.

26451

WITHOUT PERMISSION

92

Z

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on.]

[EN CLAIR]

WAR CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Z 6327

6 MAY 1945

Mr. Bowker D: 18th May, 1945
No. 69 Saving
18th May, 1945 R: 11.40 a.m. 25th May, 1945

& & &

Z 6200/233/41

Reference: Madrid despatch No. 270.

Following received from Teneriffe.

[Begins.]

Telegram No. 35 of 14th May, 1945.

Secret.

Following is a summary of current political conditions. The Captain-General has congratulated me on Victory. The Allied colonies have been permitted to celebrate. But the authorities are showing signs of nervousness about their own people. Police are taking the names of Spaniards attending private parties in their homes. Pedestrians are being stopped nightly and asked to show their identity papers. Passengers between Teneriffe and Las Palmas are being searched and correspondence removed from them. Since the eve of Victory Day armed State Police have patrolled the streets.

2. A disturbing incident occurred a few weeks ago when the remains of about fifty bodies were found in a cave. The official explanation is that they were aboriginal remains but rumours persist that they are the remains of persons who disappeared at the beginning of the Movement.

3. Las Palmas reports minor evidences of Communist agitation.

F.O. REGISTRY 28 MAY 1945

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1945

Z

SPAIN

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Z 6451

10 MAY 1945

Registry Number. Z 6451/233/41.

FROM Mr. Forbes, Lima.

No. 84 (174/2/45)

Dated 15th May, 1945.

Received in Registry 30th May, 1945.

Z : Spain

Abolition of Special Tribunals in Spain; invitation to deported Spaniards to return to Spain.

Transmits copy of translation of communique from the Spanish Embassy dated the 1st May, reporting the abolition of the Tribunals for special political responsibilities which dealt with circumstantial offenses outside normal procedure.

The Spanish Embassy Lima has received instructions regarding speedy handling of petitions for repatriation of political parties.

Last Paper.

Z 6327

References.

Z 5537/85/41
Z 6568/233/41.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

S de Ch 5/6.

(Index.)

9/7.

Next Paper.

Z 6453

(Minutes.)

9/5/6
S. American Dept.

K.L.H.S.
1/6.

29082 F.O.P.

By Air Courier.

No. 84.
(174/2/45)

Z 6451

30 MAY 1945

Z 94

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Lima

presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British.....Embassy,.....

.....Lima,.....

.....Peru.....

....15th May,....., 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence :

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy and translation of Communiqué from the Spanish Embassy in Lima dated 1st May, 1945.	Abolition of Special Tribunals in Spain and invitation to deported Spaniards to return to Spain.

3479 11168 2/35 (2)

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FO371/49588

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C O P Y

"EL COMERCIO"

5th May, 1945.

EMBAJADA DE ESPAÑA EN LIMA

Bajo la directa inspiración del Generalísimo Franco han quedado suprimidos en España los Tribunales Especiales de responsabilidades políticas cuya existencia respondía a peculiaridades delictivas circunstanciales fuera del procedimiento normal.

Este importante Decreto representa la decisión firme y fecunda de paz y concordia entre los españoles poniendo término a la posibilidad de ser molestados aquellos que tuvieron responsabilidades meramente políticas en la guerra civil.

La Embajada de España en Lima ha recibido a dicho efecto instrucciones concretas para la tramitación con la máxima rapidez de las peticiones de repatriacion que presenten los interesados y que serán cursadas telegráficamente.

La Embajada de España en Lima invita a todas las personas que desearan acogerse a los beneficios de estas nuevas disposiciones, de la mayor magnanimidad, que se presenten en la Cancilleria de la Embajada, Edificio Lux. - Departamento 302 - Lima, cualquier dia habil entre 10 y 1 de la mañana donde serán acogidos con fraternal cordialidad a fin de que les sean comunicados los detalles de dicha nueva disposicion en la que se contienen las máximas facilidades de repatriacion.

1o. de Mayo de 1945.

El Embajador de España
PABLO DE CHURRUCA

F0371/49588
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TRANSLATION OF COMMUNIQUÉ FROM THE SPANISH EMBASSY IN LIMA, DATED 1ST MAY, 1945.

At the direct instance of Generalissimo Franco, the Special Tribunals for special political responsibilities which dealt with circumstancial offenses outside the normal procedure, have been abolished in Spain.

This important Decree expresses the firm and deep-rooted desire for peace amongst Spaniards and puts an end to the risk that those who merely had political interests in the Civil War may be molested.

In this connection, the Spanish Embassy in Lima has received specific instructions regarding the speedy handling of petitions for repatriation presented by interested parties, which will be referred by telegraph.

The Spanish Embassy in Lima, with the utmost magnamity, invites all persons who wish to avail themselves of the advantages of this new ruling to present themselves at the Chancery of the Embassy, Edificio Lux - Apartment 302 - Lima, on any working day between 10 and 1 in the morning. They will be received with brotherly cordiality and the details of this new resolution, containing a great number of facilities for repatriation, will be communicated to them.

1st May, 1945.

The Spanish Ambassador.

Pablo de Churruca.

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1946

Z

SPAIN

Z 6453

30 MAY 1945

97

Registry Number: Z 6453/233/41

FROM: Mr. Bowker, Madrid

No. 283 (1/130/45)

Dated 17th May, 1945.

Received in Registry: 30th May, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Effect of Allied Victory in Barcelona.

Transmits copy of a letter from Barcelona Consulate General of the 11th May, and copy of a periodical political report by the Press Attaché Barcelona. Calls were received from all local authorities and everyone of them brought up the question of Russia and her future intentions. Comments on Alcade's solution to the present political problems in Spain.

Last Paper.

Z 6451

References.

Z 2864/537/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 6455

(Minutes.)

It would seem that H.E. has observed more feeling in Barcelona than in Madrid. But the conclusion I draw from his letter is that, despite strong Anglo-phile sentiment and signs of slight organization among the workers, the Civil Governor retains firm control. The impressive number of arrests indicates this method and hardly squares with Mr. Bowker's recent judgment that he is one of the best men the Falange has thrown up."

F.O.R.D. E.D.G. 22/vi

R.K.W. Sloan 6/6.

The Catalans are certainly more Anglophil than the Castilians and there was no doubt a possibility that anti victory demonstrations got under

under weigh they might get out of control. Anyway, the authorities were taking no chances, and Palange carried out their instructions in their usual arbitrary way.

P. Jarman
9/6

Another black mark for Palange. Let no one underestimate power this man in the hands of the wrong [illegible].

Jm
10-6

99 2

No. 283
(1/130/45)

HIS Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid, presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.O.F.A., and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Madrid.
17th May, 1945.

Z 6453
30 MAY 1945

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of letter from Barcelona Consulate-General of 11th May, to Chancery. Copy of periodical political report by Press Attaché, Barcelona.	Effect of Allied victory in Barcelona.

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COPY

H/43/45.

British Consulate-General,
Barcelona.

11th May, 1945.

Dear Chancery,

I enclose the periodical political report by the Press Attaché. I have no comments to make on this report.

I have now called on all the local authorities and have received return calls from them all, except the Civil Governor. It was noticeable that every one of them, during the course of conversation, brought up the question of Russia and of her future intentions in Europe. It is an ever-present fear with them.

The Alcalde, when he made his return call, went into a long explanation why he had accepted this post. He had told Franco that he was a monarchist and that while he would loyally serve him, he had to make his position quite clear. The Generallissimo had thanked him for being so frank. The Alcalde's solution to the present political problem of Spain was on the usual lines now expressed by Monarchists - abolition of the Falange, the return of the King, a strong army, and Franco in a position of high authority.

Yours ever,

(signed) H.A. HOBSON

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

COPY

Press Department,
H.M. Consulate-General,
BARCELONA.

11th May, 1945.

To: H.M. Consul-General, Barcelona.

From: Press Attaché, Barcelona.

POLITICAL REPORT:

The news of the Allied Victory in Europe was welcomed by probably 95% of the population of Barcelona in their heart but, on the other hand, there was little sign of any external demonstration as a white terror had been instituted by the Party thugs over ten days ago, most of which had been armed by the Spanish authorities. The true feelings of the people may be gauged, however, by the avalanche of callers and the number of cards and letters received by the Consulate-General apart from innumerable verbal congratulations lavished on one wherever one went.

PRESS:

The press had received strict orders from Madrid, duly reinforced by local orders from the Civil Governor to play down the Allied Victory and play up Franco's part in keeping Spain out of the war. We saw such ridiculous headlines as "La Paz de Franco", "España gana la Guerra", "Franco, arquitecto de la Paz", etc. Our old friends Vanguardia and Diario de Barcelona, however, gave us two full front pages, with the pictures of His Majesty the King and the Prime Minister on the background of the Houses of Parliament. Although they were compelled to print the Party-inspired peace articles, their leaders stated frankly that this was the end of the New Order in Europe and that Great Britain, by holding out alone for over a year, deserved special praise. As a matter of fact, the part played by America, contrary to the policy of the past weeks, was considerably played down. As for Russia, the press remains as hostile as ever.

The afternoon papers Noticiero Universal and Diario vied with eachother as to who could put over the bigger headlines. Ex-pro-Party "La Prensa" came out with 3" headlines in our favour and its Director Sanchez Gomez was promptly arrested and taken to the Gobierno Civil. As I had protested innumerable times during the past 5 years against the violent and innacurate statements of this paper, who managed to sink over 78 million tons of British shipping, it afforded comic relief when I pleaded on Sanchez Gomez's behalf at the Press Association on the grounds that for once La Prensa had told the truth its Director had been arrested. Even Correa had to laugh that off and order his immediate release.

Correo Catalan, the Church paper, was fair, duly playing up the Pope's broadcast on a fair and just peace and adding a very good editorial commending the Primate of Toledo's pastoral stressing the passage in which it refers to the collapse of new régimes based on state-worship and brute force. As for Solidaridad, the party paper, it did not even headline the news and was immediately christened "La Avestruz".

GENERAL ATMOSPHERE:

The following are a few facts either witnessed by us or

/reported

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reported from tried and reliable sources:

(a) As from the 30th April, when a large section of Falange was armed, groups, usually of four, patrolled the streets of Barcelona at night from 9 p.m. and held people up at pistol point, asking for their papers. Many arrests were effected thus; two members of the Consulate staff were held up in this fashion but immediately allowed to proceed on showing their card.

(b) On Tuesday and Wednesday last, on hearing the news, many of our friends attempted to put out the Spanish flag, to celebrate peace. On four occasions, known to us personally, a group of Falangists went up to the flat and had the flag taken down immediately as "it was not a Spanish feast day".

(c) For the past week, 25/30 people have been arrested daily and incomunicado at the Jefatura Superior de Policia. Their relatives have come to give us the circumstances of the arrests, all of which are apparently for commenting favourably the Allied victory.

(d) On Wednesday morning, all undertakings received an order from the Party sindicatos to draw up a list of all employees and workers who had stayed away from work either Wednesday or Thursday. We have a large number of cases of arrests, about 20 employees of the Tram Company are under arrest and at least one proven case of an employer having declared that he himself had given his staff the Wednesday afternoon as a holiday, was immediately arrested. (Sr.Grau, of Sabater y Grau, S.A., Calle Taulet, 171).

(e) Clandestine propaganda of all types is enjoying much circulation. Large numbers of a well-printed sheet, Solidaridad Obrera, published by the C.N.T.-A.I.T. are in circulation: also Monarchist handbills, Don Juan's proclamation, alleged letters from Goicochea and the Marqués Luca de Tena. Alianza Democratica have also published a Manifesto to the effect that the Liberation of Europe will never be complete until Spain is "liberated".

(f) On the morning of the 8th, on many walls of the city a notice appeared calling a General Strike for the 9th. It was signed by the Federación de Sindicatos Locales de la C.N.T. Nothing happened.

(g) From three different sources I am given to understand that a very efficient Moscow agent is working with the C.N.T.-A.I.T. group in Barcelona. This would perhaps account for the improvement in the printing and presentation of their clandestine sheets and the large increase in their numbers. He is alleged to be a young Spaniard who went to Russia in 1938 to train as a pilot and has returned here with excellent papers, Party Carnet and with the necessary documents to pass himself off to the eyes of the Authorities as an ex-member of the Blue Division.

To sum up, although the crowds were willing to celebrate V day in Europe, during Wednesday and Thursday, Barcelona presented a perfectly normal appearance, nobody daring to exteriorise their feelings in the fear of immediate repression from the Party patrols. One unfortunate wretch who did was seized by them and hung up for three hours by his wrists to a high railing, accordance to this statement was given us by several witnesses. He was finally taken down by a Guardia Armada but can get no redress.

(signed) P.H. DORCHY

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283
(1/130/45)

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HIS Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid,
presents his compliments to H.M.P.S. of S.F.A.,
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

Embassy,
British.....
Madrid.

.....

.....

17th May, 5.
....., 194.....

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of letter from Barcelona Consulate-General of 11th May, to Chancery. Copy of periodical political report by Press Attaché, Barcelona.	Effect of Allied victory in Barcelona.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 6455

30 MAY 1945

104

Registry Number: Z 6455/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 293 (1/137/45)

Dated 22nd May, 1945.

Received in Registry 30th May, 1945.

Z: Spain.

General Franco's speech at the closing of the Douro Agrarian Congress.

Gives report of this speech made on the 20th May, at Valladolid. States there was nothing fresh in the speech, in which General Franco paid tribute to Spanish unity, made the customary apologia about the régime and disclaimed distatorship and totalitarianism. Copied to Gibraltar and Lisbon.

Last Paper.

2645 3.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8.) h 2 9.

June 4

(Minutes.)

A speech of little consequence and considerable ambiguity. Perhaps its most interesting feature is the conciliatory tone with which Franco defends his régime and appeals for unity.

Copy. No 1.

F.O.R.D. W4c

K.W.S. 6/6.

(Action completed.)	(Index.)
Sdelwyn 25/6	9/7

Next Paper.

26456

105 2

British Embassy,

Madrid.

22nd May, 1945.

No. 293.
(1/137/45)

Z 6455

30 MAY 1945

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that General Franco, in closing the Duero Agrarian Congress on May 20th at Valladolid made a speech to a gathering which according to the press numbered 70,000 persons.

2. There was nothing really fresh in the speech. One passage may be a discreet reference to the German concentration camps. If we are contemplating sad things in so many corners of Europe, General Franco said, there is nothing to surprise us in that. "We suffered such acts in our Red zone, and such acts always spring forth when the Christian ideal of life is replaced by materialism and passion."

3. After declaring that over eight years ago the decree had been issued which unified the J.O.N.S. and the F.E.T., for the benefit of the nation, the Caudillo said: "I can tell you now that this union, which I asked you for in the name of Spain one day then, not only brought about the winning of our war, but later freed us from the horrors and calamities of the present war... We cannot contemplate our present peaceful state today without paying a tribute to that Spanish unity, against which all the intrigues, endeavours and attempts to involve us in the present conflict broke down... The fact that our enemies fight against it (the unity) so hard from abroad is the outstanding proof of its value and its efficacy." He went on to say that referring to her enemies Spain was confronted with some miserable Spaniards, whom he would call "the common criminals of their war, who went about in foreign lands soliciting enemies for their motherland." Their behaviour could but provoke scorn.

4. The speech contained a good section of the customary apologia for the régime, which had opposed "the democracy of the Gospels and of the practical traditions of Spain" to "formalist and garrulous democracy." After the chaos of the 'old political oligarchies' the nation needed a complete transformation, and it was the provision of this which was the first title of the Movement. The Movement had installed a veritable Renaissance in Spain, with the rise of religion, the strengthening of the Services, scientific and intellectual progress, industrial and agricultural improvements, and "that most important of all social progress which places us at the head of the most advanced countries."

5. The now customary disclaimer of dictatorship or totalitarianism was also included in the speech. General Franco said that the fact that he was here closing a Congress of this agricultural type was itself proof that the Government sought out the people's desires in the people's heart. "This is not an Authority (Poder) which dictates," he said, "but rather one which in Congresses and reunions such as this seeks the inspiration for its actions."

6. Reference was also made to the new Local Government bill awaiting approval as well as to the coming 'Fuero de los Españoles' or 'Bill of Rights,' which "will ally to the traditional rights of the individual those which are most modern and important in the Social Code."

/ 7.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

7. Prominence was given in Press headlines to an extract from the speech in which General Franco said that "in this Movement it is not the exterior signs nor the inessential which characterise it but rather the spirit." This apothegm is ambiguous and might be interpreted as meaning either that General Franco is contemplating the abolition of such exterior trappings of the Falange as the uniform etc. or that on the contrary the spirit being good he intends keeping the whole organisation in existence. Weight is lent to the second hypothesis by the fact that the Generalissimo chose to appear resplendent in his Falange uniform.

I am copying this despatch to His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Samuel Hoare.

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Z

1945

SPAIN

7 64[illegible]60 MAY 1945

107

Registry Number } Z 6456/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 295
1/138/45.

Dated 22nd May, 1945.

Received in Registry } 30th May, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Speech by Don Esteban Bilbao, President of the Cortes on 14th May.

Gives an account of this speech which began with short resume of motives governing action taken against Japan. He emphasizes General Franco's efforts to keep the war within limits, his claims for defenceless people, especially Poland. He also commented on Spanish action in standing behind her frontiers instead of invading French soil, and help sent to Belgian children. He referred to the Bill of Rights and concluded with the usual tribute to Franco himself.

Last Paper.

Z6455

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8-) Aug 9.
June 7

(Minutes.)

Copy M. of I.

Spain - Defender of the Faith, Sister of Mercy and Champion of Liberty -

Bah!

R.L.W.S.
6/6.

F.O.R.D. 2.D.G. 7/vi

(Action completed.)

K.McG
13/6

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

26566.

29082 F.O.P.

2

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No. 295

1/138/45

Z 6456

30 MAY 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

22nd May, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the President of the Cortes, Don Esteban Bilbao, delivered a much-heralded speech in the Cortes on May 14th.

2. It may be said of Señor Bilbao's speech that in it figment sustained falsehood on a foundation of froth and fatuity. He began by a short resume of the motives governing the action taken against Japan, and then went on to dedicate the mid part of his address to the close of the war in Europe. There was the usual reference to the belligerents (without distinction between the two sides) being blinded by the passion of war and to the reigning atmosphere of "hatreds and bullets". The Cortes, said Señor Bilbao, could not be silent on the occasion of the end of the conflict which had drenched Europe in blood for six years. During its continuance, he added, Spain at every possible moment had responded solicitously to the call of justice and of Christian charity. When victory shone on the arms of the Axis "our Caudillo tried to keep the war within its natural limits, claiming their rights for the defenceless peoples, especially for martyred Poland, whose immortal spirit still summons the conscience of the world for justice for her rights immolated in the bloody ruins of Warsaw".

3. Señor Bilbao gave no date for this occurrence, but developed his theme, declaring that when France, stricken with hunger and defeat, offered "a broad field to Spain's ambition", that ever knightly nation stood firmly behind her frontiers instead of invading French soil beyond the Pyrenees or in Africa and thereby "aggravating with a facile but treacherous victory the Calvary of a people which for centuries had been the constant rival of our own greatness". Through the alms sent for that purpose to the Pope and the succour despatched to the children of Belgium and the facilities she gave for the exchange of prisoners, Spain came to the help of the helpless, and also "on every occasion proclaimed her condemnation of crime and the need for giving proper respect to the defenceless peoples and the sacred rights of the individual".

4. None appreciate the blessings of peace as much as Spain, who had suffered the horrors of war so much in her own person. She was perhaps the country in the best position of all to value a true peace founded on the unchangeable dogmas of Christian civilization. "The devil of covetousness", said Señor Bilbao, "does not tempt Spain; she only asks to toil in peace and to work out freely her own destiny".

5. /

The Right Honourable Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

Foreign Office.

26 MAY 1948

109
END

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5. Senor Bilbao then took up the topic of the forthcoming Fuero (or Bill of Rights) which he formally submitted for deliberation to the Cortes in general, in addition to the special study devoted to it by a committee. "Spain", he said, "needed no foreign models in order to establish rights ever fundamental in Spanish tradition. "Someone once had said that freedom had grown conservative. But it is not so; in Spain it was always traditionalist." He recalled a phrase used to the Kings in mediaeval Castile, that the people "bowed to laws but did not carry them out", in order to demonstrate the inherent freedom of the race. "We", he went on, "need no constitutional formulae to defend the rights of the individual, because that Constitution, the daughter of the Gospel and the sister of Tradition, is graved in the heart of the Spanish people, with a far more positive and more effective value than the perverse and often tyrannous spirit of the false democracies could ever give to it".

6. "The Fuero", said Señor Bilbao, "was the pure expression of traditional democracy, and was the absolute reply to every sort of totalitarianism. It also was a reply to those who would write us down in the list of the peoples who are the enemies of the rights of man and to those whose false cult of liberty would in practice have submitted the country to shameless tyranny" (the Reds).

7. Señor Bilbao closed with the usual profuse tribute to the Caudillo.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

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WESTERN

1945

F.O.
371

SPAIN

FILE No. 233

Pp. 6566 - 9816

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SPAIN

Z 6566

1 JUN 1945

2

Registry Number } Z 6566/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 284 1/131/45.

Dated 17th May, 1945.

Received in Registry } 1st June, 1945.

Z: Spain.

PARTIES

Opposition ~~paragraphs~~ in Cataluna.

Transmits copy of despatch No. 15 (H/41/45) of 24th April, from Mr. Farquhar Barcelona enclosing a detailed memorandum by Mr. Pinsent on the opposition parties of Cataluna. Encloses copies of a minute dated 7th May, by Mr. Malley, Assistant Press Attaché commenting on the passage dealing with the monarchists.

Last Paper.

26456

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

49589

(Action completed.)

Sdechut 22/6

(Index.)

9/7

Next Paper.

26568

(Minutes.)

Quot homines tot sententiae. R.L.W. Sloan 8/6

I have two comments to make. (1) Observers of Spanish affairs ought never to adopt the Falange idiom in describing the multifarious supporters of Catalan autonomy as Separatists tout court. There are Separatists. F.O.R.D. ~~the~~ (cf. the old Estat Català party) but they are a minority. 'Home rule is for what the majority want' - and that is not the same thing. Useful for record.

(2) In para. 3 Mr Pinsent has got it wrong. It is the 'Junta Suprema' which was supposed to have its headquarters inside Spain and the U.N.E. to be its emanation outside the country, specifically in France.

23/6/45 W. Horsfall Carter

11/6

R.L.W.S.

26/6

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KW

23

Z 6566

1 JUN 1945

British Embassy,
Madrid.

No. 284
1/131/45.

17th May, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith copies of a despatch from His Majesty's Consul-General at Barcelona, covering an interesting memorandum by a member of his staff on the opposition parties in Cataluña.

2. I agree with Mr. Farquhar's comments on the memorandum. The passage in it dealing with the monarchists is further commented on by Mr. Malley, Assistant Press Attaché, in an interesting minute, the copy of which I also enclose.

I have the honour to be with
the highest respect, Sir,
Your most humble obedient Servant,

James Bowker.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Foreign Office,
S.W. 1.

COPY

Minute.

1. Mr. Farquhar is right in drawing attention to the statement in paragraph 19. The writer seems to be unfamiliar with the present disposition of the Traditionalist Party - the only organised body of menarchists. Their idea of a Regency is worth consideration. To all appearances Spain is in for a difficult time during the immediate post-war period. A kings would ascend the throne faced with the results of nine years of tyranny of one sort or another, to say nothing of ruined harvests and exiles thirsting for trouble. The Traditionalist theory is that the way must be prepared by the Regency for the Restoration. There are now very few Traditionalists who deny the "mejor derecho" of Don Juan. His position is really unassailable. Those who question it are simply advocating an elective monarchy and not the hereditary institution which is the basis of the principle of monarchy.

2. It is scarcely correct to say that the Traditionalists desire to establish an "absolute traditionalist" monarchy. Real absolutism in the modern era began in Spain when the traditional Cortes were set aside by Charles V in the 16th Century. His successors had little or no use for a national assembly of any sort. In fact Ferdinand VII, in the 19th Century, was an absolute monarch in every sense of the word. The Cortes de Cadiz (1812) and its successors, brought Spain to the lowest level in its history and made the way clear for dictators of many types. The Traditionalist programme provides for Councils of State who advise the King and for the Traditional Cortes elected in the old way. This is really the only form of Government that Spain has not tried since Charles V. The old Cortes were not a subservient instrument. They were charged with the protection of the people's privileges and the King was bound by oath "to hear the Councils of State in grave matters of Government, and particularly for the purpose of granting or refusing sanction to laws, of declaring wars and of making treaties".

3. The word Requeté is a loose term originating in the civil war. It really means the youth organisations of the Traditionalists, originally something like the O.T.C. General Solchaga is not a Requeté. He commanded the celebrated Brigadas de Navarra but is not a member of the Traditionalist or of any other Party. He is a loyal subject of Don Juan and loyal to Franco, who is the supreme commander of the Army.

4. Charles VIII and his entourage is just musical comedy with a few scamps in the side scenes.

B. Malley
7.5.45.

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COPY

Despatch No. 15
(H/41/45).

British Consulate-General,
Barcelona.

SECRET

24th April, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of an interesting and detailed memorandum which has been prepared by Mr. Pinsent, who is attached to the staff of this Consulate-General for special duties, on the opposition parties of Cataluña.

2. I have little comment to offer on this penetrating analysis of the composition, activities and aims of the various opposition groups except to state that in paragraph 10, which deals with the U.G.T. it would be legitimate to add that not only have they not been penetrated by the Falange but that they themselves have penetrated into the Falange and the C.N.S. and are reputed to hold certain key posts in the present party syndicates; that in paragraph 16, dealing with the activities of Cala, it can be added that information from other sources indicates that this party is developing rapidly as a moderate separatist movement amongst professional classes; and that in paragraph 19 in which reference is made to the Requetes, I should be inclined to qualify the statement that all deny Don Juan's right to the throne and to suggest rather that the great majority of the Requetes at present do accept Don Juan as a candidate and that only about 20% of the die-hards, chiefly in Navarra, persist in advocating a regency under Prince Xavier de Bourbon-Parma.

3. Until this multitude of warring and mutually hostile groups manage to effect a greater degree of coalescence than they have hitherto been successful in doing, it is difficult to believe that they pepresent any real or serious danger to the present régime. All parties appear passionately to desire a change; none of them, with the exception of the C.N.T., wish to start a revolution; and all parties seem to expect the Allies to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them. An orderly evolution towards a Constitutional Monarchy would seem to be the ideal of the majority of the population, but Spanish history during the last two centuries has not producedmany examples of peaceful or orderly changes in the Constitution. Rumour is rife in this part of the world that Franco is contemplating clipping the wings of Falangism, and many people are surprised that he has not already done something towards a removal of what the world in general doubtless considers a dangerous if not intolerable anachronism.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,

(sgd) HAROLD FARQUHAR

R.J. Bowker, Esq.,
His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires,
Madrid.

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COPY

Enclosure in Barcelona despatch No. 15 of 24th April, 1945.

OPPOSITION PARTIESS IN CATALUÑA

(Preliminary Report).

1. The opposition in Cataluña can be divided into several groups:-

(a) Communists.

(b) Socialists and Syndicalists.

(c) Separatists and Moderate Republicans.

(d) Monarchists.

Of these the first three exploit Catalan separatism, but only those mentioned in (c) contain genuine Separatists.

COMMUNISTS

2. The Communist technique is well known all over Europe and has not varied in Spain. They have infiltrated into most of the Left parties, especially the Socialists (P.S.O.E.) and the chief Syndicalists (C.N.T.); they may also be present in the U.G.T. and the P.O.U.M. in spite of the fact that they both hate the Communists as a result of the Civil War and swear they will have nothing more to do with them. Even the L.N.R. (Liberación Nacional Republicana) has suffered from Communists infiltration.

3. Apart from infiltrating into other parties, the Communists in Spain disguise themselves as the so-called Union Nacional Española under the "Junta Suprema de Union Nacional" in France. This disguise has been pierced by all parties now and the U.N.E. is known for what it is, a Communist organisation pure and simple. The U.N.E., is small but active in Cataluña; there are still some "maquis" groups living clandestinely in the country, survivors of the various guerilla expeditions into Spain. There are probably also some who have successfully infiltrated themselves into normal life in the towns; it is believed that they are responsible for many of the recent robberies with vidence, committed with a view to obtaining much needed funds. There are over 200 "maquis" prisoners languishing in prison in Barcelona.

4. In Cataluña there exists an off-shoot of U.N.E. called "Alianca Catalana" with its corresponding youth organisation, "Juventudes Combatientes". This organisation supports the U.N.E. six-point programme together with the Catalan Separatist platform. Roughly, they intend to overthrow Franco, establish a Provisional Republican Government which will include an autonomous Cataluña, cleanse the country of all vestige of Franco and Falange, and then hold free (?) elections. The Youth movement is forming shock groups in preparation for the struggle. On the whole, the Communists in Cataluña can be described as decided but weak.

SOCIALISTS AND SYNDICALISTS

5. The following are the main parties:-

/Partido

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Partido Socialista Obrero Español (P.S.O.E.);
Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (C.N.T.);
Union General del Trabajo (U.G.T.);
Partido Republicano Español;
Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (P.O.U.M.).

6. The first four of these parties have joined together to form a group called "Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas", similar to the "Junta de Liberación Nacional" in Mexico (and France ?). Their policy is to unite in order to overthrow Franco, establish a Provisional Government on the basis of the 1931 constitution, purge the country of Fascism, etc., and then hold free elections for a new Constituent Assembly (Cortes Constituyentes).

7. Another group is the "Frente de Libertad" which claims to have the support of various members of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. It is actually formed chiefly of dissident elements of the old P.O.U.M., who want to start again with a clean slate, together with a few members of the two Syndicalist parties. Negotiations are supposed to be in progress for a unification of the two groups "Alianza Nacional.." and "Frente de Libertad", but no evidence of their effective union has yet been seen. There is talk also of these two groups joining with the Catalan Separatists, which would imply the acceptance of the principle of a Federal Republic with an autonomous state of Cataluña. As the various members of "Alianza Nacional" have agreed on the 1931 constitution which was a centralised republic, no agreement has yet been reached between them and the Separatists on this point.

8. Individually these parties show divergences. P.S.O.E. was re-formed after the break-up of the combined Socialist and Communist party in Cataluña (S.U.C.) which had been dominated by the Communists. It is now very strong and active producing a good deal of propaganda. It co-operates actively with both Syndicalist parties, many of its members being also members of the C.N.T. or U.G.T. It is officially anti-Communist, but is probably penetrated to a certain extent by Communists.

9. The C.N.T. was re-organised slowly after the Civil War when it was broken up by the Communists and in spite of strong Falange persecution which has continued ever since. It now has cells or syndicates in most factories and trades and is producing propaganda actively with the Socialists. It has given up its association with the anarchist F.A.I., now disbanded, and whose remaining members are now Falange gunmen, but maintains its connection with the Movimiento Libertario. Combined, these two parties (probably much the same under different names) claim they have armed "maquis" groups in the mountains all round the country, and could call on "thousands" to start a revolution. On the other hand the Falange and secret police claim they have penetrated both the local C.N.T. organisation and the mountain "maquis" all round the country (Asturias, Galicia, Aragón and Andalusia): they have in fact arrested the secretary, José Carretero, and other members of the Barcelona regional committee.

10. The U.G.T., somewhat more moderate than the C.N.T., seems also to have completely re-organised after its break-up by the Communists during the Civil War and to have survived Falange persecution. Its members are pushing forward the organisation of groups in factories, etc. They advocate union with the C.N.T. into one general Syndicate (or Trade Union Congress) called C.S.U. (Confederación de Sindicatos Unidos). They do not appear to be penetrated by Falange and secret police in the same way as the C.N.T.

/11.

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11. The Partido Republicano Español, which was Azaña's party, has never been strong in Cataluña. In fact it does not appear very active in Barcelona, nor has it produced or distributed any propaganda. Its stronghold is presumably Madrid.

12. The P.O.U.M. as such, has few followers in Spain now. Most of its surviving members are in France trying to forget the past and organise the future. In Spain, and especially in Cataluña, they now call themselves the "Frente de Libertad", already mentioned. Under this name they have been actively producing and distributing propaganda since 1942. They now seem to have obtained the support of several members of the syndicalist parties, and possibly of the socialist party as well, through whom they hope to join with the "Alianza Nacional". At the same time they maintain good relations in France with the Separatists; they may hope to form the bridge between "Alianza Nacional" and the Separatists (either Front Nacional de Cataluña or Bloque Catalán). They certainly encourage separatism in their propaganda and even produce some of it in Catalan. They profess hatred of the Communists and deny that they were ever even Trotskyists, but it seems likely that those survivors of the old party who still call themselves P.O.U.M. and have not joined the "Frente de Libertad" are under Communist influence.

SEPARATISTS AND MODERATE REPUBLICANS

13. The chief Separatist parties from Left to Right are:-

Estat Catalá Proletari	-	Extreme Left
Esquerra Republicana de Cataluña	-	Left
Cala	-	Left Centre
Acció Catalana	-	Centre
Unió Democrática de Cataluña	-	Catholics
Lliga de Cataluña	-	Right.

All these parties have joined together to form a general Separatist Union called "Front Nacional de Cataluña" with the common object of establishing an autonomous Catalan state within a Federal Republic. At the same time, another group called "Bloque Catalán" or "Solidaridad Catalana" claims to represent all these parties and the "Front Nacional de Cataluña" as well. This is probably more a question of difference of nomenclature than of a fundamental difference of opinion.

14. The Esquerra appears to be the dominating party in the "Front Nacional ..." This is the party which produced Luis Companys, President of the Generalitat 1934 to 1939, who was arrested by the Germans in France in 1940, handed over to Franco and shot. Their present leader is Pi Sunyer who produces voluble and well-printed manifestoes from London and Toulouse which are well circulated in Cataluña. There is a fairly wide measure of support for this party amongst more moderate circles who are ready to applaud but not to do any active clandestine work. On the other hand many people still remember the corruption and favouritism that prevailed during the Esquerra's period of power in Cataluña.

15. Estat Catalá Proletari appears to be the most militant of these separatist parties as well as the most extreme. It certainly does most of the clandestine work as a result of which many of its members have been arrested. It was associated with the Socialists and Communists in the S.U.C. but reverted to its old name on the break-up of the S.U.C. into Alianca Catalana (Communist), P.S.O.E., and Estat Catalá into its component parts. Its members have always been the most active physically of all the separatists, stopping at nothing in the way of thuggery.

16. Of the other parties mentioned little is known of the Cala except that it is supposed to be moderate (Left Centre) and

/Separatist;

Separatist; the Acció Catalana is moderate, republican, and separatist, its leader being Nicolas D'Olwer; the Unió Democrática is composed of separatist Catholics and may be described as Right Centre; while the Lliga de Cataluña is definitely Right - Señor Ventosa, well-known public figure under the present régime, is its most outstanding member.

Besides these separatist elements the Front Nacional de Cataluña claims to have two P.S.O.E. members on its committee representing also the U.G.T.: their names are Trifón Gomez and Pascual Tomas.

17. The chief moderate republican party, not necessarily separatist, is Liberación Nacional Republicana (L.N.R.) This party has existed since 1943 at least and is on paper well organised in groups and committees, etc., all round the country. It certainly does appear to possess considerable funds with which it produces well presented propaganda. One of its organisers, Elyus Gomez, now arrested, was a Communist and has been through a political school in Russia; the plan of the party's organisation does certainly resemble that of Communist organisations. There is evidence to show that L.N.R. in the Balearic Islands is allied to Alianca Catalana which is definitely Communist. On the other hand, now that Elyus Gomez is out of the way, other members of the party deny that it has anything to do with the Communists. Their policy is to support the exiled Republican Government in Mexico until the present régime can be overthrown and a provisional government established with a view to conducting free elections.

18. There is yet another general republican and separatist group which claims to combine all the republicans in Spain and the various separatists in each region. It is called Frente Nacional Democrático and purports to be composed of all the Liberal (?) Republican parties, P.S.O.E., U.G.T., C.N.T., Esquerra, Estat Catalá, the Basque Nationalist Party, the Partido Izquierdista Gallego, and hopes to be reinforced with the adherence of the P.O.U.M. and the Communist Party. It was constituted in February, 1945, being centred in Madrid with a sub-office in Barcelona. Nothing else is known of this group as yet.

MONARCHISTS

19. The Monarchists are divided in Spain into three factions each of which is represented in Cataluña. They are:-

(a) The supporters of Don Juan, Alfonso XIII's recognised heir;

(b) The Requetés or Traditionalists, who going back to the dispute which started the Carlist wars of the last century, deny Don Juan's right to the throne, and advocate a Regency under Prince Xavier de Bourbon-Parma.

(c) The so-called "Carlists" who support Carlos VIII, a Habsburg pretender, brought in by Falange in order to split the Monarchists still further and discredit them.

20. There is undoubtedly great general support for the cause of Don Juan; one can find these Monarchists in every class from the aristocracy to the shoe-cleaners. The Army and the Church are both strongly monarchist, so are the industrialists and the bourgeoisie generally. How many of these monarchists are willing actually to work clandestinely for the cause is difficult to judge; most of them prefer to sit back now and applaud Don Juan when he returns, leaving the details of the arrangement to others. The Army is undoubtedly Don Juan's strongest card, for without the Army no régime can exist in Spain. One has heard of monarchist coups being prepared by the

/Army

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Army every six months or so during the last two years, but nothing ever seems to come of them. Many people, including some monarchists, nowconsider that Don Juan has missed his opportunity, while others say that Franco is prepared to hand over nominal power to Don Juan provided he retains the real power himself. Many republicans would be prepared to support a constitutional monarchy, but most monarchists would prefer a strong monarchy, alleging that a constitutional monarchy would again end in a Republic which would be more disastrous than the last one.

21 . The Requetés are the most intransigent of the monarchists, their object being to establish an absolute "traditionalist" monarchy with full power vested in the King. Their position is vitiated by the fact that they have no king, only a Regent. They are, however, undoubtedly the best organised monarchists, having trained and armed. men organised militarily and ready to fight. They were Franco's toughest troops during the Civil War, especially in Navarre, and consider they were betrayed by Franco when he gave so much power to Falange whom they detest. There are also many Requetés in the Army; it appears that the new Captain-General of Cataluña, General Solchaga, is a Requeté. If Don Juan could obtain the whole-hearted support of the Requeté his position would be very strong indeed. As it is, the Requetés remain adamant on the question of the succession, though no doubt many of them would in fact support Don Juan if he came to power.

22. The latest pretender, Carlos VIII, has a poor claim to the throne and an even poorer following. This is composed of doubtful Falange elements with some dissident Requetés. He certainly has some official support, while the manner of his introduction to the country smells of a Falange manoeuvre to split the Requetés. The Germans are also probably involved.

CONCLUSION

23. The general situation is as follows. The Communists are decided but weak, the Syndicalists and Socialists are strong but penetrated by their enemies, the Separatists are not strong by themselves but would be if allied to the Syndicalists and Socialists, while the Monarchists are divided. The strongest party is undoubtedly the C.N.T., which with its allies is quite capable of starting a revolution, but would probably be defeated after a bloody struggle by Falange helped by the Army, thus reinforcing Franco's position. Many of them seem to rely, however, on Allied support, which they assume will be forthcoming after the end of the war in Europe; they claim that Allied intervention would prevent all bloodshed (even the Communists admit they have had enough bloodshed in Spain) and get rid of Franco quietly. The same applies to the Separatists who would never do anything without the C.N.T. The moderate Republicans, on the other hand, are not prepared to start any revolution, but prefer Franco to be forced out of his position by diplomatic pressure on the part of the Allies.

24. Finally, the Monarchists, while enjoying support in high quarters, suffer from their main division into supporters of Don Juan and the Requetés. They hope to eject Franco and re-establish the monarchy by the usual means of a military coup d'état helped by diplomatic pressure from the Allies. There would undoubtedly be wide support in the country for such a change of régime.

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1945

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SPAIN

Z 6568

1 JUN 1945

Registry Number } Z 6568/233/41

FROM Mr.Bowker, Madrid.

No. 290 1/133/45

Dated 21st May,

Received in Registry } 1st June, 1945.

Z : Spain. -

Translation of text of draft of Spanish Bill of Rights.

Refers to Madrid telegram 299 of 19th April (Z 4953/537/G). This Bill is being considered by a Committee of the Cortes and it expected to be approved shortly. Comments on various Articles stating that if it seems unlikely that the Spanish authorities will conform with the new requirements unless eleborate machinery is provided for victims of abuses to appeal to higher authority. No article recognises the right of public opinion to indulge in criticism of the Government or to participate in determination of its policy.

Last Paper.

26566

References.

25395/89/41.

2645/233/41

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(Action completed)

8 Dec 1945 12/7

(Index.)

20/9

Next Paper.

26706.

(Minutes.)

This despatch should, I think, be printed K.C.D.

Considering its Spanish origin, the Bill of Rights strikes me as a major achievement of the Franco régime. ~~Most of~~ To our politically sophisticated minds, some of the clauses (e.g. the second half of Article 9.) may appear primordial. But they are none the worse for that and the great majority are expressed in surprisingly clear, well-conceived terms.

The general content not only defines the rights and duties of the individual (as we already knew) but in large measure also embraces the obligations of the State. To some extent these obligations are corollary to the rights of the individual; for instance, the law (i.e. the State)/

the State) accepts responsibility for protecting the fundamental liberty of the citizen from kidnapping. But the Bill goes further than that. At least by implication, the State accepts responsibility for providing work on a national basis, for guaranteeing minimum wages and for extending all the accepted forms of social security. This brand of Socialism is only weakly tempered by the lip-service to free economic enterprise and the principle of private ownership in Articles 26 and 30, and 81.

The Bill, therefore, represents far more than a clarification of Spanish civil liberties. It is, at best, a genuine appeal to Left Wing opinion in Spain and outside; at worst, a confidence trick designed to fool everyone except the Falange whose power - the greatest threat to liberal principles - still remains to be curbed.

R. H. W. Sloan.
6/6

F.O.R.D. 371 G.10/7

The Draft Law is certainly a remarkable document, but Spanish history and the record of General Franco's Government justify considerable scepticism. As Mr. Bowker points out, the régime has, for over ten years, been in the habit of acting arbitrarily. Besides, an essential part of the régime is the Falange Movement with its methods of sheer gangsterism. There could be no hope of the Bill being put effectively into force unless the Falange were first suppressed. There were signs not long ago that General Franco was thinking of reducing the power of Falange, but as usual he has simply taken one step forward and then

one ...

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

one step back. There is, indeed, reason to doubt whether this Draft Law will now ever come to be enacted. Certainly the Government are in no hurry about it.

I agree that this should be printed, with its enclosure.

R. Garran

9th June, 1945.

1) BBC Lem. Hoping Lang 4th.

On the face of it,
this bill is a very definite
step forward & which shd
merit a great improvement. But
it remains to be seen if
it ever comes into force; or even
if it does, if it is applied.
Rhodes Inchcape.

10.6.

I dont think this
calls for any one -

KCG.

12/6.

Circulated to the Cabinet by direction of
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

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SPAIN. June 1, 1945.

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[Z 6568/233/41] Copy No.

Mr. Bowker to Mr. Eden.—(*Received 1st June.*)

(No. 290.)

Sir, *Madrid*, 21*st May*, 1945.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 299 of the 19th April, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text in translation of the draft of the Spanish Bill of Rights, which is at present being considered by a Committee of the Cortes and which, it is expected, will be approved shortly.

2. Articles 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 and 20 represent the most important advance on the existing state of affairs. It should, however, be noted that the rights allowed in all these articles except 18 and 20 may, under article 35, be withdrawn in times of emergency.

3. There is no particular reason to doubt the sincerity of General Franco and his Ministers in wishing to introduce these rights in full. Nevertheless, for over a decade the administrative departments of the Spanish Government, and particularly the police, have been in the habit of acting arbitrarily and without reference to the general principles enunciated in the new legislation. It seems unlikely that they will be capable of conforming with the new requirements unless elaborate machinery is provided to enable abuses to be checked and victims of such abuses to appeal to higher authority. It remains to be seen whether this machinery will, in fact, be created by the body of detailed legislation which, according to the information reported in my telegram under reference, is to be passed to implement the general provisions of the new law. Even if this does occur, it is questionable whether any machinery could be effective without the healthy influence of freedom in the press to expose inadequacies in its functioning or constitution. So far there is no sign that the Spanish Government intends to allow such a development, which seems hardly to be provided for by the cautiously-worded freedom of expression allowed in article 12. No article in the Bill of Rights even remotely recognises the right of public opinion to indulge in criticism of the Government, let alone participate in the determination of its policy. Time alone will show whether the new freedoms can become real without any such fundamental guarantees.

4. Article 6 is rather ambiguously worded, but the intention would seem to be to confirm toleration of the celebration of Protestant and Nonconformist worship, as accorded under article 11 of the Constitution of 1876. I shall take the opportunity of asking for confirmation of this interpretation of the article on my next visit to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

5. With regard to the general principles enunciated in Chapter II of the Bill, it must in present circumstances be regarded as likely that at least the provisions contained in articles 27, 28 and 29, which are perhaps the most important in this section, must remain unfulfilled for a long time to come.

I have, &c.

JAMES BOWKER.

Enclosure.

(Translation.)

Draft Law setting out the Rights of the Spaniards.

PREAMBLE.

Article 1.—The Spanish State proclaims as the guiding principle of its acts respect for the dignity, the integrity and the liberty of man, recognising him as the bearer of eternal values and the member of a national community, and the possessor of duties and rights the practice of which it guarantees.

Section I.—*Duties and Rights of Spaniards.*

CHAPTER I.

Article 2.—The Spaniards owe faithful service to the fatherland, loyalty to the head of the State and obedience to the laws.

33

Article 3.—The law protects by equal right all Spaniards without privileges of class nor exception of person.

Article 4.—All Spaniards have right to the respect of their personal and family honour. Whoever violates it, whatever his condition, will incur responsibility therefor.

Article 5.—All Spaniards have a right to receive instruction and the duty to acquire it, whether within their own family or in private or public centres, according to their free choice. The State will ensure by means of a just social legislation that no talent is wasted as a result of a lack of financial means.

Article 6.—The profession and practice of the Catholic religion will enjoy the protection of the Spanish State.

Nobody will be persecuted for his religious beliefs, but external ceremonies or manifestations other than those of the State religion will not be permitted.

Article 7.—Armed service for the country is a matter of honour for Spaniards.

All Spaniards are obliged to perform military service when summoned in accordance with the law.

Article 8.—By means of laws and always with a general character other personal duties may be imposed when required by the interest of the nation or public needs.

Article 9.—The Spaniards will contribute to the maintenance of the public services in proportion to their economic capacity. No one will be obliged to pay taxes which have not been established in accordance with the law.

Article 10.—All Spaniards are subject to the obligation to co-operate for the common good and have the right to take part in public functions of a representative character, through the family, the municipality and the syndicate, without prejudice to that representation which, in accordance with the laws, might fall to them.

Article 11.—All Spaniards will be able to perform public duties and functions according to their merit and capacity.

Article 12.—Every Spaniard may freely express his ideas so long as he does not attack the fundamental principles of the State. The exercise of this right will be regulated by the laws.

Article 13.—Within national territory the State guarantees the freedom of correspondence.

Article 14.—The Spaniards have the right to reside in any part of the territory of the nation.

Article 15.—Nobody can enter into the domicile of a Spaniard or carry out searches in it without his consent, except by means of a mandate from the competent authority and in those cases and in the manner established by the laws.

Article 16.—The Spaniards have the right to the free choice of the married or unmarried state without thereby becoming liable to unfavourable judicial treatment.

Article 17.—The Spaniards can assemble and associate with one another freely for legal aims, and in accordance with that which is established by the laws.

Article 18.—The Spaniards have a right to legal security. All the organs of the State will act in accordance with an established order of juridical and pre-established rulings, which cannot be arbitrarily altered or interpreted by invoking mere reasons of utility, requirements of popular feeling or any other similar motive.

Article 19.—No Spaniard can be detained except in the cases and in the manner prescribed by the laws.

Within three days every detained person will be set at liberty or handed over to the judicial authority.

Article 20.—Nobody can be condemned without having been heard and following the sentence of the competent tribunal.

Article 21.—No Spaniard can be deprived of his nationality except for an offence of treason defined in the penal laws, nor can he enter the armed service or occupy a public position in a foreign country against the express prohibition of the head of the State.

Article 22.—The Spaniards may address individually petitions to the head of the State, to the Cortes and the competent authorities.

The corporations, public officials and members of the armed forces and institutes can only exercise this right in accordance with the corresponding regulations which are in force.

Chapter II.

Article 23.—Work is the participation of man in production, by means of the free use of his intellectual and manual faculties. Because work is essentially human it cannot be relegated to the material concept of merchandise nor be the subject of any transaction incompatible with the personal dignity of the worker. The Spanish State considers it as a mark of honour and with sufficient claim to demand the guardianship and assistance of the State.

Article 24.—The State esteems and honours work in accordance with the foregoing principles and protects it with the force of the law, making it compatible with the fulfilment of the other individual, family and social aims.

Article 25.—All the Spaniards have a right to work and the duty to engage in some socially useful activity.

Article 26.—The Spanish State declares that production is the result obtained by the combined effort of capital, technique and manual labour. In consequence, it regards the enterprise as a common centre for contributions and proclaims the right of the three productive elements to participate in the benefits of production.

The State will ensure that the relations between these elements are maintained in accordance with the strictest equity and in a manner which subordinates all economic values to those in the human category, to the interests of the nation and the requirements of the common good.

Article 27.—All workers will be protected by the State in their right to a remuneration which as a minimum will be sufficient to provide them and their families with a moral and dignified life.

Article 28.—The Spanish State engages itself to take constant and effective action in defence of the worker, his life and his work.

Article 29.—Social security in so far as it guarantees to the worker the certainty of its protection in misfortune constitutes a duty of the State. All Spaniards have a right to the assistance of the institutions in cases of death, old age, common or professional diseases, maternity, accidents at work, invalidity or forced unemployment, as well as in other cases which must be provided for in view of special risks.

Article 30.—The State assumes the task of multiplying and making accessible to all Spaniards the forms of ownership most intimately allied to the human person : family homes, inheritance, instruments of work and goods of daily use.

Article 31.—The institution of private property as a natural means for the fulfilment of individual, family and social aims, is recognised and protected by the Spanish State.

All forms of property in its holding by the individual and society are subordinated to the interest of the nation and the common good of the Spaniards.

Wealth cannot remain inactive, be destroyed without reason or applied to illicit ends.

Article 32.—The penalty of confiscation of goods cannot be imposed and nobody can be subjected to expropriation except for the public good or the interest of society, subject to the corresponding compensation in accordance with what is laid down by the laws.

Article 33.—The State will have model institutions for assistance and will protect and encourage those created by the Church and by private individuals.

Chapter III.

Article 34.—The State recognises the family as a natural institution and foundation of society, with rights and duties prior and superior to any positive human law, and will duly regulate and protect it.

The State will especially protect large families.

Section II.—*Guarantee of Duties and Rights.*

Article 35.—In grave circumstances the Government can suspend the practice of all or part of the rights recognised in articles 12, 13, 14, 15, 17 and 19 by means of a decree-law in which the scope and duration of those restrictions will be clearly laid down.

Article 36.—The actions which result from the rights which are recognised in this law can be carried out in every case as a defence and guarantee of those rights, in the manner laid down by the laws.

17

Z 6568

1 JUN 1945

British Embassy,
Madrid.
21st May, 1945.

2/Jsa 4953/537/49

No. 290.
(1/133/45)

Sir,

With reference to my telegram No. 299 of the 19th April I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text in translation of the draft of the Spanish Bill of Rights which is at present being considered by a Committee of the Cortes, and which, it is expected, will be approved shortly.

2. Articles 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 and 20 represent the most important advance on the existing state of affairs. It should, however, be noted that the rights allowed in all these Articles except 18 and 20 may, under Article 35, be withdrawn in times of emergency.

3. There is no particular reason to doubt the sincerity of General Franco and his Ministers in wishing to introduce these rights in full. Nevertheless, for over a decade the administrativ departments of the Spanish Government, and particularly the police, have been in the habit of acting arbitrarily and without reference to the general principles enunciated in the new legislation. It seems unlikely that they will be capable of conforming with the new requirements unless elaborate machinery is provided to enable abuses to be checked and victims of such abuses to appeal to higher authority. It remains to be seen whether this machinery will, in fact, be created by the body of detailed legislation which, according to the information reported in my telegram under reference, is to be passed to implement the general provisions of the new Law. Even if this does occur it is questionable whether any machinery could be effective without the healthy influence of freedom in the Press to expose inadequacies in its functioning or constitution. So far there is no sign that the Spanish Government intends to allow such a development, which seems hardly to be provided for by the cautiously-worded freedom

/ of

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

of expression allowed in Article 12. No Article in the Bill of Rights even remotely recognises the right of public opinion to indulge in criticism of the Government, let alone participate in the determination of its policy. Time alone will show whether the new freedoms can become real without any such fundamental guarantees.

4. Article 6 is rather ambiguously worded, but the intention would seem to be to confirm toleration of the celebration of Protestant and Non-Conformist worship, as accorded under Article 11 of the Constitution of 1876. I shall take the opportunity of asking for confirmation of this interpretation of the article on my next visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

5. With regard to the general principles enunciated in Chapter II of the Bill, it must in present circumstances be regarded as likely that at least the provisions contained in Articles 27, 28 and 29, which are perhaps the most important in this Section, must remain unfulfilled for a long time to come.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

James Bacon.

Translation.

DRAFT LAW SETTING OUT THE RIGHTS OF THE SPANIARDS.

Preamble.

Article 1: The Spanish State proclaims as the guiding principle of its acts respect for the dignity, the integrity and the liberty of man, recognising him as the bearer of eternal values and the member of a national community, and the possessor of duties and rights the practice of which it guarantees.

Section I.

Duties and Rights of Spaniards.

Chapter I.

Article 2: The Spaniards owe faithful service to the fatherland, loyalty to the Head of the State and obedience to the laws.

Article 3: The law protects by equal right all Spaniards without privileges of class nor exception of person.

Article 4: All Spaniards have right to the respect of their personal and family honour. Whoever violates it, whatever his condition, will incur responsibility therefor.

Article 5: All Spaniards have a right to receive instruction and the duty to acquire it, whether within their own family or in private or public centres, according to their free choice. The State will ensure by means of a just social legislation that no talent is wasted as a result of a lack of financial means.

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All Spaniards are obliged to perform military service when summoned in accordance with the law.

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Article 10: All Spaniards are subject to the obligation to co-operate for the common good and have the right to take part in public functions of a representative character, through the family, the municipality and the syndicate, without prejudice to that representation which, in accordance with the laws, might fall to them.

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Article 21: No Spaniard can be deprived of his nationality except for an offence of treason defined in the Penal Laws, nor can he enter the armed service or occupy a public position in a foreign country against the express prohibition of the Head of the State.

Article 22: The Spaniards may address individually petitions to the Head of the State, to the Cortes and the competent Authorities.

The Corporations, public officials and members of the armed forces and institutes can only exercise this right in accordance with the corresponding regulations which are in force.

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/ Article 26:

Article 26: The Spanish State declares that production is the result obtained by the combined effort of capital, technique and manual labour. In consequence, it regards the enterprise as a common centre for contributions, and proclaims the right of the three productive elements to participate in the benefits of production.

The State will ensure that the relations between these elements are maintained in accordance with the strictest equity and in a manner which subordinates all economic values to those in the human category, to the interests of the nation and the requirements of the common good.

Article 27: All workers will be protected by the State in their right to a remuneration which as a minimum will be sufficient to provide them and their families with a moral and dignified life.

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The State will especially protect large families.

SECTION II.

Guarantee of Duties and Rights.

Article 35: In grave circumstances the Government can suspend the practice of all or part of the rights recognised in Articles 12,13,

/ 14,

14, 15, 17 and 19, by means of a Decree Law in which the scope and duration of those restrictions will be clearly laid down.

Article 36: The actions which result from the rights which are recognised in this Law can be carried out in every case as a defence and guarantee of those rights, in the manner laid down by the Laws.

65/68/233.14

B48: = CONDITIONS FOR THE RETURN OF EXPATRIATES TO SPAIN
OFFICIAL STATEMENT — 10 [illegible] 1945

Put with ff. on Bill of Rights etc.

SPANISH EUROPEAN SERVICE IN FRENCH AND SPANISH. 17.30. 4.5.45.

(READING BY THE ANNOUNCER OF THE FULL TEXT OF AN ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY THE MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS RE CONDITIONS SET UP BY THE SPANISH STATE FOR THE RETURN TO THEIR COUNTRY OF EXPATRIATED SPANIARD WISHING TO RETURN TO SPAIN. 23

(1) = SPAIN'S GENEROUS AND HUMANITARIAN GESTURE =

AT A MOMENT WHEN THE WHOLE WORLD IS SUFFERING FROM THE TERRIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF THE GREAT WAR WHICH FOR SIX YEARS HAS CAUSED PAIN TO THE HEART OF HUMANITY, RADIO NACIONAL IS PROUD TO BE ABLE TO BROADCAST TO ITS LISTENERS A FURTHER PROOF OF THE GENEROUS. PACIFIST, HUMANITARA IAN AND SPANISH ATTITUD OF ITS PRESENT GOVERNMENT. THE READING OF THE THE CONDITIONS SET UP FOR THE RETURN OF THE SPANIARDS REPATRIATED IS SUFFICIENT TO PROVE TO THE WHOLE WORLD WHAT THE TRUE CONDUCT OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT IS, THE CHRISTIAN FOUNDATIONS OF ITS POLITICAL TASK, AND THEREFORE THE FALSITY OF THE ACCUSATIONS OF CRUELTY DIRECTED AGAINST US SINCE THE END OF OUR WAR.

(2) HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CAPTURED RED OFFICERS AND MEN HAVE BEEN FREE SINCE APRIL 1939 =

THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT LEADING TO THE END OF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY ON ACCOUNT OF THE CIVIL WAR ARE OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE SPANISH EXILES. WITH REGARD TO THOSE WHO LIVE IN SPAIN, THEY ALL KNOW THAT ON THE 4TH OF APRIL 1939, A FEW HOURS AFTER THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR, GENERALISSIMO FRANCO ORDERED THE RELEASE OF ALL CAPTURED MEMBERS OF THE REDS. SINCE THEN THEY HAVE BEEN FREE AND WALK ABOUT OUR STREETS WITHOUT HINDRANCE. THEY ARE GENERALS, SENIOR OFFICERS, OFFICERS, MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL STAFF, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS IN THEIR HUNDREDS OF THOUSAND WHO WERE NOT ACCUSED OF CRIMES. THIS IS KNOWN TO THOSE WHO RESID IN SPAIN, BUT A SLANDEROUS CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED ABROAD HAS PREVENTED THE TRUTH FROM REACHING THE KNOWLEDGE OF ALL SPANIARDS WHO LIVE OUTSID OUR BORDRS.

(3) = THOSE STILL IN PRISON WERE CONDMNED FOR SERIOUS CRIMES =

THE END OF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY WHICH HAS JUST BEEN DCREED APPLIES TO A SITUATION WHICH HAS ALREADY EXISTED ~~XX~~ FOR MANY MONTHS THERE HAVE BEEN NO NEW TRIALS OR ACCUSATIONS. AND MOREOVER THE SUCCESSIVE AMNESTIES HAD EFFECTED TO SUCH AN EXTENT TO ALL THOSE WHO HAD DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY IN THE WAR THAT, TODAY THOSE WHO ARE STILL IN PRISON ARE THE ONES WHO WERE CONDMNED BY THE REGULAR COURTS AS A RESULT OF THEIR SERIOUS CRIMES.

(4) = DETAILS CONCERNING PRISONERS RELEASED SINCE 1943 =

SINCE 1943 ALL THOSE WHO WERE SENTENCED TO LESS THAN 20 YEARS IMPRISONMENT HAVE BEEN SET FREE AS WELL AS MANY OF THOSE CONDEMNED TO SENTENCES VARYING FROM 20 YEARS AND A DAY IMPRISONMENT AND 30 YEARS, EVEN THOUGH SOME OF THEM WERE RESPONSIBLE OF CRIMES. SOME OF THOS RESPONSIBLE FOR MURDR HAD BEEN GRANTED CONDITIONAL RELEASE ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR GOOD BEHAVIOUR, STATE OF HEALTH OR OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO LENIENCY.

THIS IS THE SITUATION IN SPAIN WHERE DSPITE THE SLANDROUS CAMPAIGNS LAUNCHED ABROAD THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IMPRISONED IS HARDLY ABOVE THAT OF NORMAL CRIMES AND INDEED IS LESS THAN AT MANY TIMES DURING THE REPUBLIC.

(MF)

(5) = VOLUNTARY EXILES FREE TO RETURN TO SPAIN =

THIS BEING THE SITUATION IN SPAIN, SPANIARD VOLUNTARILY IN EXILE MUST KNOW THAT THE CESSATION OF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY RECENTLY DECREED BY THE GOVERNMENT, RELIEVES FROM ALL RESPONSIBILITY THOSE WHO WERE SOLELY SOLDIERS IN THE ARMY OF THE REDS, WHATEVER RANK THEY MIGHT HAVE HELD, PROVIDD THEY ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE OF THE SERIOUS CRIME WHICH WE WILL MENTION LATER. IT MUST THEREFORE BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE FACT OF HAVING FOUGHT WITH WEAPONS AGAINST THE ARMIES OF GENERALISSIMO FRANCO IS NOT PUNISHED, AND THEREFORE THOSE CONCERENED CAN RETURN TO SPAIN WITH COMPLETE CONFIDNCE AND FREEDOM.

IN THE SECOND PLACE, ALL THOSE ARE EXEMPTED FROM RESPONSIBILITY WHO ARE NOT AUTHORS, INSTIGATORS OR ACCOMPLICES OF MURDR.

(6) = PERSONS WHO CARRIED OUT EXECUTIONS UNDR ORDRS NOT CONSIDRED RESPONSIBLE =

THOSE WHO VOLUNTARILY TOOK PART IN EXECUTIONS, EXCEPT THOSE WHO ACTED UNDR SUPERIOR ORDRS, ARE INCLUDD AMONG THOSE GUILT OF MURDER. THEREFORE, THOSE WHO TOOK PART IN SUCH EXECUTIONS, BUT WHO OBEYED MILITARY ORDRS OR BY HAVING BEEN ORDRED TO DO SO BY THEIR AUTHORITIES, HAVE NO RESPONSIBILITY. THOSE WHO ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR MURDR, INSTIGATION, OR HAD NOT BEEN ACCOMPLICES OF MURDR THOUGHT THEY MAY HAVE CARRIED OUT OTHER ACTS PUNISHED BY THE LAW, CAN FREELY RETURN TO SPAIN. AND IF BY ANY CHANCE THEY MAY HAVE SOME RESPONSIBILITY THEIR SITUATION WILL BE LEGALISED WHILE THEY ARE FREE IN SPAIN.

(7) = APPLICATIONS TO RETURN SHOULD BE MAD TO SPANISH CONSULATES =

THE CESSATION OF CIVIL RESPONSIBILITY, TOGETHER WITH THE VARIOUS AMNESTIES PREVIOUSLY GRANTED, GUARANTEES THE RETURN TO SPAIN WITH COMPLETE CONFIDNCE OF THE LARGE MAJORITY OF SPANISH EXILES OF THE CIVIL WAR. FOR THIS PURPOSE, EACH ONE OF THEM WILL APPLY AT THE SPANISH CONSULATE FOR A PASSPORT, AND THE CONSULATE IS OBLIGED TO SEND HIS APPLICATION BY TELEGRAPH WITHOUT DLAY. IN SPAIN, THE DPARTMENT IN CHARGE WILL DCID IN A MATTER OF FEW HOURS WHETHER THE APPLICANT HAS OR HAS NOT RESPONSIBILITY AND, IF THE DPARTMENT UNDRSTANDS THAT THE APPLICANT IS EXEMPTED FROM RESPONSIBILITY, WILL IMMEDIATELY COMMUNICATE BY TELEGRAPH WITH THE CONSULATE FOR THE ISSUE OF THE PASSPORT. THIS TELEGRAPHIC ORDR AUTHORISING THE ISSUE OF THE PASSPORT GUARANTEES THE PERSON COMING TO SPAIN AGAINST ANY ACCUSATION OF RESPONSIBILITY, THAT IS, THAT WHOEVER IS GIVEN A PASSPORT TO RETURN TO SPAIN CAN COME WITH THE CERTAINTY THAT HE WILL NOT BE ARRESTED.

(8) = APPLICATIONS REFUSED ONLY TO THOSE GUILTY L OF CRIMES =

IT MAY HAPPEN THAT THE APPLICANT MAY NOT BE INCLUDD AMONG THOSE EXEMPTED FROM RESPONSIBILITY BECAUSE HE HAS BEEN DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE OR INSTIGATED OR BEEN AN ACCOMPLICE OF MURDR, AND IN THIS CASE HIS APPLICATION WILL BE DENIED BY TELEGRAM TO THE CONSUL. IT ALSO MAY OCCUR THAT THE AUTHORISATION TO ISSUE THE PASSPORT MAY BE GIVEN IN ERROR BUT AS WE HAVE SAID BEFORE THAT TELEGRAPHIC AUTHORISATION GUARANTEES THAT THE BEARER OF THE PASSPORT WILL NOT BE ARRESTED.

(MF)

(9) = IN CASE OF MISTAKES, GOVERNMENT WILL BE GENEROUS =

IF AFTER THE ARRIVAL IN SPAIN OF THE PERSON IN QUESTION IT IS DISCOVERED THAT HE IS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE OR AN INSTIGATOR OR ACCOMPLICE OF CRIMES, AS IT WOULD NOT BE FAIR THAT HE SHOULD BE EXEMPTED FROM RESPONSIBILITY, THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT HAS UNDRTAKEN A GENEROUS ATTITUD, AND, THEREFORE, WHOEVER IS RESPONSIBLE FOR CRIMES AND YET HAS RECEIVED AUTHORISATION TO COME TO SPAIN BY AN ERROR COMMITTED BY THE SPANISH AUTHORITIES, HE CANNOT BE ARRESTED, BUT HE WILL BE INVITED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY.

(10) = POSSESSION OF A PASSPORT A GUARANTEE AGAINST ARREST =

THIS IS BEING DONE, SO THAT NO ONE CAN DOUBT THAT THE PERSON IN POSSESSION OF A PASSPORT TO RETURN TO SPAIN WILL BE ARRESTED UNLESS HE COMMITS A CRIME AFTER HAVING BEEN ISSUED WITH A PASSPORT. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PASSPORT HAS NO LONGER VALUE ONCE IN SPAIN, AS THIS DOCUMENT HAS VALUE ONLY WHEN TRAVELLING ABROAD, BUT THE FACT THAT A PASSPORT HAS BEEN ISSUED TO AN EXPATRIATED SPANIARD COMPLETELY COVERS AND GUARANTEES HIM WHILE HE IS IN SPAIN. AND IF THE PASSPORT BECOMES INVALID OR IS EXCHANGED BY ANOTHER DOCUMENT, THE AUTHORISATION GIVEN TO THE CONSUL TO ISSUE THAT PASSPORT GUARANTEES THAT THE BEARER CANNOT BE ARRESTED.

THOSE WHO HAD BEEN GRANTED AUTHORISATION TO RETURN TO SPAIN HAVE NOT TO FILL ANY OTHER REQUISITES ONCE THEY ARE IN SPAIN, EXCEPT THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO PRESENT THEMSELVES TO THE CIVIL GOVERNOR OR THE CHIEF OF POLICE, AND IF IT IS IN A SMALL TOWN, TO THE MAYOR OR TO THE COMMANDR OF THE CIVIL GUARD. THIS IS FOR THEIR OWN BENEFIT, AS THUS THEY WILL BE CERTAIN THAT THE GUARANTEE GIVEN TO THEM THAT THEY ARE NOT LIABLE TO ARREST WILL ALWAYS BE IN FORCE, EVEN IF THEY LOSE THEIR DOCUMENTS, BECAUSE THE ABOVE MENTIONED AUTHORITIES WILL KNOW THAT HE HAS RETURNED BY AUTHORISATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

(11) = THOSE TO WHOM AMNESTY IS NOT APPLICABLE =

WE REPEAT ONCE AGAIN THAT THOSE GUILTY OF MURDR, INSTIGATORS, AND ACCMPLICES ARE NOT EXEMPTED FROM RESPONSIBILITY, AND THEREFORE, CANNOT ENJOY THIS AMNESTY. AMONG THESE ARE THOSE WHO BELONG TO CHEKAS OR ILLEGAL COURTS WHERE TORTURE AND MURDR WERE CARRIED OUT AGAINST THE MOST ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF LAW AND AGAINST THE REGULATIONS WHICH EXISTED BEFORE THE 18TH JULY, 1936.

APART FROM THOSE SERIOUSLY COMPROMISED IN THE MANNER EXPLAINED ABOVE ARE ALSO EXEMPTED FROM THE AMNESTY THOSE WHO, HAVE AGREED WITH THE FOREIGNER TO SELL OR HAND OVER PART OF THE NATIONAL TERRITORY, AS WELL AS THOSE RESPONSIBLE OF TAKING AWAY FROM THE COUNTRY TREASURES OR WORKS OF ART OWNED BY SPAIN. HOWEVER, THOSE GUILTY OF ROBBERY OF SPAIN'S TREASURES AND WORKS OF ART CAN OBTAIN THE AUTHORISATION TO RETURN TO SPAIN WITH COMPLETE FREEDOM AND GUARANTEE IF THEY RETURN TO SPAIN THOSE TREASURES AND WORKS OF ART IN SUFFICIENT QUANTITIES TO REMOVE THEIR RESPONSIBILITY.

(12) = MANY OF THOSE BANISHED ACTED UNDR PASSION AND EXCITEMENT =

IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED THAT FOR THOSE SMALL OFFENCES AND OTHERS WHICH IN NORMAL TIMES WOULD HAVE BEEN CONSIDRED IMPORTANT, THE SIX YEARS OF BANISHMENT FROM APRIL, 1939, WHEN THE WAR ENED DED AND APRIL, 1945, WHEN THE CESSATION OF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY HAS BEEN MAD, WILL BE CONSIDRED AS SUFFICIENT PUNISHMENT IN MANY CASES. IT HAS NOT BEEN FORGOTTEN THAT MANY, A LARGE MAJORITY, ACTED URGED BY AN ATMOSPHERE OF PASSION AND EXCITEMENT, AND IT IS, THEREFORE, ONLY JUST TO ESTIMATE THAT THEY HAVE A LIMITED RESPONSIBILITY, WHICH HAS BEEN TOTALLY EXTINGUISHED BY SIX YEARS OF BANISHMENT.

(MF)

CONTINUING SERIAL B48: = CONDITIONS FOR THE RETURN OF EXPATRIATES TO SPAIN =

PAGE 4.

(13) = NOW NO FEAR OF REPETITION OF BLOODH EVENTS IN SPAIN =

TODAY SPAIN IS A STRONG AND PROSPEROUS NATION, THE FORMER PASSION AND EXCITEMENT HAS DISAPPEARED IN THE NATIONAL TERRITORIES, AND THEREFORE, THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN ABLE TO SHOW ITSELF GENEROUS OWING TO THE SECURITY OF ITS OWN SOLIDITY, AND BECAUSE IT FEELS STRONG IT HAS NO FEAR OF A REPETITION OF THE REGRETTABLE BLOODY EVENTS WHICH OCCURRED ON OUR SOIL, AND WHICH FILL WITH SORROW THOUSANDS OF SPANISH HOMES.

(14) = FORMER REDS NOW ENGAGED IN PEACEFUL LABOUR =

IN THE SAME MANNER AS THE MEMBERS OF THE ARMY OF THE RED WHO REMAIN IN SPAIN IN THEIR HUNDRED AND THOUSAND , HAVE BEEN INCORPORATED INTO NATIONAL LIFE AND PEACEFUL LABOUR, WHICH HAS REBUILT SPAIN FROM THE RUINS OF THE CIVIL WAR, THOSE WHO ARE ABROAD, WHEN REPATRIATED NOW, WILL BE GAINED OVER BY THIS PEACEFUL ATMOSPHERE BREATHE FREELY TODAY IN OUR MOTHERLAND, AND WILL CONTRIBUTE WITH THEIR EFFORTS AND LABOUR TO THE GREATNESS OF SPAIN.

(15) = ALL NOT GUILTY OF SERIOUS CRIMES MAY RETURN TO BLESSED SPANISH SOIL =

THEREFORE, ALL THOSE WHO ARE AND FEEL THEMSELVES SPANIARDS, AND ARE NOT GUILTY OF THOSE SERIOUS CRIMES TO WHICH WE HAVE REFERRED BEFORE, CAN RETURN WITH COMPLETE SECURITY AND GUARANTEE TO RESUME THEIR LIFE OF FORMER TIMES IN THIS BLESSED SPANISH SOIL, WHICH GAVE THEM BIRTH.

(BBC MONITORING)+++22.41.+++4.5.+++MS (O)

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1945

SPAIN

Z 6706 27

5 JUN 1945

Registry Number Z 6706/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

~~288~~/17/45 306

Dated 29th May,

Received in Registry 5th June, 1945.

Z : Spain. -

Spanish reactions to deaths of President Roosevelt and Hitler.

Transmits summary of report from Vice Consul at Zaragoza reporting that whereas President Roosevelt's death passed with hardly a sign of sympathy, Hitler's death was marked by sympathetic gestures from local Falange and military. Comments on pro-German tendencies of higher ranks of Spanish General Staff.

Last Paper.

2656

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

9) Paris No. 1033. June 15

8) Maj. Gane (W.O.) Miss Harris (M.O.I.) June 15

(Action completed.) 8 de 28/6

(Index.) 9/7

Next Paper.

2671 5

(Minutes.)

Ref with to Tahordin.

Copy Paris.

Major Gane (W.O.)

Miss Harris (M. of I.)

It will take many years to destroy the vipers of Prussian militarism that lurks in the Spanish bosom. But, without taking any special effort - which might itself do more harm than good - I believe we can go some way to achieving the desired result by continually emphasising the weaknesses of the German military system, by insisting on the removal from Spain of Germans with any record of military training, and by encouraging Spanish military circles to look Westwards for the latest developments in military training and equipment.

German Dept. 13/VI

29082 F.O.P. F.O. R.D. WHC

Mr. Bromley 12/6 Mr. Garran 12/6 L.K.W. Sloan 11/6.

1 Cpse 2 28

13.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

(258/17/45)

29th May, 1945.

No. 306.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a summary in translation of a report received from the British Vice-Consul at Zaragoza, in which he describes the contrast between the manner in which the deaths of President Roosevelt and Hitler were greeted by the local officials.

2. Reports from other parts of Spain show that in a number of places religious services took place following Hitler's death, with the support of the local authorities. Numbers of other accounts have been received from sources of varying reliability of toasts drunk to the death of President Roosevelt by members of the Falange and other official organisations of the Spanish Government.

3. The pro-German tendencies in the Zaragoza Military Academy described by Señor Valverde Gil can be regarded as further evidence in support of the thesis elaborated in my despatch No.157 of the 13th March that the higher ranks of the Spanish general staff are dangerously permeated with pro-German influences.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Consul-General at Barcelona.

3573/233/41

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

Samuel Hoare.

The Right Honourable
Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.

Z 6706
5 JUN 1945

ICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION

TRANSLATION OF REPORT FROM ZARAGOZA.

The reaction in Zaragoza to the death of President Roosevelt was a spontaneous and almost unanimous expression of feeling except in certain official circles and in the Falange and naturally in military circles.

Nevertheless, not a single sign of sympathy was received in this district except in some exceptional cases. On the other hand, I had many confidential reports that in private parties where officials and officers were present this event was celebrated as a cause for rejoicing.

Precise details were given of only one definite case in which a Lt. Colonel stationed near the French frontier, together with a number of other members of his military unit, drank a toast in champagne to "the death of the greatest criminal".

The death of Hitler, however, presented a great contrast. On the 2nd May when the news became known officially, the German Consulate, with its flag at half-mast, placed outside its door a table with sheets on which all the Falangists came to sign their names in groups, together with a large part of the S.E.U. (Falangist Students Organisation), the "old guard" and a number of the official members of the Municipality, etc.

But what aroused most attention was the following. In Zaragoza, as is known, is situated the Academia General Militar. This is for the whole of Spain, that is to say, that all the future army officers in Spain, before passing on to the special Academies of Infantry, Engineers, Artillery, etc., have to pass through it, the only organisation of its kind in Spain, and during the first three years of their career they receive there their political and military education. Every year there are more than 500 cadet pupils.

This education is copied altogether from the German-Prussian model. The text-books are copied almost word for word from German texts, and the teachers are specially chosen for the pro-German spirit by which they are inspired. Even in the case of the Director it is not possible to deny his military inclination for things German.

On May 2nd, from the balcony of my office, at about half-past seven in the evening, I saw cadets in uniform passing down the street where the German Consulate is situated, in groups of four or five.

When I had seen five or six of these groups crossing the road I was told, as I suspected, that groups of cadets in uniform were going to the German Consulate to sign the lists for the death of Hitler. These groups, at intervals of 30 to 60 yards, were not exactly a formation but gave that impression, given their number and the time which the quasi-procession lasted.

They all stopped at the door of the German Consulate, signed and withdrew, giving way to the group which followed. It seemed as though they had received instructions to this effect.

The local Press only published a short notice about the "expression of regret for the death of Hitler".

66

1945

Z

SPAIN

30

Z 6715

JUN 1945

Registry Number Z 6715/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 299
1/139/45
Dated 25th May,

Received in Registry 5th June, 1945

Z : Spain. -

Situation in the San Sebastian district.

Transmits copy of letter from British Vice-Consul, San Sebastian of 17th May reporting nervousness on the frontier as to the intentions of Spanish Republican elements in France.

Last Paper.
26706

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)
To Maj-Gen (WO)
June 12

(Minutes.)

Copy Major Gane (W.O.).

It is not surprising that, a week after Germany's defeat, the temperature in Basque country should have risen. But the apparent calm preserved throughout the rest of Spain, coupled with the lapse of time and absence of any startling Republican move in France, lead me to expect little result from this local nervousness.

F.O.R.D. E.D.G. 15/vi

R.K.H.S. 11/6.

(Action completed)
Sec Chief .8/6

(Index)
9/7

Next Paper.

27168.

29082 F.O.P.

CONTENT - NOT TO BE REPRODUCED PHOTOGRAPHICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION

No. 299.
(1/139/45)

Z
31

HIS Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A. and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy

Madrid

25th May, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Letter from British Vice-Consul San Sebastian dated 17th May 1945.	Political Situation.

Z 6715
5 JUN 1945

3479 21952—1 (4)

COPY

British Vice-Consulate,
San Sebastian.

1/134/45.

17th May, 1945.

SECRET

Sir,

Political Situation

I have the honour to report that there is at the moment considerable nervousness in this district over the possible action which it is feared may be taken by the Republican elements at present in France in conjunction with their colleagues still in Spain, following the collapse of Germany.

2. In San Sebastian itself it is difficult to arrive at the exact cause for the alarm, beyond the vague idea that something is being prepared, and that the present regime is bound to collapse very soon. There is however no concrete idea as to just how this is to be brought about, nor which political elements are the most active in their preparations, though of course the Left in general is understood.

3. On the other hand in France I have had many contacts with Republican elements of various shades of opinion and their ideas seem to resolve into the following.

A) Moderates, who wish to see a change, but also desire to avoid any upheaval involving general uncontrolled bloodshed. These pin their faith to the Generals in Spain and to Sr. Maura abroad, but deplore the fact that so far the Generals seem to do nothing but talk and have not so far come to a definite plan of action.

B) Extremists, who are opposed to any sort of solution which will not bring about an immediate restoration of the Republican regime. These elements profess to have been able to arrange

that /

that in the event of a Restoration of the Monarchy being brought about before the holding of general elections, there should be a general strike throughout the whole of Spain.

4. There is, however, the diversity of views and concrete statements characteristic of Spanish politics in general. For example the Moderates profess to know for certain that the Basque Separatists (themselves normally a moderate party) have made a pact with the Communists, and that the latter, backed by the French Communists, are busy passing arms into Spain by clandestine channels for all they are worth, which is probably true, or at least the latter part of the statement. The Basques, however, most indignantly and emphatically deny that there is any such agreement.

5. On the Spanish side of the Frontier there is evidence of great military preparations and fresh units are constantly appearing, so that it would seem that the Spanish Authorities are aware of the fact that the extremists on the other side are determined to take violent action if the situation in Spain is not radically changed within the next week or two. Provided the Spanish military units involved remain faithful to the present Government, there is no reason to suppose that any such extremist attempt to invade Spain would have more than temporary local success, as the mass of the population here seem apathetic and most disinclined to embark on further bloodshed and trouble. A success on a large scale however by any such movement would be likely to produce the reaction usual to Latin temperaments.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(sgd) W. A. Harold Goodman.

W.C. Graham, Esq., O.B.E.,
H.M. Consul,
BILBAO.

c.c. H.M. Embassy, Madrid.

67

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 7168

16 JUN 1945

34

Registry Number: Z 7168/233/41

FROM: Mr. Bowker, Madrid

No. 321 (1/146/45)

Dated 5th June

Received in Registry 16th June 1945

Z: Spain

Senor Areilza's visit to Don Juan: situation in Spain.

Refers to Madrid despatch of 7th May (Z 6006/233/41). Encloses copy of report by Press Attaché on conversation with Senor Areilza after his return from above visit, made with a view to ascertain Don Juan's views, for Franco's benefit, and of representing to Don Juan situation in Spain. Copied to Lisbon and Gibraltar.

Last Paper. (Z6006) Z6705

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Ref = FORD.

The only result of his visit appears to have been some gentle and inconsequential eye-opening. Sr. Areilza may have learnt a little about Spain's position in Europe, but Don Juan about Franco's strength in Spain.

See also Z 7338.

F.Q.A.D. ED96/7

P.L.W. Sloan 23/6.

(Action completed.) Pete Clark 10/7

(Index.) 9/7

Next Paper.

Z 7338.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

Z 7168

16 JUN 1945

(1/146/45)

5th June, 1945.

35

No. 321.

Z6006/233/41

Sir,

In my Despatch No. 258 of the 7th May, I had the honour to report on a projected visit of Señor Areilza to Don Juan, which was to be made with a view to ascertaining the latter's present views for the benefit of General Franco and of representing to Don Juan the actual situation in Spain as Señor Areilza conceived it to be. I now enclose a report by the Press Attaché on a conversation held with Señor Areilza on his recent return from the visit.

2. As he himself had said, Señor Areilza went without any mandate for negotiation from General Franco; moreover, his visit was disapproved of by inner monarchist circles, which thought that it might be interpreted as a sign of weakness on their part. Various efforts were made to prevent the journey, but Señor Areilza adroitly sidestepped them and announced that he was going off on a business trip to Bilbao. Now that he has returned from Lausanne with reasonably good tidings, his monarchist friends appear to be reconciled and looking forward to further results from the visit. These may become evident within a short time, when Señor Areilza makes his report to General Franco.

3. Although he is more than suspected by the Traditionalist wing and would of course be denounced by intransigent Republicans, it looks as if Señor Areilza has succeeded so far in steering a middle course which may well succeed in putting General Franco once more on speaking terms with the would-be representatives of a monarchist restoration. He holds the view that it would be impossible forcibly to upset General Franco's régime without a conflict far more disastrous to Spain than the Civil War. At the same time, he is convinced that the régime has had its day and cannot possibly survive in the post-war world, or at least cannot hope to be accepted as a partner in post-war reconstruction. His view of a constitutional monarchy in fact might gain acceptance from all the moderate elements of Left and Right, whose prime interest is concord in their own country and acceptance abroad.

4. Whether he will find General Franco in a reasonably good mood or not remains to be seen. He appears to be aware of the fact that General Franco presents himself in disconcertingly contradictory poses from day to day, but he is nevertheless convinced that much of it is bluff and pretence, assumed on purpose to put off various intriguers and that at bottom the Caudillo is feeling his way towards a peaceful

transition./

The Right Honourable Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

F 7168

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transition. Señor Areilza is due to see General Franco in the next few days, and I will endeavour to ascertain the results of his interview and report them to you.

5. My own feeling is that Señor Areilza's visit is part of the game being played by General Franco (in which the ambitions and opportunist Señor Areilza is admirably suited to act as an instrument) to give the impression that he is in touch with Don Juan and that the evolution of the régime is at work, but that in reality the visit will have little result in view of General Franco's determination, in fact, to make none but purely superficial changes unless forced to do so and Don Juan's unwillingness to accept any Franco formula about the Monarchy which in fact relegates the return of the King to an indefinite future.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador, Lisbon, and His Excellency The Governor of Gibraltar.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

Samuel Baucker.

Conversation between Press Attache and Sr. A. - 1st June, 1945.

Sr. A. said that he had been able to talk freely and at length with Don Juan on several occasions, and had come back much impressed with his political maturity and power of discrimination.

Talking on international politics in general, Don Juan's views had been very different from those held officially in Spain. He was in no doubt that the three great world powers had won the war in unison; Russia was not merely an "also-ran" who had been useful at one stage and was going to be an increasing menace to Great Britain and the U.S.A. ever after. The U.S.S.R. was as much a victor to be reckoned with as the other two. The Anglo-Saxon countries were determined at all cost to maintain their union with the U.S.S.R. and would not be deterred by any number of arbitrary or unjustifiable acts by the latter. There would be no major break in the coalition for twenty years. This view, not novel in itself, had apparently impressed Sr. A. very much and he had come back thinking it suicidal on Spain's part to go on intriguing in terms of a coming third world war with Russia as the enemy, Spain welcoming and fostering everything that might provoke a conflict ultimately. Sr. A. had already seen the Minister for Foreign Affairs and had, he said, impressed on him the folly of this tendency: he would do the same with General Franco.

I resisted the temptation of telling Sr. A. that what he now seemed to accept as the gospel of Don Juan, I had pressed on him months back without much effect, and only remarked that his own newspaper, the "Alcazar", had been latterly one of the most enthusiastic trouble-makers of all, and seemed to lose no opportunity of exaggerating and distorting our difficulties everywhere. Until he changed his editor and took a line independent of official propaganda, it was hopeless to talk of evolution in the press. He agreed that the press as a whole was living in an unreal world, but he had not seen his own paper since he went away. In any case, a decree ending the Falangist control was, he said, to be issued very shortly.

On Spanish affairs, Sr. A. had apparently agreed with Don Juan on a simile apt for Spain: that of an ocean-liner full of lights, gaiety and well-being within, keeping its course, but heading for a field of icebergs of which neither captain nor crew nor passengers had any knowledge. Don Juan was convinced that Spain was heading for disaster, however little discontent or desire for change there might be within the country itself. This seemed to have convinced Sr. A., who had anyway gathered enough impressions of his own to confirm the view. Don Juan had said that a radical change was necessary and that a monarchy guaranteeing the aspirations of progressive elements was the only way to prevent a division of the country, which would lead at once to a civil war even worse than the last.

Sr. A. agreed in general terms but thought that Don Juan did not give sufficient credit to General Franco's position: General Franco was perhaps not so strong as he himself thought he was, but far stronger that his enemies and exiles took him to be; moreover, there was increasing support for him in the country now when the people felt themselves comparatively secure and comfortable in relation to internal difficulties and strife elsewhere. It was necessary, therefore, to find an honourable way out for General Franco if it was to be a peaceful one.

Sr./

Sr. A. had told Don Juan of the reception of the manifesto: it had been attacked by Fal Conde's Traditionalists and amongst other monarchists it had gained him the nickname of "Juan, tercero izquierda": John, the third (floor) left. Don Juan had maintained that if he was not perfectly informed of the situation inside Spain, Spain was still less informed about her situation in the world - from which she was becoming more and more isolated.

Sr. A. had nothing very concrete to say, but seemed extremely well satisfied with his journey and with himself. He was reporting on it to General Franco and after that meeting he would know whether there would be a way open for negotiation or not.

T. F. Burns
Press Attache

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68

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 7338

19 JUN 1945

39

z *Registry Number* Z 7338/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker
Madrid

No. 334 (1/151/45).

Dated 12th June,

Received in Registry 19th June, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Situation in Spain: possible changes or modifications in administration of Spanish state

Discusses the possibilities of this, with particular reference to the judicial system, the Falange and the possibility of a monarchial restoration. Copied to Lisbon, Gibraltar, and Tangier.

Last Paper.

Z 7168

References.

(Print.)

~~PRINTED~~ for Spain K.C.D.

(How disposed of.)

&.) in print.
May file with
Hardwaldock Abdy
Wile between Ashe
Mens Harris Hoff A.
Aug 7

(Action completed.)

Ldz Abdy 11/7

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 7340

(Minutes.)

Mr Abdy Lewis Amigo and to Dem
Queen in Dept.

A useful despatch, which should, I think, be printed K.C.D.

The moral of this "plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose" situation in Spain is that Franco and his régime will only be removed or satisfactorily improved by a firm and strong British/U.S. policy which we may hope to launch after Yalta is cleared.

In the meantime, the most useful course for us, I think, is to give Mr. Bowker full support in thwarting the Germans out of Spain.

W.M.

General Dept. 6/7

F.O.R.D. ED 6/7

H.K.W. Sloan
23/7.

29082 F.O.P.

It is becoming more and more clear that in spite of promises of changes and reforms there is not going to be any real change in Spain. Executions of political prisoners continue, Falange remains as noisy and obtrusive as ever. Indeed, and paradoxically enough, in spite of the general ~~dislike~~ unpopularity of the regime and its close connexion with defeated Germany, General Franco seems to be if anything more firmly established in the saddle than before. The representations and warnings of the British & U.S. Embassies in Madrid have no effect. Franco is convinced that in fact he enjoys U.S. support, and that in any case Great Britain & the U.S.A. will soon be at war with Russia - in short that there is no need to change or modify his regime!

As regards the last para. I understand from German Dept. that progress is being made with preparations for the removal of German officials & agents but that transport presents a problem.

I agree that this shld be printed K.C.D.

Caley

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

41

Copy

Major Jane M.I.3.W.O.
Mr Waldock (Cadiz)
Capt Maclean (A.M.)
Miss Harris (M.S.)

R. G. Vansittart
27/6

Mr Burns. re Press Attaché's

at Madrid, expressed the view today that Franco's internal position was definitely stronger than it was 6 months ago.

It may well be that in the absence of a successful Nationalist attack on Biscay this regime, Franco may

there remain to power to
enter a time yet, gradually
stopping at the most strictest
administration
this & this sort system. If
there was something to take
his place. & an alternative
regime to which we - commence
the support of majority of
Spanish opinion and. not plunge
the country into another civil
war, then it might be
worth our while to take
energetic steps to get
Franco

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

France over, since the Status
seems his continuance in
power is obnoxious to us. But
there is as yet no alternative
regime in sight & very
much abuse of British interests
in the early days of
the Egyptian Government
by ejecting them merely to plunge
them into a chaos.
The appearance of the
Duce's retention of Libya does
not harm British interests,
which is more than can
be said

better subject, which is
unfortunately for us, dependent for
its success on certain internal
political & economic & political. Some
day I hope to get up with
Franco until such time as the
Spaniards themselves can agree
on a better form of Govt.

? Print KLS HBowker

30.6.

I can well believe that Mr. Bowker's diagnosis is correct. The iniquities and horrors of the Franco régime are going on behind the scene all the time. A certain amount of eyewash is being

thrown/

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

thrown up, such as the Bill of Rights, to bemuse the United Nations. At the same time Franco is skilfully playing with the Monarchists, as with the Generals, just as he is with Alba. Such is the individualism of the Spaniards that none of these elements can combine in themselves, let alone with one another. Franco, therefore, remains in power.

But we have no reason to intervene. Our general policy of non-intervention in internal affairs must apply to Spain also. Spain is fortunately not a menace to the peace or to her neighbours' integrity. She is only a danger and a disgrace to herself.

When Sir V. Mallet proceeds to Madrid, we shall have further opportunity of making plain our fundamental dislike of the régime and he will have to maintain our policy of frigid correctitude.

ICD.

July 1st, 1945.

AG. July 2. 1945.

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

British Embassy,

Madrid.

(1/152/45) 16th June, 1945.

My dear Secret,

In my despatch No. 334 of the 12th June, 1945, I tried to assess the present position, as I saw it, as regards the possibilities of evolution of General Franco's régime. My conclusion was that, apart from being opposed in principle to any change, General Franco does not consider that either the internal situation of Spain or the situation outside Spain at present make any change necessary.

2. I omitted to mention one further important factor in the external situation which tends to increase General Franco's confidence in his own position. This is the very unstable political situation obtaining both in Italy and France. The Press are continually harping on this and responsible Spaniards now often express the view that while the Franco régime is not what they would necessarily choose, it does at least ensure the maintenance of law and order and is not subject to the alarming political fluctuations and uncertainties which are now the order of the day in Italy and France.

Yours ever

Vincent Lloyd Baker.

F.R. Hoyer Millar, Esq., C.M.G., C.V.O.,

Foreign Office.

Circulated to the Cabinet by direction of
THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT
the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

47

SPAIN. June 19, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[Z 7338/233/41] ARCHIVES Copy No. 8

Mr. Bowker to Mr. Eden.—(*Received* 19*th June.*)

(No. 334.)

Sir, *Madrid*, 12*th June*, 1945.

IN various despatches and telegrams over the last weeks I have had the honour to report indications coming directly or indirectly from members of the Spanish Government, or persons in close touch with it, of the intentions of General Franco as regards possible changes or modifications in the administration of the Spanish State. Attention has been turned mainly on three points, namely, the judicial system, the Falange, and the possibility of a monarchical restoration. The moment seems now to have come in which to attempt to define the probabilities of the situation in respect of these three points in more precise terms.

2. One of the main criticisms which has been levelled against General Franco's régime has been the continuation of the arbitrary judicial system established at the end of the Civil War, in virtue of which thousands of persons have been kept several years in prison without trial under charges connected with their activities in the Civil War, executions for Civil War offences have continued, any charge which could possibly be described as political has been tried summarily by military courts and any person in Spain may be thrown into prison and kept there indefinitely without charge or trial. A few weeks ago it was announced that no further capital punishments would be inflicted for offences connected with the Civil War and that the remaining cases would be liquidated with all despatch. It was also implied that in future the civil courts would once again deal with all save strictly military charges. It may be true that since that date there have been no further executions on charges connected with the Civil War. Nevertheless, since that date numerous persons have been arrested on political grounds but without any precise charge and have been kept in prison isolated from their family and friends. Executions of persons on political charges, presented as criminal, have continued, and the bulk of political cases continue to be dealt with by military tribunals. Even the savage tribunal for the suppression of freemasonry and communism continues to function, though allegedly in a milder form. In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at now that the public are not disposed to be greatly impressed by the much advertised Fuero, or Bill of Rights, now before the Cortes, the admirable provisions of which, defining the fundamental liberties of the Spanish people, will remain a dead letter until a whole series of supplementary laws have been passed putting them into effect. There is talk also of a municipal law under preparation which will provide for municipal elections. Recollections of the recent elections for the syndicates have produced a certain scepticism in the mind of the public as regards further electoral ventures of the present régime.

3. There have been frequent rumours in the past months that Falange was to be suspended, or at least that a start was to be made towards that end on lines of the gradual assimilation of the various sections of Falange into the relevant Departments of State and the abolition of such outward Fascist manifestations as the salute, the blue shirt and certain songs. Until now precisely nothing has been done in either of these directions. On the contrary, General Franco still takes occasion to parade in Falange uniform and to make speeches eulogising the achievements and aims of the party. When the United States Ambassador last had occasion to speak to him on the subject, General Franco once more took the familiar line that Falange was not a party but a movement and was misunderstood abroad. No doubt, in maintaining Falange, General Franco is influenced by the thought that with its dissolution he will be deprived of the extra prestige which his leadership of the party gives him and he will be reduced to the position of a general among many other generals. Meanwhile Falange is obtaining an increasing influence in education. This could be made an influence for good, but at present the influence is in the hands of the extremist elements.

4. As regards the monarchy, the same process of squaring the circle is at work, that is, of appearing to be preparing for a restoration but in fact relegating it to an indefinite future. Much play has been made over the visit of Señor Areilza to Lausanne, on which I have reported in separate telegrams and despatches. Now Señor Areilza has been to Lausanne and returned. He went as a private individual and a friend of Don Juan, somewhat uncertain of his reception. He is reported to have been received affectionately by Don Juan, as a friend, and to have returned "with good impressions," on which the Duke of Alba commented that he would rather have good impressions of General Franco than of Don Juan, with whom and whose point of view he was already acquainted. Now the Duke of Sotomayor, one of Don Juan's personal representatives in Spain, has also left for Lausanne. The journey is taking place in the normal course of events and he is the bearer of no mandate from General Franco. Meanwhile, the Duke of Alba has returned to London in order to take leave and has let it be known that only an order from Don Juan will cause him to withdraw his resignation. The Minister for Foreign Affairs continues to take the line that the Duke's resignation has not been accepted and that time will doubtless arrange things. Inspired rumour has it that on or before the 18th July, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Civil War, General Franco will make a declaration declaring Spain a monarchy, setting up a Council of the Kingdom, which will decide on the person of the King. There is so far no evidence that such a declaration will receive the prior approval of Don Juan.

5. In general, therefore, there are few signs of the evolution of General Franco's régime out of its present Fascist and totalitarian mould in accordance with the indications which both His Majesty's Government and the United States Government and their representatives in Madrid have consistently and repeatedly given to the Spanish Government over a long period. At first sight, this calm assurance on the part of General Franco amid the fallen ruins of the totalitarian régimes of Hitler and Mussolini is puzzling. It may be explained by various factors. As a dictator General Franco is no doubt opposed, on principle, to change, since any change, however small, may weaken his administration. But, in addition, General Franco is convinced that he has been called by Providence to rule Spain and that he does it a great deal better than anyone else could do. No only is he opposed to change on principle, but he regards any change in the essential character of his régime as being contrary to Spain's true interests. Over a long period he has been told repeatedly by the British and United States Governments that as long as his régime retains its Fascist character, relations between Spain, on the one hand, and Great Britain and the United States on the other, cannot be cordial. When the war in Europe was continuing he was not fully convinced of the necessity of change, though warnings from abroad that his régime could not possibly survive the end of the war no doubt caused him uneasiness. Now the critical moment has passed and nothing more formidable than the adoption by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Assembly of a recommendation calling on him to make way for a democratic Government has happened to threaten his position. The attitude of Great Britain and the United States is still officially one of cold reserve. General Franco knows that neither Power is going to use force to turn him out. Meanwhile commercial exchanges with both Powers proceed on a substantial scale and there are good prospects of building up post-war economic relations of benefit to all three parties. For the present Spain cannot hope to get much in the way of armaments, but meanwhile only British and American supply considerations limit the possibility of her industrial re-equipment.

6. Apart from the absence of pressure on him from the outside, two positive factors have served to build up General Franco's confidence. These are his conviction, first, that the Western Allies and Russia will soon be at war with each other, and secondly, that he enjoys the support of the United States. As regards the United States, I do not know whether General Franco reads the American press or listens to the American radio. But it must be admitted that the veritable offensive of friendliness to which the United States Embassy has been subjected by Spanish officialdom in general has inevitably had its effect. It is, no doubt, difficult to maintain cold reserve in the face of perpetual smiles and possibly the Americans temperamentally are more susceptible to flattery than others, particularly when they are expressly picked out for such treatment. I am quite certain that the United States Ambassador has consistently spoken on the lines agreed in London and Washington in his conversations with General Franco's Minister, Señor Lequerica, and the many other Spanish military and political personages with whom he has made it his business

to get into touch since his arrival. But faced a week ago with an invitation to dine at the Pardo he did not feel able to send a refusal, despite the fact that such an invitation was quite unprecedented and the dinner would inevitably be given political significance. Mr. and Mrs. Armour duly attended, to find the Secretary-Minister of the Falange among the guests, and although Mr. Armour, at about 2.30 in the morning, after the guests had been treated to an exhibition of tapestries, had an opportunity of telling General Franco of his disappointment that no progress had been made with the modification of the régime and the elimination of Falange in accordance with his repeated representations, General Franco as usual, returned a soft, if lengthy, answer on each point and the following day a notice duly appeared in the press to the effect that the Caudillo had entertained the United States Ambassador and his wife to an intimate and friendly dinner party. No doubt General Franco used the event to convince the generals once more that he could count on American support.

7. The conviction that the Western Allies will soon be at war with Russia is as persistent as General Franco's confidence about America. A Spanish friend recently told me the following story which had been recounted to him by General Franco's brother-in-law as coming straight from the Generalissimo. According to this story the British Chiefs of Staff, shortly before the end of the war in Europe, recommended to Mr. Churchill that the moment had come when the Western Allies might successfully attack the Russians. Mr. Churchill replied that this would be entirely in accordance with his own wishes, but that, unfortunately, he had to count with his American allies. Such stories as these, together with stories of assurances of support given by the United States Ambassador and hints from him that Falange should be maintained for the present in view of the Russian menace, are being continually churned out by persons in close touch with General Franco and appear to be sincerely believed by him. From time to time his confidence is slightly shaken and he gives instructions for his various programmes of social and political reform, *e.g.*, the Fuero and the municipal law, to be advanced with greater despatch. At other moments his confidence is restored and the machinery is put into reverse.

8. If, for the reasons given above, the external situation gives General Franco no cause for concern, he is equally unperturbed by the possibilities of dangerous developments from within. The Monarchists are divided among themselves, and with a few exceptions are quite indisposed to risk anything in order to bring about a return of the King. Spanish politicians in exile are equally, or more, divided and present police vigilance is such that it is extremely difficult for any political opposition movement in the country to attain formidable size without being discovered and broken up.

9. The day may well come when public opinion abroad will no longer countenance the maintenance of more or less normal relations with General Franco's Fascist régime. It may be that Russia will lead the attack on General Franco's Government. In reality Falange in itself is probably no longer a threat to Allied interests. Apart from the comparatively small die-hard elements, which continue to form a breeding ground for National-Socialist ideas, the bulk of the party members are probably only too anxious to be allowed to toe the line. The sinister factor in Spain to-day from the point of view of the United Nations is not so much Falange as the things for which Falange has been used. Through Falange, the Germans managed to set up in Spain an elaborate and efficient secret service organisation and to obtain virtual control over the workings of the Spanish police. In this sinister respect Falange has long since served its purpose. But as long as the present régime continues with its dyed-in-the-wool germanophil elements, not only in Falange but also in the Alto Estado Mayor, this German organisation will still find the means of resuming its activities. For this reason, it is to my mind of more immediate importance to eradicate the Germans from Spain than to obtain the dissolution of the Falange, and we are certainly in a stronger position to demand the former. It is for this reason that I have already in telegrams recommended that urgent consideration be given to the possibility of interning German official espionage agents in some intermediate spot under Anglo-American control if it is not at present possible to arrange for their repatriation to Germany.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to His Majesty's Consul-General, Tangier.

I have, &c.

JAMES BOWKER.

Z 50

Z 7338

19 JUN 1945

British Embassy,

Madrid.

No. 334.
(1/151/45)

12th June, 1945.

Sir,

In various despatches and telegrams over the last weeks I have had the honour to report indications coming directly or indirectly from members of the Spanish Government, or persons in close touch with it, of the intentions of General Franco as regards possible changes or modifications in the administration of the Spanish State. Attention has been turned mainly on three points, namely, the judicial system, the Falange and the possibility of a monarchical restoration. The moment seems now to have come in which to attempt to define the probabilities of the situation in respect of these three points in more precise terms.

2. One of the main criticisms which has been levelled against General Franco's régime has been the continuation of the arbitrary judicial system established at the end of the Civil War, in virtue of which thousands of persons have been kept several years in prison without trial under charges connected with their activities in the Civil War, executions for Civil War offences have continued, any charge which could possibly be described as political has been tried summarily by military courts and any person in Spain may be thrown into prison and kept there indefinitely without charge or trial. A few weeks ago it was announced that no further capital punishments would be inflicted for offences connected with the Civil War and that the remaining cases would be liquidated with all despatch. It was also implied that in future the civil courts would once again deal with all save strictly military charges. It may be true that since that date there have been no further executions on charges connected with the Civil War. Nevertheless, since that date numerous persons have been arrested on political grounds but without any precise charge and have been kept in prison isolated from their family and friends. Executions of persons on political charges, presented as criminal, have continued and the bulk of political cases continue to be dealt with by military tribunals. Even the savage tribunal for the suppression of Freemasonry and Communism continues to function, though allegedly in a milder form. In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at now that the public are not disposed to be greatly impressed by the much advertised Fuero, or Bill of Rights, now before the Cortes, the admirable provisions of which, defining the fundamental liberties of the Spanish people, will remain a dead letter until a whole series of supplementary laws have been passed putting them into effect. There is talk also of a municipal law under preparation which will provide for municipal elections. Recollections of the recent elections for the Syndicates have produced a certain scepticism in the mind of the public as regards further electoral ventures of the present régime.

3. There have been frequent rumours in the past months that Falange was to be suspended, or at least that a start was to be made towards that end on lines of the gradual assimilation of the various sections of Falange into the relevant Departments of State and the abolition of such outward Fascist manifestations as the salute, the blue shirt and certain songs. Until now

/ precisely

The Right Honourable
Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

precisely nothing has been done in either of these directions. On the contrary, General Franco still takes occasion to parade in Falange uniform and to make speeches eulogising the achievements and aims of the party. When the United States Ambassador last had occasion to speak to him on the subject, General Franco once more took the familiar line that Falange was not a party but a movement and was misunderstood abroad. No doubt, in maintaining Falange, General Franco is influenced by the thought that with its dissolution he will be deprived of the extra prestige which his leadership of the Party gives him and he will be reduced to the position of a General among many other Generals. Meanwhile, Falange is obtaining an increasing influence in education. This could be made an influence for good, but at present the influence is in the hands of the extremist elements.

4. As regards the Monarchy, the same process of squaring the circle is at work, that is, of appearing to be preparing for a restoration but in fact relegating it to an indefinite future. Much play has been made over the visit of Señor Areilza to Lausanne, on which I have reported in separate telegrams and despatches. Now Señor Areilza has been to Lausanne and returned. He went as a private individual and a friend of Don Juan, somewhat uncertain of his reception. He is reported to have been received affectionately by Don Juan, as a friend, and to have returned "with good impressions," on which the Duke of Alba commented that he would rather have good impressions of General Franco than of Don Juan, with whom and whose point of view he was already acquainted. Now the Duke of Sotomayor, one of Don Juan's personal representatives in Spain, has also left for Lausanne. The journey is taking place in the normal course of events and he is the bearer of no mandate from General Franco. Meanwhile, the Duke of Alba has returned to London in order to take leave and has let it be known that only an order from Don Juan will cause him to withdraw his resignation. The Minister for Foreign Affairs continues to take the line that the Duke's resignation has not been accepted and that time will doubtless arrange things. Inspired rumour has it that on or before the 18th July, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Civil War, General Franco will make a declaration declaring Spain a Monarchy, setting up a Council of the Kingdom, which will decide on the person of the King. There is so far no evidence that such a declaration will receive the prior approval of Don Juan.

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/ States

States of America, on the other, cannot be cordial. When the war in Europe was continuing he was not fully convinced of the necessity of change, though warnings from abroad that his régime could not possibly survive the end of the war no doubt caused him uneasiness. Now the critical moment has passed and nothing more formidable than the adoption by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French Assembly of a recommendation calling on him to make way for a democratic Government has happened to threaten his position. The attitude of Great Britain and the United States of America is still officially one of cold reserve. General Franco knows that neither Power is going to use force to turn him out. Meanwhile, commercial exchanges with both Powers proceed on a substantial scale and there are good prospects of building up post-war economic relations of benefit to all three parties. For the present Spain cannot hope to get much in the way of armaments, but meanwhile only British and American supply considerations limit the possibility of her industrial re-equipment.

6. Apart from the absence of pressure on him from the outside, two positive factors have served to build up General Franco's confidence. These are his conviction, first, that the Western Allies and Russia will soon be at war with each other, and secondly, that he enjoys the support of the United States of America. As regards the United States of America, I do not know whether General Franco reads the American Press or listens to the American radio. But it must be admitted that the veritable offensive of friendliness to which the United States Embassy has been subjected by Spanish officialdom in general has inevitably had its effect. It is, no doubt, difficult to maintain cold reserve in the face of perpetual smiles and possibly the Americans temperamentally are more susceptible to flattery than others, particularly when they are expressly picked out for such treatment. I am quite certain that the United States Ambassador has consistently spoken on the lines agreed in London and Washington in his conversations with General Franco's Minister, Señor Lequerica and the many other Spanish military and political personages with whom he has made it his business to get into touch since his arrival. But faced a week ago with an invitation to dine at the Pardo he did not feel able to send a refusal, despite the fact that such an invitation was quite unprecedented and the dinner would inevitably be given political significance. Mr. and Mrs. Armour duly attended, to find the Secretary-Minister of the Falange among the guests, and although Mr. Armour, at about 2.30 in the morning, after the guests had been treated to an exhibition of tapestries, had an opportunity of telling General Franco of his disappointment that no progress had been made with the modification of the régime and the elimination of Falange in accordance with his repeated representations, General Franco as usual, returned a soft, if lengthy, answer on each point and the following day a notice duly appeared in the Press to the effect that the Caudillo had entertained the United States Ambassador and his wife to an intimate and friendly dinner party. No doubt General Franco used the event to convince the Generals once more that he could count on American support.

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/ Russians

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Russians. Mr. Churchill replied that this would be entirely in accordance with his own wishes, but that, unfortunately, he had to count with his American allies. Such stories as these, together with stories of assurances of support given by the United States Ambassador and hints from him that Falange should be maintained for the present in view of the Russian menace, are being continually churned out by persons in close touch with General Franco and appear to be sincerely believed by him. From time to time his confidence is slightly shaken and he gives instructions for his various programmes of social and political reform, e.g., the Fuero and the municipal law, to be advanced with greater despatch. At other moments his confidence is restored and the machinery is put into reverse.

8. If, for the reasons given above, the external situation gives General Franco no cause for concern, he is equally unperturbed by the possibilities of dangerous developments from within. The Monarchists are divided among themselves, and with a few exceptions are quite indisposed to risk anything in order to bring about a return of the King. Spanish politicians in exile are equally, or more, divided and present police vigilance is such that it is extremely difficult for any political opposition movement in the country to attain formidable size without being discovered and broken up.

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I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and to His Majesty's Consul-General, Tangier.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Samuel Hoare.

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69

1945

Z

SPAIN

54

Z 7340
19 JUN 1945

Z Registry Number | Z 7340/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker
Madrid

No. 326 265/17/45.

Dated 7th June,

Received in Registry | 19th June, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Incident reported in connexion with display of Allied flags in celebration of Germany's defeat.

Transmits copy of notes addressed by His Majesty's Embassy and the United States Embassy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs protesting against these incidents, when Allied flags were torn down.

Senor Satorres gave assurance cases would be followed up.

Last Paper.
Z 7238

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Mr. Bowker is on strong ground in protesting against this sort of Falangist activity. I think he might have taken a tougher line and pointed out these cases as instances of the Spanish Govt's failure to preserve public order (cf. the Spanish charge in the Finch and Chubby incident).

F.O.R.D. EDG 2/7

L.L.W. Sloan
22/6

More black marks for Falange.

R. Garran
25/6

R.M.S.
9/a

(Action completed.) Mr Clark 9/7

(Index.) 10/7.

Next Paper.
27586.

(Z 12192)

29082 F.O.P.

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2.

British Embassy,
Madrid.
7th June, 1945.

55

No. 326.
(265/17/45)

Z 7340
19 JUN 1945

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the copy of notes addressed by His Majesty's Embassy and the United States Embassy to the Spanish Ministry for Foreign Affairs regarding a series of discreditable incidents reported in connection with the display of Allied flags in celebration of the defeat of Germany. These representations were agreed upon between the United States Ambassador and myself on receiving the reports from the provinces on which they are based. The note from His Majesty's Embassy was handed personally to the Head of the European Section at the Ministry by the First Secretary who stressed the very unfavourable impression likely to be made upon His Majesty's Government on hearing of the incidents in question, to say nothing of the public uproar likely to result if it appeared that the Spanish authorities were failing to take adequate steps to bring the offending parties to account. In particular it was quite essential that the perpetrator of the incident at Lugo should be dealt with in exemplary fashion and that at the very least the fine of 200 pesetas, stated to have been remitted, should be re-imposed and for preference increased. Señor Satorres took due note of these representations and said, as he has so often said before, how greatly the Ministry of course regretted outrages of the kind complained of, but Falange were incorrigible. He undertook to ensure that the present cases would be followed up with energy.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Samuel Hoare.

The Right Honourable
Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

No. 619.
(268/12/45)

His Majesty's Embassy present their compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have the honour to invite the Ministry's serious attention to the following incidents reported in connexion with the display of Allied flags in celebration of the defeat of Germany.

At Lugo it appears that on May 8th a youth named Emilio Iglesias Cimadevila, civil servant employed in the Fiscalia Provincial de Tasas, entered the establishment of the Singer Sewing Machine Company, made insulting remarks about the British and American flags which were placed, in celebration of the Allied victory in Europe, on either side of the Spanish flag in the show window, and threw the Allied flags on the floor. According to eye witnesses the youth was accompanied by a number of falangists who remained outside while Iglesias went in and not only threw the flags on the floor but also trampled on them, and may even thereafter have kicked them about in the street. Enquiry of the Chief of Police at Lugo subsequently elicited that the perpetrator was fined Pesetas 200, which fine was however subsequently remitted.

At Ponferrada it appears that on May 8th, the United States flag, similarly displayed on the occasion of the Allied victory in the window of the premises of the Singer Sewing Machine Company, was removed by order of the local authorities.

Although full details are still awaited there is some reason for thinking that similar incidents involving insults to the Allied flags have taken place at Coruña, Ferrol and Santiago de Compostela. At Coruña notably it has been reported that the window of the Singer Sewing Machine Company, in which the British and American flags were displayed on either side of the Spanish flag, was found on May 10th covered with sputum and bearing the inscription "Cristo entre dos ladrones."

/ At

57

57

At Valladolid, in the face of threats of violence, made by unidentified persons who scrawled insults on the show windows and walls of the Singer Company's premises, British and American flags were removed. Members of the company were threatened with violence.

At Mieres unidentified persons entered the store of the Singer Company's premises during the night and carried off the flags.

At Aranda de Duero the local Falange Chief prohibited exhibition of the flags, stating that he was acting under instructions from the Civil Governor of the Province.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will no doubt agree that neither youth nor irresponsibility can be advanced as an excuse for such insults to the national flags of foreign countries. The perpetrators of these incidents acted deliberately and fully conscious of what they were doing. The Embassy therefore are all the more concerned to know that in the case of the incident at Lugo, even the small fine, which seems to have been the only sanction imposed, should subsequently have been remitted.

The Embassy have the honour to request that the responsible authorities at Lugo, Ponferrada, La Coruña and the other places mentioned, may be instructed, unequivocally and immediately, to apprehend the persons responsible for the incidents described in each of these places, to punish them in a manner commensurate with the gravity of their offences, and to ensure that publicity is given in the local press to the sanctions imposed in each case.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

28th May, 1945.

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Copy.

NOTE VERBALE

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has the honor to advise the Ministry that it is compelled to bring to its attention a widespread series of incidents in which the national flags of the United States and Great Britain have been subjected to disrespect and even desecration at the hands of Spanish nationals, official and unofficial. All of these incidents which have so far been brought to the Embassy's notice took place on or about May 8 and 9, 1945 and were directed against various local branches of the Singer Sewing Machine Company, an American corporation, which were on those days displaying the American, British, and Spanish flags in celebration of the victorious end of the war in Europe.

Perhaps the most serious of these incidents took place at Lugo, where a Spanish youth, Emilio Iglesias Cimadevila, entered the premises of the Singer Sewing Machine Company establishment, removed the American and British flags from their places and ground them beneath his heel, at the same time making insulting remarks about their being displayed alongside the Spanish flag. It is the Embassy's understanding that, although a fine of two hundred pesetas was at first imposed against the perpetrator, that fine was subsequently suspended and he was permitted to go unpunished.

In a similar incident at Leon, the American and British flags are reported to have been seized by a group of Spanish youths who entered the Singer establishment to the accompaniment of shouts of "Abajo la Victoria" and "Viva Alemania," while at Mieres the premises of the company were entered during the night and the Allied flags stolen by persons unknown.

At Santiago de Compostela the two flags were forcibly removed from the Singer shop by an unidentified person, and at La Coruña abusive remarks were scrawled on the show window of a Singer establishment in which the Spanish flag was flanked by the American and British colors.

In Valladolid the display of Allied flags by the Singer Company was met with threats of violence on the part of unidentified individuals against the personnel of the company and with other hostile activities such as the scrawling of abusive language on the display window and the walls of the establishment, the Civil Governor finally being forced to order the removal of the flags in question. At Cartagena the display window containing the three flags was broken by a stone thrown by a group of students demonstrating against the victory of the Allies in Europe.

In other localities the display of American and British flags by branch establishments of the Singer Sewing Machine Company was made the subject of arbitrary and unjustified action on the part of the local authorities, the removal of such flags having been summarily ordered at Ponferrada and Aranda de Duero, in the former by order of the Ayuntamiento and in the latter by the local chief of the Falange.

The Ministry will agree that it is unnecessary to cite further details to demonstrate clearly the serious and widespread character of these deliberate insults to which the American and British flags have been subjected, or the flagrant disregard of the rights of American commercial interests inherent in these unprovoked assaults against the premises of the cited company.

/ Although

Although the Embassy is well aware that there exist in Spain certain elements, particularly within the Falange, to whom the victory of Allied arms over Axis tyranny in Europe has come as a rude shock and a bitter disappointment, the Embassy has at the same time been loath to identify the sentiments of such elements with those of the Spanish Government and sincerely hopes, therefore, that the latter will not hesitate to dissociate itself from these regrettable acts by taking effective steps to ensure that those responsible are duly and adequately punished and that their punishment is made a matter of public knowledge at least in the localities in which their misdeeds have taken place.

Madrid, May 26, 1945.

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70.

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 7586

25 JUN 1945

60

Registry Number: Z 7586/233/41

FROM: Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No.: 345 (114/27/45).

Dated: 19th June

Received in Registry: 25th June 1945

Z: Spain

Exiled Spaniards request to return to Spain under new arrangements for repatriation of exiles.

Refers to Madrid despatch 236 (Z 5395/233/41). An E.F.E. message from Buenos Aires published in Spanish Press 15th June. States 300 Spaniards have requested permission to return. Encloses copy of translation of communiqué issued by Spanish Embassy, Lima, announcing special instructions have been received for speedy handling of petitions for repatriations.

Last Paper.

Z 7340

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Ref in FORD.

We have had a certain amount about Spaniards forbidden not to return yet to Spain. This is, I think, the first news of any large batch deciding to go.

F.O. R.D. EDG 1/-

L.L.W.S. 29/6.

(Action completed.) S de C 12/7

(Index.) 10/7

Next Paper.

Z 7633

29082 F.O.P.

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61

2.

No. 345
(114/27/45.)

Z 7586

25 JUN 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

19th June, 1945.

Sir,

Z 5305/233/41

With reference to my despatch No. 236 of the 24th April I have the honour to inform you that according to an E.F.E. message from Buenos Aires which was published in the Spanish Press on June 15th, 300 exiled Spaniards had requested permission to return to Spain under the new arrangements for the repatriation of exiles announced by the Spanish Government. The message added that no outstanding personalities figured among this group of Spaniards.

2. I have also received from H.M. Ambassador at Lima a copy, of which a translation is enclosed herein, of a communiqué issued by the Spanish Embassy there announcing that special instructions had been received for the speedy handling of petitions for repatriation, and inviting all persons wishing to avail themselves of these facilities to call at the Embassy.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant

The Rt. Honourable Winston Churchill,
C.H., M.P.,

Foreign Office,

S.W.1.

62

TRANSLATION OF COMMUNIQUÉ FROM THE SPANISH EMBASSY IN LIMA, DATED 1st MAY, 1945.

At the direct instance of Generalisimo Franco, the Special Tribunals for special political responsibilities which dealt with circumstancial offences outside the normal procedure, have been abolished in Spain.

This important Decree expresses the firm and deep-rooted desire for peace amongst Spaniards and puts an end to the risk that those who merely had political interests in the Civil War may be molested.

In this connection, the Spanish Embassy in Lima has received specific instructions regarding the speedy handling of petitions for repatriation presented by interested parties, which will be referred by telegraph.

The Spanish Embassy in Lima, with the utmost magnamity, invites all persons who wish to avail themselves of the advantages of this new ruling to present themselves at the Chancery of the Embassy, Edificio Lux - Apartment 302 - Lima, on any working day between 10 and 1 in the morning. They will be received with brotherly cordiality and the details of this new resolution, containing a great number of facilities for repatriation, will be communicated to them.

1st May, 1945.

The Spanish Ambassador,

Pablo de Churruca.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

63

Z 7633

26 JUN 1945

Registry Number } Z 7633/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 343 (1/157/45)

Dated 19th June, 1945.

Received in Registry } 26th June, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Relations between Church and State under General Franco's régime.

Encloses copy of minute by Mr. Malley tracing developments of above which was brought to attention recently by press treatment of Pope's speech of 2nd June, condemnining National Socialism.

Last Paper.

Z 7586

(Minutes.)

F.O.R.D. 2066/7

P.K.H.S. 5/7.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

8 dec 45 17/7

(Index.)

Next Paper.

27645

29082 F.O.P.

Z 7633
26 JUN 1945

Z.

British Embassy,
Madrid.
19th June, 1945.

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No. 343.
(1/157/45)

Sir,

I have the honour to send you the accompanying copy of a minute by Mr. Malley, Assistant Press Attaché, tracing the development of relations between Church and State under General Franco's régime. The factor which served to turn attention recently to this matter was the treatment by the press of the Pope's speech of the 2nd June condemning National Socialism. The Party organ "Arriba" gave only a much shortened version of the speech, which it followed up by a commentary purporting to explain what the Pope really wanted to say and could not quite succeed in saying, and proceeding to excuse the German people and divert attention to the horrors of Communism. As Mr. Malley points out in the last paragraph of his minute, this attempt by the Party to belittle and misinterpret the Papal condemnation had little success and other papers, especially "A.B.C." and "Ya," gave the full text of the speech, followed by excellent commentaries.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister to the Holy See and the Ministry of Information.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Samuel Hoare

The Right Honourable
Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

Minute. Copy.

When Franco and his advisers resolved to set up a Totalitarian State, they realized that the influence of the Church, which had been a decisive factor in the Civil War, must be retained as a support to the Falange Régime. For the attainment of this unspiritual object no effort was spared to complicate the Church in affairs alien to her office and jurisdiction so that her fate should be linked as closely as possible to the destiny of a political system. By being constantly reminded of the lawlessness that had prevailed in those regions of Spain occupied by the Republican Forces, the rank and file of the faithful were to be impressed with the terrible dangers which anything but blind obedience to Falange would entail. At the same time the Church was to be appeased with generous subsidies for the reconstruction of so many of her buildings and institutions and, providing that her ministers would be subservient to the Party, they were to be given opportunities of exercising their authority and influence throughout the country. Care would be taken to proceed in the opposite manner when bishops or clerics spoke their minds about the evils of totalitarianism. The Pope himself, Pius XI, was indeed subjected to this treatment. When he addressed his Encyclical to the German people condemning National-Socialism, in 1937, the copies of the Papal document that reached Spain were rigorously suppressed, with the result that at the end of the Civil War very few people in Spain knew of the existence of one of the most important Pontifical pronouncements of the century. In 1939 a Pastoral Letter by the Primate of Spain, Cardinal Gomá, making known the duties of Spaniards in war and in peace, was also suppressed. Cardinal Segura, Archbishop of Seville, lost no occasion of proclaiming his strong disapproval of the methods of coercion which the Franco Government began to adopt. In 1941 the Bishop of Calahorra published a Pastoral Letter condemning National-Socialism and German racialism and basing his resolutions on the teachings of Pius XI and Pius XII. At the end of the Civil War personal loyalty and gratitude to Franco caused the majority of the clergy to be indulgent with the Falange and its actions, but when the European war commenced, their feelings changed. This change was not apparent in the Press or in the written word generally. Such expression was impossible with the iron censorship imposed throughout the Civil War and after. Certain priests and bishops like Father Pérez de Urbel and the Bishop of Madrid were branded as "collaborationists"/and others/ and looked down upon by the clergy. A great service to the Spanish Church had been rendered by the distribution broadcast throughout Spain of Pius XI's 1937 Encyclical printed in London. In the same way the Bishop of Calahorra's Pastoral reached thousands of Spanish homes. A prolonged concentration of British propaganda on the weak points in the armour of the Falange Régime, gave the anti-fascist clergy great encouragement. The Government could not fail to notice how the enthusiastic spirit of Crusade had declined and Falange chiefs made no secret of their hatred of Church leaders who dared to entertain sentiments of opposition. The attitude of the regular clergy, i.e. the religious Orders and Congregations, was more hostile than that of the secular clergy. Generally the communities had more contact with Rome and were naturally better informed. Even before the end of the Civil War some of them discreetly kept apart from the organs of the State. Today very few members of these bodies have any contact with State Departments. In 1941, after prolonged negotiations, preliminary arrangements were made with the Holy See for the purpose of filling 25 vacant episcopal Sees. Franco was determined to have a say in these appointments. He claimed regal prerogatives and he certainly obtained them; the agreement was a victory for Franco and the policy followed by Rome appeared to be a thoroughly weak one. Nevertheless, the Papal Nuncio did reject seven notorious Falange clerics whom Franco desired to raise to episcopal rank. The weakest feature of the new arrangement was the oath of allegiance to Franco which every newly consecrated Prelate

/ must

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must take. The result has been the nomination, generally, of "safe" men, a few known sycophants of Franco, and several strong-minded men on whose appointment the Holy See has insisted.

It need hardly be said that Franco's specious conduct towards the Church, ostentatiously showing his deep devotion and fervour, but actually aiming at the exploitation of religion for the benefit of his Party, was thoroughly approved by his German advisers. The machinations of Von Faupel at Salamanca and the patient endeavours of his successor, Von Stohrer, were bearing fruit. Every kind of Papal pronouncement was considered dangerous to the Falange Régime. It can safely be said that each utterance by the Pope was carefully examined and carefully mutilated before any mention of it was allowed to appear in the Press. The Papal Nuncio, after many months of discussion, succeeded in obtaining permission for the publication of a weekly review in which he could be sure that the Pope's words would be faithfully reproduced. But even this publication has at times been brow-beaten into submission. In spite of all this determined anti-Roman campaign, the Papal documents and the courageous protests of German, Dutch, Belgian, Norwegian and other bishops which through the Allied propaganda services have penetrated everywhere, have proved the mainstay of the great body of Catholic anti-fascists in Spain.

This is the atmosphere in which the Pope's recent speech of June 2nd reached the Spanish people. The Party made a half-hearted attempt to belittle the crushing statements of the Pontiff, but the Catholic Press has given full prominence to every word of the condemnation of National-Socialism. The result has been a great heartening of religious opinion generally, coupled with the pitiful disillusion of the many thousands of simple folk who had been misled by externals and by propaganda using strategy of the lowest type. There remains a group of clerical die-hards who are angry with the Pope and who accuse him of opportunism, but any attitude of this kind soon dies a natural death in Spain.

(Signed) Bernard Malley.

June 12th, 1945.

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SPAIN

Z 7645

26 JUN 1945

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Registry Number Z 7645/233/41

FROM Mr. Gaines, Air Ministry to Mr. Hoyer Millar.

Dated 21st June, 1945.

Received in Registry 26th June, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Request for permission to publish "And Nightly Pitch" by Wing Commander F.C. Griffiths.

Attaches manuscript of book. Asks if Foreign Office has any objections to publication.

Last Paper.

Z 7673

(*Minutes.*)

P.L.C.S. 29/6

References.

(*Print.*)

(*How disposed of.*)

Sth.) Returned to Mr Hoyer Millar June 23rd

(Action completed)

Sth 28/6

(Index.)

10/7

Next Paper.

Z 7876.

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TELEPHONE NO.: ABBEY 3411.
TRUNK CALLS AND TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS: "AIRWHIT," LONDON

Ext. 5227

AIR MINISTRY,
KING CHARLES STREET,
WHITEHALL, S.W.1.

21st June, 1945.

Dear Hoyer-Millar,

I attach the manuscript of a book which has been submitted, for permission to publish, by an R.A.F. officer who escaped through Spain.

The manuscript has been examined by the censorship authorities who see no security objection to its publication, subject to the amendments which they have made.

There are, however, a number of passages on pages 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 82, 83, 84, 85 and 86 which contain derogatory remarks about Spain and Spanish prisons. I do not suppose that there is any objection to these passages but should be grateful if you would have a look at them, particularly those on pages 73, 82 and 84 and would let me know whether, from the Foreign Office point of view, you would prefer that they did not appear in a book under the name of a R.A.F. author.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. Caines,
CB. OBE.

Mr Jarman. ordinary
Cd. you'll look at
this. Thanks
D.

C. G. Caines

F.R. Hoyer-Millar, C.M.G., C.V.O.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

Z 7645
26 JUN 1945

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FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1. OUT FILE

23rd June, 1945.

Thank you for your letter of 21st June enclosing the manuscript of "And Nightly Pitch" by Wing Commander F. C. Griffiths.

We have looked through the passages containing the author's remarks about Spain and Spanish prisons and do not think there is anything to which exception can be taken, except for the phrase "filthy swines of Spaniards" on page 84. Could this be replaced by something like "the prison guards"? The descriptions of conditions in Spanish prisons are probably pretty accurate. The Spaniards should never have put escaping prisoners into their prisons and have only themselves to blame if these men give publicity to the conditions which they found there.

(Signed). F. R. HOYER MILLAR.

C. G. Caines, Esq., C.B., O.B.E.

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1945

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SPAIN

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Z 7876

2 III 1945

Registry Number Z 7876/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 359

Dated 26th June, 1945.

Received in Registry 2nd July, 1945.

Z : Spain.

General Franco's interview to Director of Foreign Services of United Press: situation in Spain.

Little mention in Spanish press about this, probably due to lack of enthusiastic foreign commentaries. As pronouncement of policy, declarations seem to be in line with assessment of intentions contained in Madrid despatch 334 (Z 7338/233/41). Comments on Franco's speech by radio to South America, and the San Francisco declaration in regard to Spain.

Last Paper.

Z 7665

References.

U 4953/12/70

Z 7338/233/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Copy to M. of I.

A good example of the technique which Franco (like Dr. Salazar) uses to muddle over difficult moments. Specious talk serves dictators well, but it is rare for one to be disconcerted by the pronouncements of others and Franco's reaction to the San Francisco declaration is therefore of peculiar interest. I doubt, however, whether his disconcertion will last long and believe that it will only conduce to satisfactory action when, if ever, he feels the consequences of exclusion from the World Organization, possibly in the form of shipping difficulties or economic pressure.

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 7910

29082 F.O.P.

R.J. 12/7 F.O.R.D. ED 920/7 A.L.K. Sloan 8/7

Z 7876

Schreiben. [illegible]

[illegible]

Abtragen [illegible]

102.7.

K.k.M.S.

24/7.

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

SPAIN. ARCHIVES July 2, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[Z 7876/233/41] Copy No. 8

Mr. Bowker to Mr. Churchill.—(Received 2nd July.)

(No. 359.)

Sir, *Madrid, 26th June*, 1945.

YOU will doubtless be acquainted with the text of the interview which General Franco gave on or about the 15th June to the Director of Foreign Services of the United Press. While the text has become widely known to the Spanish public, largely through the Spanish service of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the declarations have not yet been published in Spain, the press limiting itself on two or three successive days to printing comments on the interview from foreign capitals and the preliminary remarks of the United Press correspondent. On the previous occasion, some months ago, when General Franco gave an interview to Mr. Bradford a week passed before the text was published in Spain. It seemed at first as if the same procedure would be followed on this occasion. But, after the appearance of the carefully selected and bowdlerised press comments from abroad, the order seems to have gone out to refrain from further mention of the interview. It may well be that it was originally intended to publish the text with the enthusiasic foreign commentaries which it was hoped that the interview would evoke. In the event, however, foreign commentaries probably fell short of expectation. The explanation now given in Government circles for the failure so far to publish the text of the interview in Spain is that General Franco considered his pronouncements to be of such importance for the Spanish people as to be unsuited for transmission to it by means of a news agency and that he was reserving himself for a more solemn declaration on the same lines at a suitable date, probably on the 18th July, the anniversary of the outbreak of the civil war.

2. As a pronouncement of policy, General Franco's declarations seem to be generally in line with the assessment of his intentions given in my despatch No. 334. The statement, in fact, gives little hope of evolution of the régime in any of the expected directions. First, the Falange. General Franco admitted that Falange had been an obstacle to an understanding with the democratic Powers. He also explained that the Minister's secretary of the party attended meetings of the Council of Ministers as a Cabinet Minister and not as a party official. But as, according to General Franco, Falange has no political authority, it is not to be dissolved, and such purely superficial manifestations as the blue shirt and the out-stretched arm salute are not worthy of a decree. General Franco's explanations may not be pleasing to the leaders of the party, but the salient point is that Falange is to remain.

3. Secondly, the monarchy. General Franco declared his intention to constitute a Council of the Kingdom, which at the appropriate moment would decide on the question of the succession to the throne. Thus the question of the restoration of the monarchy is relegated to an indefinite future. In parenthesis, it is of interest to record that Mr. Malley, the assistant press attaché, recently learned from a most reliable source that the Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, had had three lengthy conversations with General Franco, in which the archbishop urged the general to prepare the way for an early restoration of the monarchy. The archbishop said that he had no intention of interfering in politics, but felt in conscience bound to warn the head of the State that the Church was gravely concerned about the future of the country. As there were plain signs that a modification of the régime was being considered by the Government, the archbishop pressed the general to take the first step, altering the first article of the Fuero de los Españoles into a proclamation of the "Kingdom of Spain." Then a council of regency should be set up at once. His Grace said that he would be pleased to act as mediator in any negotiation that might be necessary. He considered that Spain's inclination to the Axis had been immoderate and that unless there was "a courageous move" now the consequences would be serious.

The Spanish Church, he said, would have to justify itself before the world, and his brother bishops fully supported this view. The archbishop has been a staunch supporter of General Franco, and it is significant that such categorical advice should come from this quarter.

4. Thirdly, the political machine. General Franco anticipated the holding of municipal and other elections, after which Spain would have returned to normal political life. As I said in my despatch No. 334, recollections of the recent elections for the syndicates are not such as to inspire in Spaniards much confidence in promises of further sorts of elections to come. An informant who has seen the Bill for constituting municipal elections told me that the arrangements are likely to be in every way as farcical as in the case of the elections of the syndicates. The mayors themselves will continue to be appointed by the Government, the elections being restricted to the municipal councils. For these, heads of families and the syndicates will elect representatives, who in their turn will elect the municipal councillors from a governmental list. The Government will retain general powers to intervene in municipal affairs. As an indication of what is in store, I learn on good authority that certain anti-Falange elements in the town of El Escorial, having heard of the projected municipal elections, and taking them in earnest, formed a committee and chose their candidates for the town council, whereupon both committee and candidates were rounded up and imprisoned. Thus it seems likely that these new electoral projects will turn out to be a further act of window-dressing and a fresh illustration of the apparent conviction of the present régime that words solve all problems.

5. If the reception abroad of General Franco's statement to the representative of the United Press has been a disappointment, there is no doubt that the San Francisco declaration disqualifying Axis-helped régimes for membership of the United Nations, and its specific application by various delegates to Spain, came as a considerable shock. For the past weeks the Spanish press had been churning out articles purporting to show Spain as an oasis of peace and good government in a world racked by political strife and threatened by communism. This was the main theme of a speech delivered recently by General Franco by radio to South America, to inaugurate a new broadcast service. Spain, said General Franco, was not as the campaigns of calumny represented her. "She is what you would wish her to be: saint, artist and warrior: upright, munificent and wonderful." The proof that Spain was the very contrary of what campaigns abroad had made her out to be, was the fact that she had maintained peace during the six most difficult years the world had ever known, and the astonishment of foreign visitors to Spain on observing the great work already accomplished and the advancement of every section of the national life. Every nation worked out its internal problems according to its own tradition and peculiarities. This was what Spain herself had done with success, producing an Administration admirably suited to her needs, which avoided all the evils of capitalism and socialism, while respecting private property and enterprise and safeguarding the individual against exploitation.

6. Lord Templewood, throughout his mission in Spain, lost no opportunity, nor has the United States Ambassador since his arrival, of telling the leading Spanish personalities that, as long as the present régime retains its essential Fascist character, Spain will inevitably be excluded from the post-war World Organisation. This warning has fallen on deaf ears and General Franco and his lieutenants, after certain moments of apprehension, seem to have come to the conclusion that he and his régime have now successfully weathered the storm. The San Francisco declaration came as a cold douche on this complacency, and the efforts which have since been made to show that the declaration could not possibly be interpreted as applying to Spain are an indication of the concern which it has caused. The official statement issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, reported in my telegrams Nos. 487 and 488 of the 2nd June, was followed by inspired articles in the press, intended to prove that General Franco's régime, which, in fact, was not recognised by Hitler until some two months after its constitution, owed neither its formation nor its preservation to German support. In a leading article on the 24th June, *Arriba* said that the declaration had had a chequered history. According to the writer, the declaration had originally been drafted to the effect that no régime which had assisted the Axis should be eligible for membership. It had then dawned on the drafters that such a condition could only apply to Russia, who rendered such invaluable assistance to Germany in 1939 and

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1940. The article then went on to affirm that a Negrin Government in Spain in 1940, so far from allowing French levies from North Africa to pass through Spain, would have safeguarded Germany's western flank in the same way as Russia at that moment stood as a safeguard to Germany on the east. "The fact that, when German mechanised divisions, supplied with Russian petrol, surged through France, the French army was able to remove its garrisons from a great part of the Pyrenees frontier, was due solely to the fact that Franco had previously defeated communism."

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, and the Acting British Consul-General at Tangier.

I have, &c.
JAMES BOWKER.

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Z 7876
2 JUL 1945

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British Embassy,
Madrid.

No. 359.

26th June, 1945.

Sir,

You will doubtless be acquainted with the text of the interview which General Franco gave on or about the 15th June to the Director of Foreign Services of the United Press. While the text has become widely known to the Spanish public, largely through the Spanish service of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the declarations have not yet been published in Spain, the Press limiting itself, on two or three successive days, to printing comments on the interview from foreign capitals and the preliminary remarks of the United Press correspondent. On the previous occasion, some months ago, when General Franco gave an interview to Mr. Bradford, a week passed before the text was published in Spain. It seemed at first as if the same procedure would be followed on this occasion. But after the appearance of the carefully selected and bowdlerized press comments from abroad, the order seems to have gone out to refrain from further mention of the interview. It may well be that it was originally intended to publish the text with the enthusiastic foreign commentaries which it was hoped that the interview would evoke. In the event, however, foreign commentaries probably fell short of expectation. The explanation now given in Government circles for the failure so far to publish the text of the interview in Spain is that General Franco considered his pronouncements to be of such importance for the Spanish people as to be unsuited for transmission to it by means of a news agency and that he was reserving himself for a more solemn declaration on the same lines at a suitable date, probably on the 18th July, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Civil War.

Z 7238/233

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/ Monarchy

The Right Honourable
Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

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Monarchy. The Archbishop said that he had no intention of interfering in politics, but felt in conscience bound to warn the Head of the State that the Church was gravely concerned about the future of the country. As there were plain signs that a modification of the régime was being considered by the Government, the Archbishop pressed the General to take the first step, altering the first article of the Fuero de los Españoles into a proclamation of the "Kingdom of Spain." Then a council of regency should be set up at once. His Grace said that he would be pleased to act as mediator in any negotiation that might be necessary. He considered that Spain's inclination to the Axis had been immoderate and that unless there was "a courageous move" now, the consequences would be serious. The Spanish Church, he said, would have to justify itself before the world and his brother bishops fully supported this view. The Archbishop has been a staunch supporter of General Franco and it is significant that such categorical advice should come from this quarter.

4. Thirdly, the political machine. General Franco anticipated the holding of municipal and other elections, after which Spain would have returned to normal political life. As I said in my despatch No. 334, recollections of the recent elections for the Syndicates are not such as to inspire in Spaniards much confidence in promises of further sorts of elections to come. An informant who has seen the bill for constituting municipal elections told me that the arrangements are likely to be in every way as farcical as in the case of the elections of the Syndicates. The Mayors themselves will continue to be appointed by the Government, the elections being restricted to the municipal councils. For these, heads of families and the Syndicates will elect representatives, who in their turn will elect the municipal councillors from a governmental list. The Government will retain general powers to intervene in municipal affairs. As an indication of what is in store, I learn on good authority that certain anti-Falange elements in the town of El Escorial, having heard of the projected municipal elections, and taking them in earnest, formed a committee and chose their candidates for the town council, whereupon both committee and candidates were rounded up and imprisoned. Thus it seems likely, that these new electoral projects will turn out to be a further act of window dressing and a fresh illustration of the apparent conviction of the present régime that words solve all problems.

5. If the reception abroad of General Franco's statement to the representative of the United Press has been a disappointment, there is no doubt that the San Francisco declaration disqualifying Axis helped régimes for membership of the United Nations, and its specific application by various delegates to Spain, came as a considerable shock. For the past weeks, the Spanish press had been churning out articles purporting to shew Spain as an oasis of peace and good government in a world racked by political strife and threatened by communism. This was the main theme of a speech delivered recently by General Franco by radio to South America, to inaugurate a new broadcast service. Spain, said General Franco, was not as the campaigns of calumny represented her. "She is what you would wish her to be: saint, artist and warrior: upright, munificent and wonderful." The proof that Spain was the very contrary of what campaigns abroad had made her out to be, was the fact that she had maintained peace during the six most difficult years the world had ever known, and the astonishment of foreign visitors to Spain on observing the great work already accomplished and the advancement of every section of the national life. Every nation worked out its internal problems according to its own tradition and peculiarities. This was what Spain herself had

/ done

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done with success, producing an administration admirably suited to her needs, which avoided all the evils of capitalism and socialism, while respecting private property and enterprise and safe-guarding the individual against exploitation.

6. Lord Templewood throughout his mission in Spain lost no opportunity, nor has the United States Ambassador since his arrival, of telling the leading Spanish personalities that as long as the present régime retains its essential Fascist character, Spain will inevitably be excluded from the post-war World Organisation. This warning has fallen on deaf ears and General Franco and his Lieutenants, after certain moments of apprehension, seem to have come to the conclusion that he and his régime have now successfully weathered the storm. The San Francisco declaration came as a cold douche on this complacency and the efforts which have since been made to shew that the declaration could not possibly be interpreted as applying to Spain are an indication of the concern which it has caused. The official statement issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, reported in my telegrams Nos. 487 and 488 of the 2nd June, was followed by inspired articles in the press intended to prove that General Franco's régime, which in fact was not recognised by Hitler until some two months after its constitution, owed neither its formation nor its preservation to German support. In a leading article on the 24th June, "Arriba" said that the declaration had had a chequered history. According to the writer, the declaration had originally been drafted to the effect that no régime which had assisted the Axis should be eligible for membership. It had then dawned on the drafters that such a condition could only apply to Russia, who rendered such invaluable assistance to Germany in 1939 and 1940. The article then went on to affirm that a Negrin Government in Spain in 1940, so far from allowing French levies from North Africa to pass through Spain, would have safe-guarded Germany's western flank in the same way as Russia at that moment stood as a safe-guard to Germany on the east. "The fact that when German mechanized divisions, supplied with Russian petrol, surged through France, the French army was able to remove its garrisons from a great part of the Pyrenees frontier, was due solely to the fact that Franco had previously defeated communism."

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and the Acting British Consul-General at Tangier.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

James Bowker

U4953/12/70

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1945

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SPAIN

Z 7910

Z 1111 1945

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z Registry Number } Z 7910/233/41

FROM Sir G. Mahon, Board of Trade to Mr. Garran.

No. C.R.T. 927/43.

Dated 29th June,

Received in Registry } 3rd July, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Spanish Law authorising modification of existing Customs classification

Refers to Mr. Garran's letter of 23rd June (Z 5709/233/41) from formal treaty point of view there is no ground for complaint. Action might be desirable later.

Last Paper.

Z 7876

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Returned 5 Dec
unregistered. 5/7

RG 6/7.
E.R.V Dept.

R.L.B.S.
5/7.

(Action completed.)

Sdrockett
24/4

(Index.)

SG 10/7

Next Paper.

2816 6.

Telephone No. WHITEHALL 5140.

Any reply to this communication should quote the following reference

[redacted] T. 927/43.

Your Ref. Z.5709/233/41.

BOARD OF TRADE,

MILLBANK,

LONDON, S.W.1

Enter 79

29th June, 1945.

Dear Garran,

-5709/233/41

Thank you for your letter of 23rd June which reached me yesterday. We have given some thought to the new Spanish law which authorises a modification of the existing Customs classifications and duties. From the formal treaty point of view I am afraid we have no grounds for complaint and we feel that on the whole it would be best not to take any action at any rate at the present stage. It is, of course, impossible to say whether action might or might not be desirable later, when the Commission has been appointed and got going.

Yours sincerely,

George Esmahon

P. Garran Esq.,
Foreign Office,
Whitehall,
S.W.1.

Z 7910
3 NOV 1945

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Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 8166

9 JUL 1945

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Registry Number } Z 8166/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 371

Dated 3rd July, 1945.

Received in Registry } 9th July, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Political rumours in Madrid: General Franco's speech 18th July: impending changes in Council of Ministers.

It is anticipated General Franco's speech will be similar to his recent statement to the United Press, except that his statements about Falange will go even further, and he will announce its separation from the State.

Discusses ~~their~~ the talk about impending changes in Council of Ministers.

9.

Last Paper.

27910

References.

27876/233/41 —

(Minutes.)

Copy M. of I.
War Office (already sent).

vi Dept
Faveste dirigenti!

R.K.W. Sloan
10/7.

RG
V
13/7

(Print.)

~~Yellow Envelope~~

8) War Office July

2) M of I July. 14

(Action completed.) Sdechwy 14/7

(Index.) 10/7

Next Paper.

28359. (28402)

29082 F.O.P.

Z 8166

9 JUL 1945

Z 81

No. 371.

British Embassy,

Madrid.

3rd July, 1945.

Sir,

The months of June and July in Madrid, before the more fortunate Madrilińos leave for the coast, always produce a crop of political rumours. This year is no exception. It is generally anticipated that General Franco will make a speech on the 18th July, the anniversary of the beginning of the Civil War, on the lines of his recent statement to the representative of the United Press. General García Valiño, the Chief of Staff of the Spanish Army, told the Military Attaché this morning that General Franco was even expected in his speech to go further than in his statement and to announce, among other things, the complete separation of Falange from the State and the abolition of the post of Minister-Secretary of the Party. Prognostications about General Franco's intentions with regard to the Falange have hitherto invariably proved untrue.

2. There is much talk of impending changes in the Council of Ministers. It has been an open secret for some time that Señor Carceller has his eye on the Ministry of Finance, in succession to Señor Benjumea, whose health is bad and who plays a more or less passive part in the affairs of his Ministry. If this change takes place, Señor Carceller will no doubt see that his successor at the Ministry of Commerce is one who can be relied on to act more or less under his direction. It has been said that the man he has in view for the post is Señor Arburu, former Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Commerce and now Director of the Banco Exterior. General García Valiño told Brigadier Torr that other changes were likely, particularly in the Services Ministries. According to him both Señor Asensio, the Minister of War, and General Vigón, the Minister of Air, are to go, the latter being succeeded by General Orgáz. It is thought that General García Valiño himself aspires to replace Señor Asensio as Minister of War.

3. Time will show what truth there is in these rumours. There seems little doubt that in his expected speech General Franco will do his best to give the impression, both at home and abroad, that the Spanish ship of state is now running before a fair wind of democratic evolution. It is to be doubted whether the impression he will try to give will be in accordance with the facts.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar and His Majesty's Consul-General at Tangier.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

James Bowker

The Right Honourable
Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

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Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 8359

14 III 1945

82

Registry Number: Z 8359/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 372.77/8/45.

Dated 4th July, 1945.

Received in Registry 14th July, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Translation of decree of 7th June re-organising Committee of Cultural Relations.

Transmits copy of translation as above. Falange party will be strongly represented on Committee, whose members will see that decisions are in conformity with Party ideas.

9

Last Paper.

28166

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8.) Mr Gage
Mr Seymour Pol. C
8 July

(Minutes.)

Copy M. of I.

Mr. Seymours (British Council)

Cultural Relations Dept. J.M.A. 20/7

F.O. R.D. EDG 22/7

P.L.W. Sloan. 16/7.

Reg V. 18/7

(Action completed.)

Sdelw 24/7

(Index.)

10/7.

Next Paper.

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29082 F.O.P.

Z 8359
14 NOV 1945

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BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

No. 372.
(77/8/45.)

4th July, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy in translation of a Decree of the 5th June, 1945, which was published in the Official Bulletin of the 7th June, re-organising the Committee of Cultural Relations.

2. It will be seen that the Falange party will be directly and strongly represented on the Committee, of which the powers remain unaltered. Thus the Vice-Secretary for Popular Education, who is one of the members, also holds the rank of Under-Secretary of the Party. He is appointed by the Minister-Secretary of the Party, Arrese. Moreover, of the other members at least the Under-Secretary of National Education and Director of Political Studies are known to be fervent members of the Falange party and together with the Vice-Secretary for Popular Education can be relied on to see that the Committee's decisions are in conformity with Party ideas.

3. In general it can be said that the list might have been drawn up by Serrano Suñer three or four years ago.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect, Sir,
Your most humble, obedient
Servant,

James Bowker.

The Right Honourable
Winston S. Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.
Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

TRANSLATION

Decree of the 5th June, 1945, for

The Re-Organisation of the Committee of

Cultural Relations

oOo

Experience has shown the disadvantages from the point of view of the efficiency of the mission entrusted to the Committee of Cultural Relations caused by the excessive number of persons called to form part of it, in the form in which it was re-established by virtue of Article 6 of the Decree of the 16th February, 1938, and with the object of correcting these inconveniences and to allow representation in this Committee of new organisations created later than the above date at the proposal of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and after deliberation by the Council of Ministers,

DECREE:

Article 1: The Committee of Cultural Relations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be constituted as follows:

President, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Vice-President, 1) The Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs.
2) The Under-Secretary of National Education.

Members,
1) The Director-General of Fine Arts.
2) The Vice-Secretary of Popular Education.
3) A representative of the "Raimundo Lulio" and "Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo" foundations.
4) A representative of the "Alfonso X el Sabio" and "Juan de la Cierva" foundations.
5) A representative of the "Santiago Ramón y Cajal" and "Alonso de Herrera" foundations, and three representatives from the Higher Council for Scientific Research.
6) The Secretary-General of the Higher Council for Scientific Research.
7) The Rector of the University of Madrid.

An Academician from each of the Royal Academies:

8) Spanish
9) of History
10) of Fine Arts
11) of Exact, Physical and Natural Sciences.
12) of Moral and Political Sciences.
13) of Medicine and
14) of Pharmacy, appointed at the suggestion of the respective academies.
15) The Director of the Institute of Political Studies.
16) The Director of the National Institute of Spanish Books.
17) The President of the Committee for the interchange and acquisition of books for Public Libraries.
18) The President of the Permanent Commission of the Higher Council of Missions.
19) The Secretary of the Council of Hispanidad.
20) A Member of the Committee of the Foundation of the Pious Works of the Holy Places of Jerusalem.

/21)

21) The Head of the Cultural Relations Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in his capacity as Secretary of the Committee.

Article 2: A full meeting of the Committee will be held obligatorily at least once every three months and a permanent commission composed of the following members will assume charge of the current despatch of affairs:

The Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who in the absence of the Minister of the Department, will preside over the Commission.

The Under-Secretary of the Minister of National Education, who in the absence of the Minister and the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, will preside over the Commission.

The Secretary-General of the Higher Council of Scientific Research.

The Director of the National Institute of Spanish Books.

The President of the Permanent Commission of the Higher Council of Missions.

The Secretary of the Council of Hispanidad.

The Head of the Cultural Relations Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who will continue to be the Secretary of the Committee.

Article 3: With the previous knowledge of the full Committee of Cultural Relations, the Minister for Foreign Affairs is authorised to approve the rules for the internal working of it and its Permanent Commission.

Article 4: The powers of the Committee continue to be those which were assigned to it by the Royal Decrees of the 27th December, 1926, 28th February, 1927, and by the Rule of the following 21st March.

Article 5: The orders which oppose the present Decree are annulled.

Madrid, 5th June, 1945.

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77

1945

Z

SPAIN

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Z 8361

14 JUL 1945

Registry Number: Z 8361/233/41.

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No, 378 (1/174/45)

Dated 10th July, 1945.

Received in Registry: 14th July, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Señores D. Francisco Cavero Fernie - D Saturnino Rubio Montiel: oath of allegiance to France.

Above new Bishops of Coria and Osma gave oath of allegiance to Franco June 15th at Summarized careers.

Last Paper.

28359

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Copy N. of I.

These two prelates seem unlikely to cause trouble; hence lack show.

R. A. W. Sloan
16/7.

Hardly worth a despatch.

R.G.
17/7

(Action completed)

Sdeclwd 17/7

(Index.)

JS 20/7

Next Paper.

28402

Z 8361

14 NOV 1945

British Embassy,
Madrid.
10th July, 1945.

No. 378
(1/174/45)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that it was announced in the Spanish press on June 15th last that on the previous day the new bishops of Coria and Osma, Señores D. Francisco Cavero Tormo and D. Saturnino Rubio Montiel, had given their oath of allegiance to General Franco at the Pardo.

2. Dr. Cavero Tormo was born, on May 23rd, 1882. Until 1926 he exercised his ministry in the city of Murcia. He was then appointed a Canon of Granada and Rector of the Pontifical University of that city. In 1935 the Holy See appointed him Dean of Granada. The new bishop is a cultured teacher and good administrator with no political antecedents.

3. Dr. Rubio Montiel was born on September 29th, 1889. His whole life has been devoted to parish work and he earned a great reputation for his social work among the rural population of the region known as La Rioja. He also has no political antecedents.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,

Samuel Hoare.

The Right Honourable
Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

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British Embassy,

Madrid.

No. 378.
(1/174/45)

10th July, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that it was announced in the Spanish press on June 15th last that on the previous day the new bishops of Coria and Osma, Señores D. Francisco Cavero Tormo and D. Saturnino Rubio Montiel, had given their oath of allegiance to General Franco at the Pardo.

2. Dr. Cavero Tormo was born on May 23rd, 1882. Until 1926 he exercised his ministry in the city of Murcia. He was then appointed a Canon of Granada and Rector of the Pontifical University of that city. In 1935 the Holy See appointed him Dean of Granada. The new bishop is a cultured teacher and good administrator with no political antecedents.

3. Dr. Rubio Montiel was born on September 29th, 1889. His whole life has been devoted to parish work and he earned a great reputation for his social work among the rural population of the region known as La Rioja. He also has no political antecedents.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,

(Signed) JAMES BOWKER.

The Right Honourable
Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 8402

16 JUL 1945

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Registry Number: Z 8402/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 539

Dated 14th July, 1945

Received in Registry 16th July, 1945

Political situation in Spain: intensification of rumours.

Refers to Madrid despatch 371 (Z 8166/233/41)

Highly placed Falange officials assume changes will include departure of some Falange ministers and suppression of post of Minister-Secretary of the Party.

Discusses possible intention of Franco and likelihood of Falange being deprived at least externally of its political power. Spanish Bill of Rights has been approved by Cortes with modifications.

Last Paper.

28361.

References.

26568/233/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

27876 - in dept.

The political scene in Madrid is becoming and we may expect every sort of rumour until Franco has spoken on 18th. July.

So far the main developments are the passing of the Bill of Rights, the passing of a new Bill for Popular Education, and, I think, the passing of the Bill for Municipal Elections (though Mr. Bowker's tel. suggests this is still to come).

As to personalities, it seems that Arrese is as good as gone and that Benjumea (Finance Minister) has been compelled to resign by ill-health.

A surprising show of conciliatory generosity from one who acts as firm as Franco.

R.K.W. Sloan

17/7

(Action completed.)

8/8

(Index.)

10/7.

Next Paper.

(28541).

90

[illegible] expected church today 90

According to a Reuter report published in this morning's papers, General Franco made a speech yesterday to the Council of the Falange. It would appear that this was the speech which he was generally expected to make to-day, July 18th. If that is so, the rumours of impending political changes have once again proved erroneous. General Franco announced his intention of eventually restoring the monarchy but made it pretty clear that he regarded this as a matter for the distant future and so far from indicating any weakening of the Falange, he spoke of the monarchy as guaranteeing the spirit of the Falange movement and of social progress.

Altogether it looks as though once again at the last minute the hesitant General Franco has balked at the Falange fence.

RG

18th July, 1945.

Now see Z 8657. General Franco has made his Cabinet changes after all, which shows how dangerous it is to try & predict the unpredictable in Spain.

RG

23/7

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on.]

[CYPHER]

Z 8402
16 JUL 1945

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Bowker
No. 559

D: 9.30 p.m. 14th July, 1945

14th July, 1945

R: 7.30 a.m. 15th July, 1945

Repeated to Tangier,
Governor Gibraltar,
Lisbon.

& & &

IMPORTANT

My despatch No. 371.

Rumours of impending political changes have intensified, particularly since the publication of a sensational article in the ABC of July 11th on the theme that it was necessary for Spain "to remove camouflage necessitated by the war and now no longer required". Highly placed Falange officials seem to be assuming changes will include the departure of some of Falange ministers and the suppression of post of Minister - Secretary of the Party. Under Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told me today that Senor Arrese was packing up his papers.

2. Through all the normal confusion of rumours it looks as if General Franco has now authoritatively imposed a plan previously contemplated but since held in suspense. Plan consists of depriving the Falange at least externally of its political power and replacing certain Falange ministers by men who can be presented as Catholics and Monarchists but are in fact first and foremost Franco's men who owe their position to the regime and may be relied on to carry through Franco's policy. The test of Franco's sincerity would seem to be

(1) that the post of Secretary - Minister (key position of the Falange's political machine) is abolished and Arrese removed and if so

(2) that the Ministry of the Interior is not given to an essentially party man.

Under the present system Civil Governors who are also provincial delegates of the party receive orders primarily from the Minister-Secretary. With the suppression of the latter post they will once again become dependent on the Minister of the Interior.

3. There is talk of a change in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the grounds that as long as Lequerica remains there is little possibility of an improvement in relations between Spain and France. Changes are also

anticipated

16 JUL 1945
F.O. RE

SOAS 2
16 JUL 1945

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anticipated in all three services ministries.

4. Spanish Bill of Rights (my despatch No. 290) has been approved by Cortes with certain modifications. It is given front page news in today's papers. Most of the essential liberties which it defines will need special legislation to bring them into effect. Others will remain in suspense as long as a state of war officially continues in Spain.

5. The press announces the impending promulgation of municipal law and a law establishing freedom of the press.

O.T.P.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 8511

19 JUL 1945

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Registry Number Z 8511/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM

Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 546

Dated 18th July,

Received in Registry 19th July, 1945.

Z: Spain

Franco's speech before National Council 17th July. situation in Spain.

Speech was devoted to achievements of régime in maintaining neutrality. He announced in phrases of characteristic circumlocation" that Spain would return to Monarchby but it was made clear there would be no interim period in which his own powers would be suspended. The only reference to the falange was to effect that best laws would be valueless if Falange announcement has been made of ministerial charges.

Last Paper.

(28402)

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

E de Chair 27/7

(Index.)

10/7

Next Paper.

28600

(Minutes.)

in Dept.

Received in F.O. 1.40 pm July 18th

" in Registry 9.10 am " 19th

" in Dept. am " 20th

In his summary, the most important aspect of General Francos speech seems to be that, with the inherent tendency of all modern dictators, he concentrated on the internal problems of Spain. How different from any of Mr Churchills wartime speeches!

But if his text reflects also an awareness of the new attention which not only Spanish but also World opinion has fixed on the Spanish régime, it is clear that Franco remains unperturbed. His speech would appear to have been little more than a/

a reaffirmation of loyalty to Falangism with mildly conciliatory advertisement of its trend towards Liberalism. Thus he may hope to keep the Left quiet. Towards the Monarchists he also pays deference — in principle: but since the essence of this pronouncement is that Restoration must rest on, and carry on the work of the Falange, whereas Don Juan has made it clear the Falange must go before he returns, the developments in this direction seem unlikely to materialize.

In its refusal to give his opponents anything more than faint grounds for hope, this speech, therefore, represents the outlook of a man aware of himself and of his own position. It would be the more ominous if — with the sudden paradox typical of Spanish politics — Gen. Franco had not followed it up with a change of Govt. which, at first glance, would seem likely to result in a consolidation of Falangist influence.

The Caudillo has been living anti-thesis, perhaps, not only in Democratic eyes, but also in Falangist.

R. K. W. Shan

21/7 This

This rather inconclusive speech has now been followed by swelling Cabinet changes. See Z 8657.

RG
V 23/7

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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[CYPHER] GENERAL DISTRIBUTION.

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Z 8511

18 JUL 1945

Mr. Bowker.
No. 546.
18th July 1945.

D. 11.54 a.m. GMT 18th July 1945.
R. 1.40 p.m. BST 18th July 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon
Gibraltar Saving.

00000

Franco's speech before the National Council yesterday was devoted mainly to a summary of the achievements of the régime in maintaining neutrality throughout the war, "even in those moments when the world thought the war decided and intervention seemed to promise material advantages", in establishing internal order and peace on the ruins left by the Republic and in fashioning the main bases of the New Spain in the Council of State, the Cortes Bill of Rights and law of local administration. He referred to the American and British guarantees at the time of the North African landings as having made Spain's neutrality easier at a difficult and dangerous moment.

2. In phrases of characteristic circumlocution Franco declared that Spain would return to the monarchy, Republican Government in Spain having proved itself a failure. But he made it clear that there would be no interim period in which his own powers would be suspended and that the monarchy would "have to be stronger than possible [gp. undec] of individual persons" and would have to guarantee "spirit of our movement". He gave it to be understood that a law defining the nature and functions of the Monarchy would be submitted to the Cortes at the appropriate moment. There was no indication when such a law would be forthcoming nor any specific reference to Don Juan.

3. The only reference to the Falange was a sentence to the effect that the best laws would be of little value if the spirit of Falange were to falter.

4. Arriba to-day publishes supplementary attacks on King Alfonso XIII's monarchy and Republic.

5. No announcement has yet been made of any Ministerial changes.

O.T.P.

JUL 19 1945 F.O. REGISTRY

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Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 8600

21 JUL 1945

97

Registry Number Z 8600/233/41

FROM Chancery, Madrid to Western Department.

No.

Dated 17th July,

Received in Registry 21st July, 1945.

Z : Spain. -

Reports about Civil Governors of Logrõno and Palencia

Refers to Chancery letter of 26th January (C 17190/26/41).

Encloses reports at above. Reports on new appointments at Badajoz and Leon are still outstanding and will be sent when received.

Last Paper.

28511

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Such men must be eliminated before the Falange can ever be said to have lost its influence.

F.O. R.D. EDG 27/7

R.K.G. Sloan 22/7.

Yes indeed. There are more like them holding other Civil Governorships. RG 23/7

(Action completed.) Sec'd 28

(Index.) 10/7

Next Paper.

2 8652.

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Z 98

Z 8600
21 JUL 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

17th July, 1945.

Dear Department,

Our letter of January 26th in reply to yours No. C17190/26/41, of 6th January, about the appointments of various new Civil Governors.

We enclose reports about the Civil Governors at Logroño and Palencia, which have now been received from His Majesty's Consul at Bilbao. Reports on the new appointments at Badajoz and Leon are still outstanding and we shall send them to you as soon as they have been received.

Yours ever,

Chancery.

Western Department,
Foreign Office,
S.W. 1.

JOSÉ MARIA FRONTERA de HARO,
Recently appointed Civil Governor at
Palencia.

Prior to the Spanish Civil War, subject was a Professor at the "Instituto" at Calahorra (Rioja). It is not known to which political party he belonged at that period, but on the outbreak of war in Spain he immediately took over the "alcaldia" of Calahorra. He was the Governor's (Sr. Belloc's) right-hand man at a time when mass executions took place in that district. It is said that in the town of Calahorra alone (which has a population of 14,000), 800 persons - including 50 women - were executed during FRONTERA's mayorship.

Throughout his period of office he behaved as a typical Fascist despot, imposing his will, at whatever cost, in order to assert his authority. He decided, for instance, to pull down a number of buildings, reconstruct others and widen certain streets. He was strongly advised against this scheme by all concerned, but although he finally admitted he was wrong, he persisted in carrying it through to show who was "boss".

During his sojourn in Calahorra he married the daughter of a grain merchant and, according to reports, the business at once began to flourish exceptionally.

Subject is now very interested in the grain business himself, and his appointment to Palencia - primarily a wheat growing district - is very convenient for him.

Before his appointment to Avila, FRONTERA was Governor at Guadalajara and Ciudad Real, in which provinces his brothers-in-law now occupy important posts in the National Wheat Syndicates.



LUIS MARTINEZ de ALBARELLOS,
Civil Governor of Logroño.

100

Subject, who was at one time head of Falange in Zaragoza, is a rabid Fascist and throughout the war has been notoriously pro-German. Even at this stage he continues to make inciting speeches using terms such as "hay que salir a la calle a vencer del todo a nuestros enemigos" ("we must go out into the street to finish off our enemies") - this referring, presumably to the Communists.

On the other hand subject has done good work in his Province and does do his best to attend to the welfare of the inhabitants. Thus, the food situation in Logroño is quite satisfactory compared with that in other Provinces.

Source, who claims to have a friend close to subject, states that while he, subject, privately considers everything possible should be done in Spain to help the Germans, in public he has been heard to speak quite well recently of the Allies.

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1945

SPAIN

Z 8652

23 NOV 1945

Registry Number: Z 8652/233/41.

TELEGRAM FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 553

Dated 21st July, 1945.

Received in Registry 23rd July, 1945.

Z : Spain.

Press announcement about reconstruction of Spanish Government.

Refers to Madrid telegram 546 (Z 8511/233/41)
Announcement as above appeared in Press of 21st July.

Last Paper.

28600

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

pp in Dept. - & pare of ref attached -

P.L.G.S.

23/11.

(Action completed.)

Sdo Chart 8/8

(Index.)

Next Paper.

(28653)

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Z

SPAIN

Z 8652

27 III 1945

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Registry Number Z 8652/233/41.

TELEGRAM FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No 353

Dated 21st July, 1945.

Received in Registry 23rd July, 1945.

Z : Spain.

Press announcement about reconstruction of Spanish Government.

Refers to Madrid telegram 546 (Z 8511/233/41)
Announcement as above appeared in Press of 21st July.

Last Paper.

28600

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

pp in Dept. - & pass off not attached.

P.L.G.S.

23/7.

(Action completed.)

Sdp Chief 8/8

(Index.)

Next Paper.

(28652)

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[CYPHER] GENERAL DISTRIBUTION.

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Bowker.
No. 555.
21st July 1945.

D. 5.20 p.m. GMT 21st July 1945.
R. 5.00 p.m. BST 21st July 1945.

Repeated to Gibraltar.
Lisbon Saving.

Z 8652
23 JUL 1945

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My telegram No. 546. Z 8511/233/41

A general reconstruction of the Spanish Government is announced in to-day's press of which details are contained in my immediately following telegram.

Comments follow.

O.T.P.

23 JUL 1945
F.O. REGISTRY

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Z

SPAIN

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Z 8657

[illegible] JUL 1945.

Registry Number: Z 8657/233/41.

TELEGRAM FROM
Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 554

Dated 21st July, 1945.

Received in Registry 23rd July, 1945.

Z : Spain.

Details about reconstruction of Spanish Government; list of names.

Refers to Madrid telegram 553 (Z 8652/233/41).
Transmits list of names of new appointments, those leaving office, those retaining office.

Last Paper.
(Z 8652)

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)
H.M. Ambassador. Comments from Madrid.
The departures look to me far more important than the arrivals - of whom the most significant is perhaps Cuesta. This substitution for Arrese may well compensate for the disappearance of Arrese and act as a indirect re-assurance for the Falange, especially as some of the newcomers are likely to oppose Franco.
In replacing Lequerica with Artajo, Franco has probably removed an obstacle to improved relations with France.
By and large, however, Franco seems have provided himself with greater scope for internal reform and external manoeuvring, without committing himself to either or necessarily sacrificing the Falange.
R.L.C. 9/8 — A.L.G. Sloan 28/7

(Minutes.)

(Action completed.)
Sd. Chest 8/8

(Index.)
10/7

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(Z 8676)

22175 2 41 F.O.P.

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Z 8657

[EN CLAIR] GENERAL DISTRIBUTION.

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Bowker.
No. 554

D. 3.15 p.m. 21st July, 1945.

R. 11.30 p.m. 21st July, 1945.

21st July, 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon Saving No. 34,
Gibraltar Saving No. 17.

zzzzzzz

8652

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following are new appointments.

Foreign Affairs,	Alberto Martin Artajo.
Justice,	Raimundo Fernandez Cuesta.
War, General,	Fidel Davila.
Marine,	Rear Admiral Francisco Ragalado.
Air,	Eduardo Gonzalez Gallarza.
Public Works,	Jose Maria Fernandez Ladreda.
Agriculture,	Carlos Rein Segura.
Industry and Commerce,	Juan Antonio Suances.

Following leave office.

Foreign Affairs,	Lequerica.
Minister Secretary of party,	Arrese.
War,	Asensio.
Marine,	Moreno.
Air,	Vigon.
Justice,	Aunos.
Industry and Commerce	Carculler.
Agriculture,	Primo de Rivera.
Public Works,	Pena Boef.

Following retain office.

Interior,	Perez Gonzalez.
Finance,	Benjumea.
Education,	Ibanez Martin.
Labour	Giron.

JUL 23 1945 REGISTRY

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83

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 8676 105

22 NOV 1945

Registry Number Z 8676/233/41.

TELEGRAM FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid.

No. 555

Dated 21st July, 1945.

Received in Registry 23rd July, 1945.

Z : Spain.

Comments on New Spanish Government.

Refers to Madrid telegram 554 (8657/233/41). Comments on new appointments which constitute an important reduction in political power of the Falange, a significant step by Franco in the right direction.

Last Paper.

Z 8657

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Rptd. Washington 2778
Paris 1744(5).

(Action completed.) 5 dec Chart 25/7

(Index.)

Next Paper.

28873

(Minutes.)

P.P. in Dept

Repeated to Jemmal. Washington Paris (Saving)

See minutes on Z. 8657.

I am a little surprised that Mr. Bowker should see in this change "an important reduction in political power of the Falange." This seems to me only true in as much as the Falange no longer have formal representation in the Cabinet. So long as their influence and interests can be protected by Blas Pinar (Interior) and Arrese (Justice), their position will remain strong.

On the other hand, Mr. Bowkers comments suggest that Franco made a definite effort to capture Monarchist sympathies - without, apparently, much success.

I think/

8798 5

I still believe, however, that the change carries potential rather than actual significance in the political field. Our own interests may be more directly affected in the commercial field by the nationalist tendencies of Suances.

R. K. W. Sloan
24/7

F.O.R.D. for obs. → EDG 27/7

I think Mr. Sloan underrates the importance of the suppression of the post of Minister Secretary of the Party. Although there are still five Falangists in the Government, one of them in the key post of Minister of the Interior, the changes undoubtedly represent a ~~serious~~ blow to the position of the Falangist party in Spain. This does not mean that the character of the Spanish régime has been radically altered over night, but rather that General Franco has made such modification as he thinks necessary both from the internal and external points of view.

From the internal point of view it is, I think, clear from General Franco's speech of July 17th (Z.8402 and Z.8511) and from Mr. Bowker's comments on the Cabinet changes in this telegram, including his information that several Monarchists were approached but refused to accept appointments, that General Franco is trying to take the wind out of the sails of the Monarchists by showing himself outwardly in favour of an eventual Monarchist restoration, though he undoubtedly intends to postpone such a restoration indefinitely.

From the external point of view he no doubt hopes to give the impression both in Great Britain and the U.S. that there is a real change of heart in Spain. He has plenty of evidence of the increased interest which Soviet Russia is showing in Spain and he has felt himself compelled to take a distasteful step to reinsure himself with the Western democracies. General Franco does not make changes so long as he feels his position to be strong. It looks as though his complacency has been somewhat shaken at last.

RU 24/VII

July 24th 1945.

I think that the significance of the departure of Arrese is exaggerated by Mr. Bowker. True, the Falange is no longer represented as a party in this Cabinet; but there are still five Falangists in the government. Girón, the Left-wing extremist remains, and the substitution of Cuesta for Aunos is a definite loss for Spanish justice. Moreover, so long as the ~~Provincial~~ Civil Governors, who control local administration, remain Falange delegates, the Party interests are not likely to suffer. In this week's P.I.Summary I have given my own opinion of these changes. In itself the new government is nothing; its interest lies in what it may lead to.

E. D. Lawson

27th July, 1945.

H.K.D.M.

See within D.O. Conf. 3. 1288 of 24/7.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Z 8676
1945

[CYPHER] GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Bowker, D. 5.00 p.m. July 22nd, 1945.
No.555
July 21st, 1945. R. 11.45 p.m. July 22nd, 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon,
Tangier
and Gibraltar.

Q 8652 8657

My telegrams Nos. 555 and 554.

2. New Government contains five essential Falange Ministers, three old and two new, as compared with seven before. Blas Perez and M party man, remains at Ministry of Interior. Most significant feature of change is suppression of post of Ministerial Secretary, which means that from now on party will not be separately represented in the Government. Thus on balance, changes constitute an important reduction in political power of Falange and for this reason must be recognised as a significant step by Franco in the right direction.

3. A reason for departure of Lequerica and Aunos (Justice) seems to be the fact that they led opposition to Arrese in Council of Ministers and Franco has felt it necessary to sacrifice them as at least a gesture of compensation.

4. Carceller's departure seems to be mainly due to the fact that he would not agree to Franco's statement about the Monarchy in his speech on January 12th, having himself consistently recommended evolution towards Presidential Republic.

5. The new Minister for Foreign Affairs is a lawyer 40 years old, honest and conscientious, a leading member of the Catholic Party, [gp.undec ? non] Falange former member of Gil Robles's party. He is regarded as nearest Spanish equivalent to a Christian Democrat (c.f. Gasparri and Bidault). He will presumably be in close touch with General Franco.

6. Replacement of Carceller by Suances is a surprise. As head of National Institution of Industry he has had close industrial connexions with Germany and is allegedly anti-British. He has ambitious plans for development of Spanish industry and is a partisan of nationalisation. At least he should be less venal than Carceller.

7. The changes in service ministries appear to have little political significance.

8. Franco seems to have wished to give Government a more strongly Monarchist complexion since several Monarchists were approached but refused to accept appointments.

9. All retiring ministers have received highest Spanish decoration.

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8676/233 | 25 JUL 1945 | With the Compliments of the Under Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs | 25 JUL 1945

109

Put with

(This is an unparaphrased version of a Secret cypher message and unless it is marked O.T.P. (One Time Pad) the text must first be paraphrased if it is essential to communicate it to persons outside British and United States Government Services.)

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

CYPHER (TYPEX)

O.D.

FROM: D.O.

~~INDEXED~~ TO: CANADA (GOVT.)
AUSTRALIA "
NEW ZEALAND "
SOUTH AFRICA "

(Sent 10.35 p.m., 24th July, 1945)

D. No. 1288 SECRET.

SPAIN.

Reconstituted Spanish government, announced on July 21st, contains five Falange Ministers as compared with seven before. Post of Minister Secretary of Falange Party is suppressed, so that party will no longer be specifically represented in Government. On balance changes constitute an important reduction in political power of Falange and must be recognised as a significant step by Franco in right direction.

2. Lequerica, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Aunos, Minister of Justice, in the former government, who led opposition to Arrese, Minister Secretary of Falange, are probably sacrificed as a gesture of compensation.

3. Artajo, new Minister for Foreign Affairs, is a lawyer, 40 years old, honest and a leading member of Catholic Party. He is regarded as nearest Spanish equivalent to a Christian Democrat (c.f.M. Bidault).

4. Franco seems to have wished to give government more strongly monarchist complexion. Several monarchists were approached but refused to accept appointments.

Copy to:-

Cabinet Offices — Sir E. Bridges
Foreign Office — Sir B. Newton
Mr. C.B.B. Heathcote-Smith
Mr. I.P. Garran

84

1945

Z

SPAIN

110

Z 8873
30 III 1945

Registry Number } Z 8873/233/41.

FROM "Times" (extract).

No.

Dated 26th July, 1945.

Received in Registry } 30th July, 1945.

Z: Spain

Times article on situation in Spain.

In article entitled "General Franco's unsolved problems" Times correspondent discusses fact that "nothing happened" in Spain to mark fall of German National Socialism. Emphasizes that Spaniards failed to respond to exclusion of Spain world organization of peace because attention was fixed on British general election. Discusses also faith in Mr. Churchill, the black-market, position of the Falange and Anglo-United States-Spanish commercial relations.

Last Paper.

2867b

References.

(Minutes.)

The substance is sound, but ill-composed.

R.K.W.S.
2/8.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Declined 2/8

(Index.)

10/7

Next Paper.

29054.

TIMES.
Cutting dated 26 JUL 1945 194

Enter

111

Z 8873
30 JUL 1945

CONTRASTS IN SPAIN

GENERAL FRANCO'S UNSOLVED PROBLEMS

THE DANGER OF A DECEPTIVE PROSPERITY

From a Correspondent

Little has changed in Spain since the allied victory in Europe. Of a round 10,000 Germans there, a few have been interned at Caldas de Malavella, on the lovely Catalan coast. The others mostly possess hidden funds and may draw up to 5,000 pesetas, or over £100, a month. As for the Spaniards themselves, their civil liberties are now defined in a Bill of Rights, based on the Constitution of 1876, which has been approved by the Cortes; and General Franco's Government has assumed a slightly different complexion. Otherwise the situation in the peninsula develops only by dint of delays. *Aqui no pasa nada* [Nothing happens here] is the ironical Spanish catch-phrase for this recurrent state of affairs.

It was hardly surprising that "nothing happened" in Spain to mark the fall of German National Socialism, although both enemies and supporters of the *Caudillo* expected trouble after VE Day. The many preventive arrests made at that time were a sign of nervousness behind the scenes. Socialists, Liberals, and others were afforded a chance to consult together in prison, a favourite Spanish meeting-place, and have been denounced by some Communists in consequence as "reactionary anglophils." The northern frontier was reinforced, lest Republican leaders should somehow unite to form an exile Government in France which might rally the Spanish *maquis* in a further attempt to smoke out the last lair of Fascism in Europe. But the country remained peaceful, and for managing to keep the peace, rather than his promise that 1,000,000 Spaniards would bar the eastern approaches to besieged Berlin, a grateful Press heaped on General Franco all the praise at its command.

Conversely a chorus of official indignation greeted the proposal at San Francisco that Spain should be excluded from the organization of world peace. But, either agreeing with the motion, or for once indifferent to a slur on his national honour, the average Spaniard failed to respond. His attention was fixed on the general election in Britain. He had not heard, and anyhow did not share, Indalecio Prieto's comfortable view that a Labour victory at the polls would mean a third Republic for Spain, whereas if the Conservatives won they would favour restoration of a constitutional monarchy in the person of Don Juan. Señor Prieto is the shrewdest of the Republican refugees, and probably the only prodigal whose return many moderates among his fellow-countrymen would welcome. But Mexico is a long way off, and its oracles strike them as apt to be over-sanguine.

FAITH IN MR. CHURCHILL

The man in the Spanish street is convinced that his fate depends largely on the British elector, not simply on a trial of strength between the United States and Russia as his rulers would have him believe. Except for the extremists on either side, Spaniards of almost every class and party profess unbounded faith in Mr. Churchill, whom they admire and even idolize. But, watching from their vantage-point the chaos of the outside world, most Spaniards are inclined to "wait and see." They are less concerned with Potsdam than with the next meeting of Parliament in London.

Normality and neutrality are synonymous terms. Spain was never wholly neutral during the war, and only by comparison with the rest of a war-torn Continent can she be reckoned normal to-day. If it is normal in Spain to feed well or go hungry, to enjoy life and fear for liberty, to proclaim all men equal and certain ideas as justly punishable by death, then Spain still remains true to old traditions of her own. Spaniards have always excelled at making wise laws and breaking them. Hence the fable which so, trade has thriven at the expense of industry. Certain principles of the corrupt and cumbersome syndicalist system have been allowed to lapse, but it still hangs on the economic life of the nation, a bureaucratic millstone.

Spain badly needs capital goods. She needs the tools. In 1940-41 the British Treasury placed more than £6,000,000 at her disposal; but she availed herself grudgingly of only three-quarters, and the transaction was kept practically secret from the Spanish people. The punctual repayment of these loans is worth noting incidentally. War-time supply difficulties were, of course, the chief obstacle to the modern development of Spanish industry. But the rulers of Spain were pro-German, and the boom they contrived was artificial from the start, for acute shortages could not be remedied, and luxury values inflated the whole soaring fabric of existence, until all Spain became a vast black market. At first *el estraperlo* was a crime. Soon it was too commonplace to be accounted an offence. This might not matter if production could keep pace with necessity. Spain's natural resources are prodigious, and there is plenty of money in the country. But it is unequally distributed, and machinery wears out. Owing to the grossest lack of foresight, Spain will be hard put to it to meet the coming emergency, unless she can buy the right wares on foreign markets and accept financial aid to foster her export trade. The alternative is revolution—and greater misery.

RIPPLES ON THE SURFACE

This danger can still be averted. But a real change rather than mere modifications of internal policy must precede economic readjustment, for the Spanish position is so anomalous that it cannot be sustained indefinitely. Two years have passed since the then American Ambassador gave Count Jordana 21 valid reasons why anyone but a Falangist would "be justified in believing that Spain is a Fascist country," and 18 months later, on retiring to the House of Lords, the British Ambassador could still recall the activities of the *Gestapo* on Spanish soil. Since then there have been bright ripples on the surface, but no more. Exiles not included in the category of Spanish war criminals have been invited to return home, and the abolition of political charges marks another gradual improvement in the dispensation of justice. If full inquiry into police methods were possible, the truth might be found midway between the accusations of obnoxious and illegal brutality formulated by one side and their uncompromising denial by the other. The lifting of the censorship on outgoing foreign Press messages and of the ban on the bulk of British journals were sensible moves, and the extension of the value of imported English books from £20,000 to £30,000 a year (though the previous German quota stood at £80,000) was also a step in the right direction.

But when General Franco denies Falangist predominance in Spanish affairs he forgets that his own embarrassing dictum, "I believe in Spain because I believe in Falange," is written large on walls throughout the country. Perhaps the "uncontrollable" elements of a party whose titular head is the *Caudillo* himself will now cease making rowdy demonstration of sympathies in which they have been encouraged. Meanwhile displaced persons are arbitrarily committed to hard labour at Nanclares de Oca, in the company of vagabonds and perverts, or to the concentration camp at Miranda de Ebro.

OUTLOOK FOR TRADE

The appointment of a Council of State may fan royalist hopes of an eventful restoration, but vague talk of sincere elections and freedom of the local Press seems to serve General Franco as bait for further tranquil fishing in troubled democratic waters. The world at large learns of these hopes through an American news

peninsula develops only by dint of delays. *Aqui no pasa nada* [Nothing happens here] is the ironical Spanish catch-phrase for this recurrent state of affairs.

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In a country of contrasts this is the greatest—and it is the crux of a permanent problem. At the moment Spanish prosperity is still on the increase; yet the cost of living rises steadily. Essential rations, including oil and rice, have been cut recently. A hard winter lies ahead. The tragic failure of crops is due to three exceptionally dry years in succession, aggravated by lack of fertilizers. The crippling restrictions of electric power, light, and water can only partly be excused by natural causes. The havoc of the civil war made rehabilitation in the midst of a greater war an extremely difficult task, which was accomplished largely by means of a rigidly disciplined economy. Even were, of course, the chief obstacles to modern development of Spanish industry. But the rulers of Spain were pro-German, and the boom they contrived was artificial from the start, for acute shortages could not be remedied, and luxury values inflated the whole soaring fabric of existence, until all Spain became a vast black market. At first *el estraperlo* was a crime. Soon it was too commonplace to be accounted an offence. This might not matter if production could keep pace with necessity. Spain's natural resources are prodigious, and there is plenty of money in the country. But it is unequally distributed, and machinery wears out. Owing to the grossest lack of foresight, Spain will be hard put to it to meet the coming emergency, unless she can buy the right wares on foreign markets and accept financial aid to foster her export trade. The alternative is revolution—and greater misery.

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OUTLOOK FOR TRADE

The appointment of a Council of State may fan royalist hopes of an eventful restoration, but vague talk of sincere elections and freedom of the local Press seems to serve General Franco as bait for further tranquil fishing in troubled democratic waters. The world at large learns of these boons through an American news agency, but the Spanish Press itself is not free to impart the news to its readers.

The Portuguese would commonly describe such subterfuges as intended *para o inglês ver*—to pass muster with the English. Actually the Spanish Government's every effort is bent on courting the Americans. While Britain is linked by a solitary aeroplane a week with a country where for seven months she has had no Ambassador, the successor to Mr. Carlton Hayes at the American Embassy is an experienced businessman at the head of a mission actively engaged in establishing closer commercial relations with Spain. But whereas the United States can more readily deliver the goods which the Spaniards want, the advantage on the financial side lies with the British exporter, if he cares to use it. Spain is short of dollars, but her clearing with the United Kingdom shows an even balance which does not warrant any reluctance to trade. Those willing to trade with Spain need not fear for their investments. The pressure to buy and sell is undeniable and growing.

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85

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 9054

2 AUG 1945

112

+

Registry Number Z 9054/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM
Mr. Hankey
(Madrid)

No. 577

Dated 1st August 1945.

Received in Registry 2nd August 1945.

Z: Spain.

Report that General Orgaz and other Lieutenant Generals called on Franco to insist that Military Government be formed.

Copy of telegram from Madrid to San Sebastian number 7. Mr. Malley told A.A. that he had learnt above from a reliable source. No further details available.

Last Paper.

28873

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Sdeclt 9/8

(Index.)

Next Paper.

29062.

(*Minutes.*)

R.L.W. Sloan
3/8

This is not the first time that the Senior Generals have gone off to see Franco, determined to tell him that something must be done. But when they come face to face with Franco, their courage seems to fail them and they let him do all the talking.

Mr Malley, who came to see me yesterday, said that he understood it was the intention of the generals to ask Franco to resign. He did not expect any thing to come of this, but he said that the move of the generals was symptomatic of the state of anxiety into which all "right wing" Spaniards had been thrown by our election results which had brought home to them very sharply the

the degree of Spain's isolation in a world out of sympathy with the present Spanish regime.

P. Garran
3/8

I think the reasons why the circumstances would have a very satisfactory effect in Spain are sufficiently obvious

J. Hodgson Smith.
3.8

C. Bridges
6/VIII

see within :—
1) San Sebastian 17. Aug 6 H

R.K.W. Shaw.
8/8

J.M.
S.S.

Z 9054

2 AUG 1945 PARLIAMENTAL NO. 1

Z 114

[CYPHER]

FROM MADRID TO SAN SEBASTIAN

Mr. H. Hankey
No. 7

D. 3.15 p.m. 1st August, 1945.

R. 2.45 a.m. 2nd August, 1945.

1st August, 1945

Repeated to Foreign Office No. 577

777

Mr. Malley who left for United Kingdom today informed Air Attaché at airport that he had learnt from a reliable source late last night that General Orgaz and other Lieutenant Generals were calling on Franco today or tomorrow to insist that a Military Government be formed without delay. No further details available.

O.T.P.



2 115

Z 9054/233/41

INDEXED 7 AUG 1945

[Cypher] DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Sir V. Mallett. D. 5.50 p.m. 6th August, 1945.
No. 17. R. 10.00 p.m. 6th August, 1945.

6th August, 1945.

Repeated to Madrid Saving

---- Z 9054/233/41

Madrid telegram No. 7 to San Sebastian.

Further enquiry has elicited no (repeat no) confirmation of this story.

O.T.P.



86

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 9062

3 AUG 1945

116

Registry Number Z 9062/233/41

FROM Mr. Bowker, Madrid

No. 409 (1/-/45)

Dated 23rd July

Received in Registry 3rd Aug. 1945

Z: Spain

Comments on formation of new Spanish Government: translation of official communiqué issued by Council of Ministers.

Refers to Madrid telegram 555 (Z 8676/233/41). States new Government should be regarded as a stage in a series of measures recently effected by General Franco, who intended to give it a broader basis since a number of monarchists were offered posts, but refused them. Comments on individual appointments and the suppression of post of minister secretary of the party. Encloses translation as above. Copied to Lisbon, Gibraltar and Tangier.

Last Paper.

29054

References.

28652

28657

Printed (Print.)

Mr. Bowker Madrid with enclosure.

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

AP in Draft

This supplementary despatch contains two interesting points :-

(i) that Giron is now the chief Falangist representative in the Govt., whereas Cuesta will simply carry out Franco's instructions;

(ii) that Franco is now resolved to effect the "progressive eclipse" of the Falange.

Time will test the truth of these assertions.

The most important effects of the present situation are that Franco rules unchallenged and, as Mr. Bowker points out, that civil liberties cannot flourish in Spain until the state of war here is ended and the Bill of Rights.

(Action completed.) 8 Aug 45

(Index.) 10/7

Next Paper.

29084

29117

Bill of Rights to transformed from a resounding statement into a system of law.

L.t. W. Sloan

7/8

Research Dept

20G16/8 ? Print (without enclosure)

P. Garran

8/8

F.K. Hayter-Menzies.

8.8

This gives a good picture of the latest phase of Franco's régime - So far these are surface changes only -

9/VIII

AC.

Aug. 10. 1945.

ARCHIVES

118

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

SPAIN. August 3, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[Z 9062/233/41] Copy No. 8

Mr. Bowker to Mr. Eden.—(Received 3rd August.)

(No. 409.)

Sir, *Madrid, 23rd July,* 1945.

IN my telegrams Nos. 553, 554 and 555 I reported the composition of General Franco's new Government and commented on the changes made. I now have the honour to send you the accompanying translation(1) of an official communiqué issued by the Council of Ministers on the day following the formation of the new Government. It will be seen that the new Government is described as representing "a new stage on the road of the material and spiritual restoration" of Spain. There is no mention of the Falange. The new Government should be regarded as a stage in a series of measures recently effected by General Franco. He has himself explained that the recently promulgated Bill of Rights (Fuero de los Españoles) and the law regarding local administration, are the bases of a progressive policy for the régime. In his speech on the 17th July he touched on the question of the monarchy. The new Government is no doubt intended to be the instrument which is to carry out the policy as thus laid down. There seems little doubt that General Franco had intended to give the new Government a broader basis since a number of Monarchists were offered posts, but refused them. The new team, therefore, is presumably the best which General Franco could collect to carry out a policy which, in reality, does not constitute more than a preliminary step towards evolution and the team, therefore, gives the impression of being a provisional one, although this was probably not General Franco's original intention. As long as the state of war, technically, exists in Spain and until a considerable amount of legislation is passed, the majority of the admirable liberties enumerated in the Bill of Rights will remain in suspense. The law concerning local administration, while it provides for a certain amount of decentralisation, does little more as electoral procedure is concerned, than ensure that the municipal councils shall have a Government majority. General Franco's references to the restoration of the monarchy amount to little more than a statement that at some unspecified moment a monarchy will be established which will continue his policy. There is every reason to suppose that this statement was not the subject of any agreement with Don Juan, and I am told on good authority that it has not been accepted by the Monarchists. My informant pointed out that the fact that the official representative of Don Juan in Spain, the Infante Don Alfonso de Orleans, is virtually in "résidence forcée" in his house near Jerez, is sufficient evidence of the continued lack of any understanding between Don Juan and General Franco.

2. Except in one important respect, the present Government does not differ very largely from the former Government. It contains five Falange Ministers as compared with seven in the last Government. Miguel Primo de Rivera (Marqués de Estella), whose association with Falange is now based on little more than the fact that he is the brother of the founder, has left the Government. But Señor Girón, representative of the Left wing of the party, remains in the Ministry of Labour and it is said that he will now represent Falange's interests in the Government. As reported in my telegram No. 555 of the 21st July, one of the reasons for the dismissal of Señor Lequerica and Señor Aunós, the Minister of Justice, seems to be that as they led the attack against the Minister-Secretary of the party, General Franco felt that common decency required that they should not be left to triumph over their fallen victim. Probably, also, General Franco had appreciated that he was putting his foreign relations under a disability, particularly in regard to France, as long as Señor Lequerica remained in office. The departing Minister of Justice, Señor Aunós, together with his Director of Prisons, Señor Sanz, had done a considerable work in cleaning up prison conditions and in obtaining the release of numerous political prisoners. His successor, Señor Fernández Cuesta, an original member of Falange and an unscrupulous opportunist, is not the obvious choice for a continuation of the work It is said, however, that Señor Aunó's policy has now been adopted by General Franco as his own and that he will rely on Señor Cuesta's natural servility to

(1) Not printed.

carry it out. There are stories that Señor Carceller's notoriously corrupt practices have at last proved too much for General Franco's conscience, but it is probable that he refused to subscribe to General Franco's policy of eventual restoration of the monarchy. Señor Suances, his successor, is not particularly recommendable, judged on his background of association with German industry and his predilection for nationalisation. An appointment that may have special significance is that of Señor Martin Artajo as Minister for Foreign Affairs. A young lawyer, a former member of Gil Robles's party and a leading member of Catholic Action, he represents the fresh element which General Franco seems now to be trying to assimilate into his régime. Honest and conscientious, he seems to be the nearest Spanish equivalent to the Christian Democrat who is prepared to work for the evolution of the régime under General Franco. It seems likely that, at any rate for a time, he will receive precise instructions from the General. In the past he has shown himself personally friendly to British elements here.

3. The one important respect in which the present Government differs from the former is that the post of Minister-Secretary of the party has been suppressed. As a result, the Falange party will no longer be separately represented in the Government, and the measure, therefore, represents an important set-back for the party. In a country where issues are clearer it would be logical to regard it as the beginning of the end of the Falange's political power. An authoritative source has affirmed that it is now General Franco's policy to effect the "progressive eclipse" of the Falange. It remains to be seen whether Falange's political power continues to be exercised through other less direct channels. I have already received a report that the Falange chiefs in Tangier have decided to close down the party machine officially but that the headquarters are being transferred to the Spanish Consulate, where they still enjoy extra-territorial rights.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, his Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, and His Majesty's Consul-General at Tangier.

I have, &c.
JAMES BOWKER.

120

2

Z 9062

AUG 1945

British Embassy,

Madrid.

No. 409.
(1/-/45)

23rd July, 1945.

Z 8652 / 8657 / 8676

Sir,

In my telegrams Nos. 553, 554 and 555 I reported the composition of General Franco's new Government and commented on the changes made. I now have the honour to send you the accompanying translation of an official communiqué issued by the Council of Ministers on the day following the formation of the new Government. It will be seen that the new Government is described as representing "a new stage on the road of the material and spiritual restoration" of Spain. There is no mention of the Falange. The new Government should be regarded as a stage in a series of measures recently effected by General Franco. He has himself explained that the recently promulgated Bill of Rights (Fuero de los Españoles) and the law regarding local administration, are the bases of a progressive policy for the régime. In his speech on the 17th July he touched on the question of the monarchy. The new Government is no doubt intended to be the instrument which is to carry out the policy as thus laid down. There seems little doubt that General Franco had intended to give the new Government a broader basis since a number of monarchists were offered posts, but refused them. The new team, therefore, is presumably the best which General Franco could collect to carry out a policy which, in reality, does not constitute more than a preliminary step towards evolution and the team, therefore, gives the impression of being a provisional one, although this was probably not General Franco's original intention. As long as the state of war, technically, exists in Spain and until a considerable amount of legislation is passed, the majority of the admirable liberties enumerated in the Bill of Rights will remain in suspense. The law concerning local administration, while it provides for a certain amount of decentralization, does little more as (electoral procedure is concerned, than ensure that the municipal councils shall have a Government majority. General Franco's references to the restoration of the monarchy amount to little more than a statement that at some unspecified moment a monarchy will be established which will continue his policy. There is every reason to suppose that this statement was not the subject of any agreement with Don Juan, and I am told on good authority that it has not been accepted by the monarchists. My informant pointed out that the fact that the official representative of Don Juan in Spain, the Infante Don Alfonso de Orleans, is virtually in "résidence forcée" in his house near Jerez, is sufficient evidence of the continued lack of any understanding between Don Juan and General Franco.

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/ As

The Right Honourable
Winston Churchill, C.H., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc..

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I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, His Excellency the Governor of Gibraltar, and His Majesty's Consul-General at Tangier.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

James Bowker

Enclosure to Madrid Despatch No. 409 of 25th July, 1945.

TRANSLATION

The Government which today begins its political life under the presidency of the Caudillo of Spain, represents a new stage on the road of the spiritual and material restoration of our country, a stage for the continuation of the fruitful labour carried out by previous governments which will be pushed forward in accordance with the directives outlined by the Head of the State in his last speech.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Government reiterates the noble desire of the Spanish people to collaborate, within the limits of its possibilities, in the promotion of the spiritual fellowship of the peoples, maintaining pacific relations with all of them, and it ratifies its traditional bonds of cordiality with the Portuguese nation and with the Ibero-American nations, while at the same time it emphasises its sympathy and affection for the Moroccan people.

In the internal sphere the period begins which is inaugurated by the two recently-approved fundamental laws: the Fuero de los Españoles (Spanish Bill of Rights) and the Law of Local Government, and the Government pledges itself to continue the dignified exercise of justice and the maintenance of the rights of all Spaniards.

In so far as regards the unusual difficulties which adverse metereological conditions have brought about in the supplies of the nation and in some of its fundamental products, the Government continuing the policy which is already being followed, will adopt those measures which contribute to reducing the damages, confident of encountering complete understanding and all necessary collaboration.

Without prejudice to meeting this need of prime importance, the task which is already in full swing will be continued of strengthening our Treasury and bringing our economy to an equilibrium by means of the necessary agricultural, industrial and commercial developments which may contribute to the improvement of the conditions of life of Spaniards and particularly those of humblest condition.

In this sense the Government accepts with good will the task of accentuating the policy of social justice, thanks to the advance of social legislation and the concrete character of its social institutions, maintaining our country in the first line of the peoples who are interested in assuring to their workers the material and spiritual welfare to which they have a right in their capacity as creators of the national wealth and because of the dignity and consideration which work claims in the Christian social order.

The Government similarly declares its intention of intensifying its cultural policy, applying the effective instrument of the new law of Primary Education, without forgetting the continued support which scientific research and production require and the interest and zeal which must be applied and the degree of perfection which must be achieved in the interests of the education of Spanish youth, in all that concerns our university life.

Finally, the new Government, in beginning its political life today, affirms its faith in the future of Spain, confident that all Spaniards will continue to contribute to the great task of raising in a common effort, on its traditional foundations, the definitive structure of the Spanish State.

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Enclosure to Madrid Despatch No. 409 of 25th July, 1945.

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87

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 9117

AUG 1945

124

Registry Number Z 9117/233/41

FROM Foreign Office Minute, Mr. Harvey

No.

Dated 1st Aug.

Received in Registry 4th Aug. 1945

Z: Spain

Situation in Spain: conversation with Mr. Butterworth of United States Embassy, Madrid.

Mr. Butterworth thought situation was making progress. He referred to relaxation of restrictions on movements of Press correspondents and the summoning of the Cortes. He stated that possibly the only alternative at present to General Franco was another dictatorship by another General. Mr. Harvey referred to Sir V. Mallet's first meeting with Franco. Mr. Butterworth would probably favour a more sympathetic attitude towards Franco than State Department would approve.

Last Paper.

29062

References.

2886/537/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed)

Pde Chwk 22/8

(Index.)

10/7

Next Paper.

29175.

(Minutes.)

Mr. Butterworth's inclination to jolly along Spain may explain some of the incongruities of U.S. policy here. We have, I think, no good evidence to show that his views are shared either by the State Dept. or Mr. Armour.

R.K.H. Sloan.
8/8.

R. Garran
8/8

Butterworth is the former Commercial Counsellor who always been keen to encourage American commercial interests in Spain

Spain therefore to

depreciate too much

an interval.

He may be a bit

out of step with his own

Ambassador the State Dept.,

but he is a forceful

individual & carries a good

deal of weight in Washington.

Although I know

him quite well, I would

not trust him very far. He is

by no pro-British or some

says. I think.

H. Stuyvesant Howard

S.S.

N. American Affairs

I knew Mr. Butterworth
when he was in London &
met him again last month
in Washington, when he was
talking on the lines of this minute

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

in this paper.

I would have thought that he was an American friendly to this country within the limits of what he considered to be American commercial interests. I think I am correct in saying that we had in N.A. Dept. at the beginning of the war reliable evidence that he did everything in his power to counter with his Govt. the defeatist views of our prospects which his Ambassador (Mr. Kennedy) was expressing.

B.E.T. Gage
17/8

R.H.C.
21/8.

Enclosure

Z 9117

1 AUG 1945

127

Mr. George brought Mr. Butterworth of the United States Embassy in Madrid to see me this morning. Mr. Butterworth is on his way back to Madrid from having spent three weeks in Washington. I asked him how he thought the situation in Spain was evolving and he seemed to take the view that there was in fact some slight progress. The recent relaxation of the restrictions on the movements of Press correspondents was a significant step, whilst the summoning of the Cortes, although it was a packed one, would probably lead to a certain amount of political ventilation. On the other hand, the Opposition Parties in Spain were divided, the Monarchists were reluctant to take make any move and the supporters of the Left had no leaders. He thought himself that the only alternative present to General Franco was another Dictatorship probably by another General. The Spanish leaders outside Spain had no following except possibly Senor Prieto.

I said that Sir Victor Mallet had been instructed to keep in close touch with his American colleague and that he had already had his first conversation with General Franco, in which he had spoken pretty bluntly of our attitude towards the régime. I said that I expected that the British and American Delegations at Potsdam would have had some opportunity of exchanging views on the subject of Spain, although we had had no information as yet ourselves.

Mr. Butterworth made it clear that he thought any departure from our present line of policy in the sense of more marked disapproval of General

Franco/

Franco would be a mistake. Indeed, I suspected that he would favour a rather more sympathetic attitude than the State Department approved.

GW.

1st August, 1945.

88

1945

Z

129

Z 9175

7 AUG 1945

SPAIN

Registry Number Z 9175/233/41

FROM Sir V. Mallet, Madrid.

No. 423.
(102/58/45)
Dated 31st July, 1945.

Received in Registry 7th August, 1945

Z : Spain.

Memorial service for Hitler at Santander.

Transmits copy of aide memoire to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 13th July bringing to notice service as above and pro German placards announcing Hitler's triumph in death. Refers to review called Voluntad wherein Hitler's is portrayed as martyr and hero. Review opens with eulogy of Franco with photograph in prominent position on front page. Copied Barcelona and Bilbao.

Last Paper.

2917

References.

(Minutes.)

Saragossa is, I believe the core of German influence in Spain.

Research Dept. EDG 13/viii

P.K.W.S. 9/8.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)	(Index.)
Sdc Chwt 16/8	

Next Paper.

Z 9266.

No. 423
(102/58/45)

130

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid, presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A., and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Madrid.

31st July, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:

–

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of aide-mémoire to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated July 13th, 1945.	Memorial service for Hitler at Santander.

Copy sent to:
Barcelona
Bilbao.

Z 9175
7 AUG 1945

3479 21952—1 (4)

[redacted] (102/54/45)

F.O. 131

C 29175/233/41

A I D E M E M O I R E

The Embassy have learnt that on May 10th last at 10 p.m. a memorial service was held for Hitler at the Iglesia de Santa Lucia at Santander. The service was organised by the "Amigos de Alemania" and a former Captain of the Spanish Blue Division, one Alberto García Vicente, played a prominent part. It was attended by many of the authorities in Santander. After the service and at the entrance of the Church there was some hysterical singing, including "Cara al Sol," followed by many and frenzied cries of "Viva Alemania", "Viva el Gran Reich" "Muera Rusia" and "Abajo Inglaterra." The above-mentioned Alberto García Vicente is reported to have taken a leading part in this demonstration. In the street, placards announced that Hitler had triumphed in death, and other such slogans.

A further instance of the tendency which exists among certain circles in Spain to portray Hitler as a martyred hero is to be found in the attached review called "Voluntad" which has been launched during the month of June at Saragossa and is described as the "Organo de Combate de las F.J. de F." The opportunity is taken of a so-called "oración" on page 5 for Hitler, and Mussolini, to portray both as heroic and admirable figures for whose deaths the world should be ashamed. It will be seen that this review opens with a eulogy of General Franco and that His Excellency's photograph occupies a prominent position on the front page.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

13th July, 1945.

89

Z

1945

SPAIN

132

Z 9266

8 AUG 1945

Registry Number: Z 9266/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM
Sir V. Mallet
San Sebastian.
No. 21.

Dated 7th August, 1945.

Received in Registry: 8th August, 1945.

Z : Spain.

Effect of Potsdam Declaration on Spanish people.

Refers to San Sebastian telegram 20 (Z 9240/61/41). It is too early yet to judge effect on populace as a whole. Enemies of régime will endeavour to act on distinction between Spanish Government and people, whereas middle classes may stick closer to Franco in terror of recurrence of another Civil War. Discusses other possible results. Further enquiries are being made through Consulates and other sources.

Last Paper.

29125.

References.

Z9240/61/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

amended dist

Apld to Berlin & 22 d.
Mos cons. 4426.
Tokio 1869 Saw.
Aug 9th

(Minutes.)

Give "Correct Distribution"?
Repeated Washington
Moscow
Paris (Saving).

See minute on Z 9240.

No sign of fission — yet.

P.L.G. Sloan.
9/8.

H Shum.

9.8.

(Action completed.)

Sdo Chs 10/8

(Index.)

13/7

Next Paper.

29316.

22175 2 41 F.O.P.

AMENDED DISTRIBUTION 8th August,1945

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be returned by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

[CYPHER] CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet D. 8.30 p.m. 7th August,1945
No.21
7th August,1945 R. 4.10 a.m. 8th August,1945

Repeated to Madrid

u u u

My immediately preceding telegram.

It is too early to judge the effect of declaration on the populace as a whole. Whilst avowed enemies of the régime at top and bottom of the scale will understand and endeavour to act on distinction between the Spanish Government and the Spanish people in the indictment, the middle classes may well believe that they sink or swim together and in their understandable terror of a recurrence of civil war, may stick closer to Franco on the principle of "safety first".

2. Enthusiasm of Spanish exiles and generally threatening atmosphere abroad is fully appreciated through the radio and general dissemination of rumours. Fears are likely to be aroused which may, temporarily at least, help to unite inflexible monarchist and Liberal elements with Falangist and Army circles in national union.

3. Press propaganda quoted in my immediately preceding telegram, coming after more than five years of nationalist propaganda, will undoubtedly have some effect. This will be reinforced by general realisation that a comparative state of prosperity and public order has survived European conditions, which are painted in all too lurid colours by Spanish press.

4. There is nevertheless the greatest nervousness that all this may be swept aside by some sudden coup from an unknown quarter with disastrous consequences.

5. I am making fuller enquiries through Consulates and other sources of more detailed information and hope to telegraph again shortly.

OTP

F.O. RE

CALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION

134

[CYPHER] DEPARTMENTAL NO.2

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet. D. 8.30 p.m. 7th August, 1945.
No. 21
7th August, 1945. R. 4.10 a.m. 8th August, 1945.

Repeated to Madrid.

7 9266

: : :

My immediately preceding telegram. 29240/61/41

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O.T.P.

AU 8 1945

F.O. RE

90

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 9316

10 AUG 1945

135

Registry Number	Z 9316/233/41
FROM	Chancery Paris to Western Department.
No.	885/14/45.
Dated	7th Aug. 1945.
Received in Registry	10th Aug. 1945.
	Z : Spain

Situation in Spain: account by Amadeo Hurtado.

Transmits paper as above by Senor Hurtado on Spanish political situation. Senor Hurtafo is a well known Spanish jurist who was a cabinet minister under the Republic Politically he is said to be a right-wing democrat and has good reputation with both extremes.

Last Paper.

29266

References.

1944.
Z 7758 1/17.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Not practical politics, I fear.

Research Dept. ED 9 16/8

R.L.G.S. 12/8

(Action completed.)

Sdo Chrst 17/8

(Index.)

8 10/8

Next Paper.

29328

BRITISH EMBASSY,
PARIS.

7th August, 1945.

885/14/45.

Dear Department,

You may be interested to have the attached paper on the situation in Spain. It was written by Amadeo Hurtado, who we understand is a well-known Spanish jurist who was a cabinet minister under the Republic. Politically, he is said to be a right-wing democrat and has a good reputation with both extremes.

Yours ever,

Chancery.

Western Department,
Foreign Office.

Z 9316
10 AUG 1945

Le problème d'Espagne doit être étudié et résolu comme une question de politique européenne plutôt que de politique intérieure, car envisagé sous ce deuxième aspect, le problème n'aurait pas d'issue aisée ni même peut-être possible. Le but de cette note c'est d'indiquer une solution basée sur les facteurs nationaux qui imposent l'orientation indiquée.

1º.- Tous ceux qui connaissent l'Espagne savent que le pays est unanimement hostile au régime de Franco et de sa Phalange, mais ils savent aussi que les Espagnols supportent avec résignation ce régime généralement haï, par la crainte qu'un changement, quel qu'il soit, puisse reproduire les horreurs de la guerre civile, ce qu'ils veulent éviter coûte que coûte.

2º.- La Phalange profite de cet état d'esprit du pays, voilà la vraie raison qui la maintient au pouvoir. Néanmoins, l'opinion espagnole a, dans ces derniers temps, suivi avec intérêt le cours de la guerre mondiale espérant qu'avec la victoire des Alliés l'Espagne serait libérée de l'occupation phalangiste en même temps que les autres peuples de l'Europe le seraient de l'occupation allemande.

3º.-Cette illusion vague et imprécise non seulement ne s'est pas réalisée, mais elle s'est muée en déception. Avec une agilité surprenante, le régime de Franco et sa Phalange a célébré comme sienne propre la victoire des Alliés et il s'est offert publiquement à se mettre au service des vainqueurs, contre lesquels il avait eu, jusqu'au tout derniers moments, une attitude hostile. Les gens croient maintenant que, comme conséquence de ce fait inattendu, les gouvernements alliés, sollicités par d'autres soucis plus graves, ne voudront pas se mêler de la question espagnole, soit pour éviter des troubles qui répugnent au peuple intéressé lui-même, soit que, convaincus que le pays n'a pas d'autre option qu'une des deux partialités de la dernière guerre civile, ils ne trouvent dans le côté opposé à celui de Franco des forces politiques assez unies et compactes pour remplacer celui-ci sans troubles graves.

4º.- Il existe, par contre, un trosième terme d'option consistant à donner des facilités au pays afin qu'il fasse entendre sa voix au dessus de toutes les partialités en lutte, ce qu'il n'a pas pu faire depuis le commencement de la guerre civile. Pour cela, il faut placer le problème espagnol sur le plan international, d'accord avec les principes de la Déclaration finale de la Conférence de Yalta, admise aujourd'hui par la totalité des Nations Unies. Ces principes permettent d'appliquer à l'Espagne la regle générale établie pour régler les nouvelles relations internationales sans immixtion directe dans les affaires intérieures du pays. Nous voulons parler de cette partie de la Déclaration qui condamne les Etats satellites de l'Axe à l'asphyxie d'un isolement total tant qu'ils n'auront pas éliminé les derniers vestiges du nazisme ou du fascisme, et en même temps, offre à ces pays l'assistance des Alliés pour les aider à constituer des institutions provisoires de gouvernement qui contractent l'obligation d'instaurer, moyennant élections libres, les Gouvernements définitifs qui, étant expression de la volonté populaire, leur permettront d'entrer dans la communauté internationale.

5º.- Le procédé à suivre dans le cas de l'Espagne comprend deux termes qui peuvent être ou ne pas être simultanés, au gré des convenances. L'un, c'est de provoquer la disparition du régime phalangiste;

l'autre, c'est d'obtenir son immédiat remplacement provisoire. Pour le premier, il faudrait adresser un ultimatum diplomatique à Franco, lui faisant savoir que toutes les relations politiques et économiques de l'Espagne avec la totalité des Nations Unies doivent être rompues, pendant que subsistera un régime tel que celui d'aujourd'hui, considéré comme satellite de l'Axe. Pour le second, les Gouvernements alliés, avant ou après avoir obtenu l'effacement de Franco, devraient communiquer à l'Espagne qu'ils sont disposés à reconnaître immédiatement comme gouvernement provisoire légitime celui qui serait nommé par une institution politique nationale étrangère au régime franquiste, sous la condition que ce gouvernement soit présidé et formé en sa majorité par des personnes, de préférence résidant au pays, qui manifestement n'aient pas participé à la guerre civile, tout cela afin d'éviter en cette première étape des discordes et des rivalités de partis, en accord avec le désir de la plus grande partie de la nation.

6º.- Sur l'execution de ce deuxième terme du procédé est basé tout le plan qu'on propose. Les raisons sur lesquelles il s'appuye sont des raisons de fait et très nettes:

a) l'existence de vingt-cinq ou trente formations politiques et syndicales en Espagne, empêche de confier aux contingences imprévisibles d'une insurrection partisane ou à d'autres initiatives personneles, la création d'un gouvernement provisoire.

b) les gouvernements alliés ne peuvent ni ne doivent s'arroger le droit de décider par eux-mêmes quels seront les hommes qui devront assumer le pouvoir, parce que, à part l'énorme difficulté de deviner juste, les hommes choisis par ce moyen auraient à craindre la réprobation d'une opinion si susceptible que l'espagnole sur ce qui touche l'amour-propre national.

c) le souvenir des horreurs de la guerre civile est assez récent pour obliger tous les partis qui intervinrent en la tragédie à rétablir un contact prolongé avec le pays avant de prendre à leur charge des fonctions directives que la masse nationale recevrait de prime abord avec méfiance.

d) autorisées les Puissances alliées à déclarer quels sont les nouveaux Gouvernements des pays satellites de l'Axe qui méritent, par leur origine et par leur composition, leur confiance en vue de la reprise de leurs relations internationales, elles peuvent intervenir diplomatiquement près d'une seule institution nationale espagnole avec plus d'efficacité et une plus grande dignité réciproque que ne comporterait l'intervention politique dans les divergences parmi les plusieurs groupes qui aspirent à désigner le futur gouvernement.

e) finalement, cette reconnaissance préalable de la légitimité du Gouvernement donnera à celui-ci plus d'autorité qu'à n'importe quel autre pour mener à bien l'obligation de pacifier le pays en éliminant Phalange avec tous ses vestiges et en ordonnant les réparations de justice nécessaires et pour convoquer des élections qui décideront du régime et de la constitution définitive du pays.

7º.- Comme cela va de soi, les Gouvernements alliés, en représentation des Nations Unies, se réserveront jusqu'à après les élections un droit de contrôle moyennant la réunion de leurs ambassa-

deurs ou d'une commission spéciale,à l'effet seulement de s'assurer si le gouvernement provisoire et le gouvernement définitif peuvent ou ne peuvent pas mériter la reprise des rapports internationaux qu'on aura déniée à Franco.

8º.- Heureusement, parmi les institutions disparues ou suspendues par la violence franquiste, il en existe une qui paraît indiquée pour remplir la mission de désigner la personne chargée de former et de présider le gouvernement provisoire. Cette institution juridico-politique, appelée Tribunal de Garanties constitutionnelles, exerçait des fonctions de la plus haute importance, depuis la révision des lois votées par le Parlement et des dispositions du Gouvernement, en les cassant si le Tribunal les estimait contraires à la Constitution, jusqu'à juger les délits imputables à des ministres et des hauts fonctionnaires, le chef de l'Etat inclus. Quelques-uns de ses membres ont disparu dans le dernier orage politique, mais ceux qui restent, quel que soit leur nombre, peuvent exercer de nouveau des fonctions qui, par leur caractère, permettent d'être assimilées à celles du pouvoir modérateur pour résoudre n'importe quel changement possible du gouvernement provisoire. Les gouvernements alliés, en accomplissement de leurs offres d'assistance pour ces cas, sont ceux qui,moyennant leur organe de contrôle,devraient inviter les membres du Tribunal de Garanties, en tant que pouvoir modétateur trnsitoire, à désigner le Président du Gouvernement Provisoire, s'ils considèrent oportun de renouer les relations extérieures de l'Espagne, en évitant à l'avenir l'éventualité de créer, pour ces fonctions transitoires du pouvoir modérateur, l'autorité improvisée d'un métropolite ou d'un conseil de régence.

9º.- Il est possible que les partis politiques, au cas où ils seraient consultés, s'opposent à cette solution parce qu'elle peut faire évanouir l'illusion qu'ils caressent tous de représenter la volontépopulaire. Mais en y réfléchissant bien, ils peuvent l'appuyer, des monarchistes jusqu'aux communistes, parce qu'elle facilite la constitution d'un Gouvernement provisoire sans les sursauts d'une lutte chaotique entre eux et sans préjuger du régime définitif qui devra sortir des élections libres. Il ne sera pas la première fois dans l'histoire politique de l'Espagne où une solution politique analogue ait été acceptée unanimement pour sortir d'une confusion créée par de mutuelles défiances et des rivalités des partis. Et dans le cas présent, ils admettront le fait accompli s'il l'a été sur l'invitation ou le conseil des Puissances alliées.

OBSERVATION FINALE.-

L'application de cette formule, inspirée dans le respect des sentiments et dans les soucis de l'opinion publique espagnole, rendra probablement innécessaires des assistances plus grandes des Puissances alliées, mais il sera en tout cas du ressort du Gouvernement provisoire de l'Espagne, d'accord avec l'offre solennelle de ces puissances, la faculté de demander et d'obtenir les aides qu'on croira nécessaires, compatibles avec l'indépendance de la souveraineté nationale.

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SPAIN

Z 9328

10 AUG 1945

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Registry Number: Z 9328/233/41.

FROM Sir V. Mallet, San Sebastian.

No. 8

Dated 6th August, 1945.

Received in Registry 10th August, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Situation in Spain:

Refers to San Sebastian telegram No. 9 (Z 9318/337/41). Transmits copy of memorandum as above on some aspects of political situation as affected by British General Election results and Mr. Burns comments on effect of Potsdam Declaration. Discusses possibility of overthrow of Franco régime and importance of Spanish army in this connexion. Comments on possible Anglo-American recognition of new régime. Copied Lisbon and Gibraltar.

Last Paper.

Z 9316

References.

(Print.)

PRINTER C S.

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

This is an interesting despatch which ought, I think, to be printed with its enclosure K.C.D. To a large extent the despatch repeats what we have already been told recently by Madrid or what we have said ourselves in our own minutes during the last fortnight - i.e. that the British elections, coming after the Potsdam declaration, have had a profound effect on Spain and on Franco. There is therefore a real chance now of a radical change in the régime in Spain and of the disappearance of Franco; it would, however, be a great mistake for us or any one else to try to accelerate things by direct British intervention; this would only rally Spanish opinion behind Franco or, more likely, start another civil war; there is at the moment no obvious and generally accepted alternative to Franco, and in particular various Republican emigrés now in exile in foreign countries have very little following in Spain; it is therefore important to leave things to develop on their own and give time for the Spaniards themselves to work out some alternative to the present régime, and to enable the force of opinion gradually to convince Franco that the time has come for him voluntarily to withdraw.

August 14th 1945.

I think it must be faced that the only people who can turn Franco out are the Generals and so the next Spanish Government is likely to be that of another Spanish General. He may be, we hope, an improvement on Franco, or possibly a monarchist, but it is unlikely that he will be Liberal to begin with, at any rate in the sense hoped for by democratic opinion abroad. However, an evolution of this kind might be the best approach to a really more democratic régime.

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

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At the moment I think we have got Franco exactly where we want him and we should maintain what Sir V. Mallet calls "an ominous attitude" placing the onus on the Spaniards for finding a way out. Hence the great importance of doing nothing which Franco could use as an attack on Spanish rights to rally opinion about him.

15th August, 1945.

Aug. 16. 1945.

Circulated to the Cabinet by direction of
The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

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SPAIN. August 10, 1945.

SECRET. SECTION 1.

ARCHIVES

[Z 9328/233/41] Copy No. 8

Sir V. Mallet to Mr. Bevin.—(*Received* 10*th August.*)

(No. 8. Secret.)

Sir, *San Sebastian*, 6*th August*, 1945.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 9 of the 3rd August, I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a memorandum by Mr. Burns, press attaché at this embassy, on some aspects of the political situation here as affected by the General Election results. The memorandum includes a record of a long conversation between Mr. Burns and Señor Artajo, the new Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is an old acquaintance of his. Mr. Burns comments upon the effect on Spanish opinion of the British elections and of the Potsdam declaration regarding Spain. There is no doubt that these two events have produced in responsible circles a feeling of great anxiety. I have, moreover, good reason to believe that my plain speaking to General Franco when presenting my credentials has not failed to make an impression, and I hear that a most useful effect has been produced by the remarks made by my United States colleague to an official of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs when Mr. Armour explained that there was complete identity of view between the United States and British Governments.

2. I cannot venture, after so few days in this country, to offer any very weighty comment upon what Mr. Burns has written, and I can only record first impressions. It seems to me of primary importance that the transition from the Franco régime to something new should, when it eventually happens, take place without any risk of plunging this unhappy country into such violent commotion that a fresh civil war might ensue. I believe it to be true that there is still a great feeling of war weariness, and that nobody except a few Communist extremists really wish for a new outbreak, but passions are so easily aroused in Spain that once disorder begins there is no knowing how far it may go. There is no doubt that not only the Monarchists of all complexions, but also the great mass of republicans would bitterly resist an attempt to stir up civil strife by exiles such as Señor Negrin who, I am advised, would stand no chance of rallying support around them and would meet with short shrift even from the men of the Left. It is clear that anxiety exists in many quarters lest the new British Government may attempt to impose upon Spain some of these discredited leaders.

3. Apart from the obvious undesirability of a new civil war, it is also clear that any attempt at an armed rising by the Left would be doomed to failure on account of the strength and good organisation of the Spanish army. Everyone whom I have met is in agreement that the army, as has always been the case in Spanish history, has in its hands the power to overthrow the present régime and set up a new one. The army, in fact, appears to provide the only safe means by which a provisional Government could be set up to inaugurate a new régime. Inevitably, a period of transition would have to take place, as there is at present no constitution which would facilitate the immediate restoration either of a monarchy or a republic. The army leaders are undoubtedly impressed with the fact that, sooner or later, Franco will have to go, but they appear to be somewhat alarmed lest, having brought off their *coup* against Franco, they might find their provisional régime without recognition or moral support from abroad. If they felt that at such a moment they were likely to be faced with a demand to bring back an exiled republican Government, they would prefer to keep Franco with all his disadvantages, and in this they would have the backing of the great bulk of moderate opinion in this country.

4. When the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs speculates on what course of action His Majesty's Government are now likely to take, it is clear that he is thinking as a realist, and it seems to me very salutary that he should be in this state of alarm. It is equally important that he should not in any way get the idea into his head that he can play off the Americans against us, and I feel sure that Mr. Armour will do everything possible to prevent any such misconception.

5. It is not yet at all clear what the real effect upon the generals has been of the Potsdam declaration. The official Spanish counter-blast shows that Franco has been stung. Whether the generals will now rally round him from an exaggerated sense of Spanish pride, resenting, as many of them do, the accusation that Franco's rising was entirely the result of Axis intervention, or whether they may decide at last to face realities and take action against Franco is at present an unknown factor. I think that we must give events a little time now, and be careful not to make any precipitate move which could consolidate the army with the Franco régime once more. The line to take with Señor Artajo seems to me to be to maintain an ominous attitude, and to put the next move up to him by asking what way out he is thinking of. As it has hitherto been our policy not to attempt to dictate to the Spaniards what new form of government they should choose to replace Franco's régime, it seems to be the right thing to continue to place the onus on the Spaniards of finding a way out. Nevertheless the time may come before very long, when it will be for consideration whether the Americans and ourselves can go a little further and indicate to enquirers that there would in principle be no obstacle to the eventual recognition of whatever new régime might emerge, provided that it was of a nature to obtain the general acceptance of the responsible elements in Spain.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon and the Civil Governor at Gibraltar.

I have, &c.
V. A. L. MALLET.

Enclosure.

Memorandum.

THE British election results have precipitated a crisis in Spanish internal affairs which has been latent during the last two years, a crisis which was hinted at in the Spanish Government changes a few days earlier and which must inevitably be confirmed with the decision of the Berlin Conference is fully appreciated by the Spanish Government and the Spanish people. The Spanish Government's note on the Berlin Conference, published to-day, is a little more than an interjection in a very long story.

The election results brought in a forceful element hitherto absent from the Spanish mind : the element of time. Whereas one had grown accustomed in these last years to questions from Spaniards as to the chances of one development or another, to a variety of claims and political theories, all directed against the actual régime from various angles, one has never been asked before : "Is there any time?" The proverbial "*mañana*" seems to have dropped out of the Spaniards' political vocabulary, except that of the people who expect and hope for chaos to come again and to get pickings on the morrow.

This sudden injection of a time sense may safely be left to do its own good work; a violent or provocative act or gesture from the outside just now might very well nullify it and plunge Spaniards once more into one of the reckless metaphysical moods to which they are so prone, making them defiant of measurable standards and ultimately destructive of themselves and of all understanding.

2. Never has the internal situation in Spain been so critical since the end of the civil war. Whilst world politics have evolved swiftly and people have grown accustomed to drastic decisions the evolution of Spain's internal affairs has been halting, contradictory and largely hidden, both from the Spanish people and the world as a whole. The great mass of the Spanish people has long since grown accustomed to sticking to evils that they know rather than flying to others that they know not of. Any idea that there can be a swift and radical change of the present régime into something more representative without bloodshed and violence on a large scale must be rejected. Indeed, the very threat of violence would tend to make the present Government itself representative in a way which has not been wholly true in the past; that is it would consolidate a widespread opinion, hitherto luke-warm and critical about the régime, into an intransigent mass of supporters, whose unifying bond would be the rejection of the arbitrament of civil war and resentment of foreign interference even at the cost of fierce repressive measures within the country and still further loss of place and prestige in the outside world.

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Time is everything. If only the sanest and most responsible elements in Spain could be given to understand that time was not wholly against them they would work unreservedly towards the formation of another Government and another régime more consonant with the nature and needs of the Spanish people and the requirements for membership of the United Nations.

3. These are the conclusions I have reached on matters as they stand to-day, based on nearly five years of working and living among Spaniards of all degrees and more especially on conversations held with responsible observers of feeling in the country during the last few days.

No Spaniard is typical of the rest and none can hope to be the mouthpiece of the nation. A degree of unanimity is only to be found in negative opinions and to-day three of them are predominant: the people do not want General Franco; they do not want foreign intervention (which includes their own countrymen in exile); they do not want another civil war. Whilst the man in the street is now helplessly preoccupied about the last two, there are a few men who are really thinking about how to avoid them by dealing with the Generalissimo himself.

Their troubles were undoubtedly brought to a head by the election results. It was only natural that not a few should have brought them along to one in the succeeding days. I had talks with such men as Señor Carascal, formerly secretary of the powerful C.E.D.A. party in the Republican cortes and now the spokesman of Señor Gil Robles and those of his following who stand out in intransigent opposition to General Franco, with Señor Larraz, perhaps the only one of General Franco's Ministers who has ever resigned of his own accord (he was Minister of Finance for a brief period before Falangist totalitarianism came into the saddle in 1939); with Señor Gamero del Castillo, one-time vice-secretary of the Falange party, but its active opponent during the last three years; with Monarchists like the Conde de Fontanar and the Marques de la Eliseda and with very many friends of liberal opinion. They all are hoping and working for an elimination of General Franco which does not involve outside intervention or interior strife.

The most important talk was with Señor Martin Artajo, not only because he is the new Minister for Foreign Affairs but because his somewhat humble, sincere and tentative approach is the highest common denominator of opinion to be found among the mixture of firebrand theorists, reactionaries and wishful thinkers which infests all fields of political speculation.

Señor Martin Artajo is one of my oldest acquaintances in Spain; we met through a mutual English friend early in 1940 and he was particularly kind to me then at a time when it was not fashionable to be so. I give as accurately as possible the gist of a conversation which lasted over two hours.

Señor Martin Artajo began by asking me how I had found London on my recent visit and what was the opinion there about Spain. I said that I had been forcibly struck with the unanimity of feeling against General Franco; his name seemed to survive now as a symbol of what had been defeated in the war. I had talked to many parliamentary candidates just before the election and they had all mentioned the voter's quite violent feelings on the matter. I said that I was telling him this with all due respect, and as a personal observation which I thought could be confirmed from many sources.

Señor Martin Artajo said that he fully realised the situation as I depicted it; that he did not underrate its gravity but he would like to know whether I had formed an impression about the new Government's intentions. Was there any talk of breaking off relations, applying sanctions or recognising a "Government" in exile? I replied that I had no more knowledge on the matter than the man in the street, but that it seemed to me that an *impasse* inevitably lay ahead. I thought that the present moral isolation in Spain would almost certainly take more material form as time went on and that there seemed to be no hope for close and cordial relations as long as General Franco remained in power.

Señor Martin Artajo said that whilst he accepted my assessment of the situation, he supposed that the new British Government had no interest in simply producing another civil war in Spain and that the way to development was not now wholly barred. He said that whilst it was evident that changes even of the most fundamental kind must be brought about, he was convinced that they could not be made in too great a hurry. He thought that it was not sufficiently realised abroad how far General Franco's régime had already evolved from its first beginnings. To take one example his own appointment as Minister for Foreign Affairs would not have been contemplated even a year or so back. He had never played any part in the Falangist movement and, in fact, was one of a large

party which had been equally alive in the Monarchist and republican régimes and had always stood against absolutism and totalitarianism in any form. He said that he wanted to make it clear, nevertheless, that in his present position he was not representing his group. He had hoped that other members of it and Monarchist representatives would have accepted posts in the new Government. Personally, he regretted their decision not to do so, but he felt that his own position was not necessarily weakened thereby. He had a weapon which he would never have had if he had stayed outside the Government and which he would not hesitate to use if his efforts to improve the situation all failed, namely, resignation.

He went on to say that whilst he believed there were still good grounds for negotiation and that given time the régime could and would evolve, it would be impossible to effect anything under a threat to its very life. If there were a reasonable way out, avoiding catastrophe, he would do his utmost in helping to open it, but nobody could expect the Spanish State to commit suicide and let the country lapse into civil war.

I said that I quite appreciated his position, but that it seemed to me that if one's house was on fire there might be little good in conjecturing how to get downstairs. There came a moment when the only thing to do was to jump out of the window.

Señor Martin Artajo took this purposely-veiled suggestion of change more sudden and radical than his own tentative ideas of evolution quite calmly. He said that the great trouble was whether any provisional Government, if it took over from the present one, would be given that immediate moral support and official recognition by the British and American Governments which alone could give it authority and the opportunity of maintaining order in the country until normal and stable conditions had been achieved. He could not help feeling that if, as he supposed, the British Government was even now debating whether to maintain relations with General Franco's Government, it might quite well delay indefinitely extending recognition to any other which on a strictly legal basis could hardly have more titles to legitimacy than the present one.

Señor Martin Artajo went on to say that he thought public opinion in Great Britain was gravely misinformed about the actual strength of Franco's position. He was apparently regarded as an unpopular tyrant whom most people in Spain would be glad to see the last of. Actually, there was a great mass of people who had suffered all too much from the Reds in the civil war, who were still enormously grateful to General Franco not only as they thought for saving the country from anarchy, but also for keeping Spain out of the war. They would not let him go without a struggle.

I said that I had indeed observed this, but that it seemed to me that there was at least one highly unpopular feature of the régime whose disappearance nobody would regret, namely, the Falange. Why, I asked, could not General Franco dissolve it immediately as at least a preliminary step towards a more normal state of affairs? Señor Martin Artajo replied somewhat naïvely that General Franco had a great sense of nobility and could not very well turn out all of a sudden a body which had been so loyal to him and identified itself with his leadership. He said that he thought that the power of falangism in any case would decline still further. In November the re-election of the *Junta Política* would be coming up as a matter of course and that would be the moment, he thought, for letting it fade out altogether. I remarked that the moment seemed to me to be all too far off.

Señor Martin Artajo finally returned to his main line that, given time and encouragement, it would be possible to find a way out of the present difficulties. He said that in some ways he thought it might be easier to discuss fundamental questions with the Labour Government than any other, as he believed that Labour was generally interested in facing up to social problems and had a real conscience about such matters, and the social question was the main preoccupation of the present age in Spain as elsewhere. He concluded by saying that he was hoping to have full and frank discussions with the British and American Ambassadors before long, and immediately after that would be putting his findings to General Franco. As a last word he said that he did not wish that there should be any atmosphere of secrecy or intrigue about our talk. On the basis of personal friendship it was possible to say many things which one could not say officially and he hoped that we would soon meet again.

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Secret.

Z 9328
10 AUG 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
SAN SEBASTIAN.

No. 8. 6th August, 1945.

Z9318/537/41

Sir,

With reference to my telegram No. 9 of August 3rd, I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a memorandum by Mr. Burns, Press Attaché at this Embassy, on some aspects of the political situation here as affected by the General Election results. The memorandum includes a record of a long conversation between Mr. Burns and Señor Artajo, the new Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is an old acquaintance of his. Mr. Burns comments upon the effect on Spanish opinion of the British Elections and of the Potsdam declaration regarding Spain. There is no doubt that these two events have produced in responsible circles a feeling of great anxiety. I have, moreover, good reason to believe that my plain speaking to General Franco when presenting my credentials has not failed to make an impression, and I hear that a most useful effect has been produced by the remarks made by my United States colleague to an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when Mr. Armour explained that there was complete identity of view between the United States and British Governments.

2. I cannot venture, after so few days in this country, to offer any very weighty comment upon what Mr. Burns has written, and I can only record first impressions. It seems to me of primary importance that the transition from the Franco régime to something new should, when it eventually happens, take place without any risk of plunging this unhappy country into such violent commotion that a fresh civil war might ensue. I believe it to be true that there is still a great feeling of war weariness and that nobody except a few communist extremists really wish for a new outbreak, but passions are so easily aroused in Spain that once disorder begins there is no knowing how far it may go. There is no doubt that not only the monarchists of all complexions, but also the great mass of republicans would bitterly resist an attempt to stir up civil strife by exiles such as Senor Negrin who, I am advised, would stand no chance of rallying support around them and would meet with short shrift even from the men of the left. It is clear that anxiety exists in many quarters lest the new British Government may attempt to impose upon Spain some of these discredited leaders.

3. Apart from the obvious undesirability of a new civil war, it is also clear that any attempt at an armed rising by the left would be doomed to failure on account of the strength and good organization of the Spanish army.

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

Everyone /

PHOTOGRAPHICALLY WITHOUT PERMISSION

Everyone whom I have met is in agreement that the army, as has always been the case in Spanish history, has in its hands the power to overthrow the present régime and set up a new one. The army, in fact, appears to provide the only safe means by which a provisional government could be set up to inaugurate a new régime. Inevitably, a period of transition would have to take place, as there is at present no constitution which would facilitate the immediate restoration either of a monarchy or a republic. The army leaders are undoubtedly impressed with the fact that, sooner or later, Franco will have to go, but they appear to be somewhat alarmed lest, having brought off their coup against Franco, they might find their provisional régime without recognition or moral support from abroad. If they felt that at such a moment they were likely to be faced with a demand to bring back an exiled republican Government, they would prefer to keep Franco with all his disadvantages and in this they would have the backing of the great bulk of moderate opinion in this country.

4. When the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs speculates on what course of action His Majesty's Government are now likely to take it is clear that he is thinking as a realist, and it seems to me very salutary that he should be in this state of alarm. It is equally important that he should not in any way get the idea into his head that he can play off the Americans against us, and I feel sure that Mr. Armour will do everything possible to prevent any such misconception.

5. It is not yet at all clear what the real effect upon the Generals has been of the Potsdam declaration. The official Spanish counter-blast shows that Franco has been stung. Whether the Generals will now rally round him from an exaggerated sense of Spanish pride, resenting, as many of them do, the accusation that Franco's rising was entirely the result of Axis intervention, or whether they may decide at last to face realities and take action against Franco is at present an unknown factor. I think that we must give events a little time now and be careful not to make any precipitate move which could consolidate the army with the Franco régime once more. The line to take with Señor Artajo seems to me to be to maintain an ominous attitude and to put the next move up to him by asking what way out he is thinking of. As it has hitherto been our policy not to attempt to dictate to the Spaniards what new form of Government they should choose to replace Franco's régime, it seems to be the right thing to continue to place the onus on the Spaniards of finding a way out. Nevertheless the time may come before very long when it will be for consideration whether the Americans and ourselves can go a little further and indicate to enquirers that there would in principle be no obstacle to the eventual recognition of whatever new régime might emerge, provided that it was of a nature to obtain the general acceptance of

the /

the responsible elements in Spain.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon and the Civil Governor at Gibraltar.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

Vansittart

PUBLICATION WITHOUT PERMISSION

MEMORANDUM

The British Election Results have precipitated a crisis in Spanish internal affairs which has been latent during the last two years; a crisis which was hinted at in the Spanish Government changes a few days earlier and which must inevitably be confirmed ~~with~~ when the decision of the Berlin Conference is fully appreciated by the Spanish Government and the Spanish people. The Spanish Government's note on the Berlin Conference, published today, is a little more than an interjection in a very long story.

The election results brought in a forceful element hitherto absent from the Spanish mind; the element of Time. Whereas one had grown accustomed in these last years to questions from Spaniards as to the chances of one development or another, to a variety of claims and political theories, all directed against the actual régime from various angles, one has never been asked before: "Is there any Time?". The proverbial "mañana" seems to have dropped out of the Spaniards' political vocabulary, except that of the people who expect and hope for chaos to come again and to get pickings on the 'morrow.

This sudden injection of a time sense may safely be left to do its own good work; a violent or provocative act or gesture from the outside just now might very well nullify it and plunge Spaniards once more into one of the reckless metaphysical moods to which they are so prone, making them defiant of measurable standards and ultimately destructive of themselves and of all understanding.

2. Never has the internal situation in Spain been so critical since the end of the Civil War. Whilst world politics have evolved swiftly and people have grown accustomed to drastic decisions the evolution of Spain's internal affairs has been halting, contradictory and largely hidden, both from the Spanish people and the world as a whole.

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The great mass of the Spanish people has long since grown accustomed to sticking to evils that they know rather than flying to others that they know not of. Any idea that there can be a swift and radical change of the present régime into something more representative without bloodshed and violence on a large scale must be rejected. Indeed, the very threat of violence would tend to make the present Government itself representative in a way which has not been wholly true in the past; that is it would consolidate a widespread opinion, hitherto luke-warm and critical about the régime, into an intransigent mass of supporters, whose unifying bond would be the rejection of the arbitrament of Civil War and resentment of foreign interference even at the cost of fierce repressive measures within the country and still further loss of place and prestige in the outside world.

Time is everything. If only the sanest and most responsible elements in Spain could be given to understand that time was not wholly against them they would work unreservedly towards the formation of another Government and another régime more consonant with the nature and needs of the Spanish people and the requirements for membership of the United Nations.

3. These are the conclusions I have reached on matters as they stand today, based on nearly five years of working and living among Spaniards of all degrees and more especially on conversations held with responsible observers of feeling in the country during the last few days.

No Spaniard is typical of the rest and none can hope to be the mouthpiece of the nation. A degree of unanimity is only to be found in negative opinions and today three of them are predominant: the people do not want

General /

General Franco; they do not want foreign intervention; (which includes their own countrymen in exile); they do not want another civil war. Whilst the man in the street is now helplessly preoccupied about the last two, there are a few men who are really thinking about how to avoid them by dealing with the Generalissimo himself.

Their troubles were undoubtedly brought to a head by the Election results. It was only natural that not a few should have brought them along to one in the succeeding days. I had talks with such men as Señor Carascal, formerly Secretary of the powerful C.E.D.A. party in the Republican cortes and now the spokesman of Señor Gil Robles and those of his following who stand out in intransigent opposition to General Franco, with Señor Larraz, perhaps the only one of General Franco's Ministers who has ever resigned of his own accord. (He was Minister of Finance for a brief period before Falangist totalitarianism came into the saddle in 1939); with Señor Gamero del Castillo, one time Vice-Secretary of the Falange Party, but its active opponent during the last three years; with Monarchists like the Conde de Fontanar and the Marques de la Eliseda and with very many friends of liberal opinion. They all are hoping and working for an elimination of General Franco which does not involve outside intervention or interior strife.

The most important talk was with Senor Martin Artajo, not only because he is the new Minister for Foreign Affairs but because his somewhat humble, sincere and tentative approach is the highest common denominator of opinion to be found among the mixture of firebrands,

theorists, /

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theorists, reactionaries and wishful thinkers which infests all fields of political speculation.

Señor Martin Artajo is one of my oldest acquaintances in Spain: we met through a mutual English friend early in 1940 and he was particularly kind to me then at a time when it was not fashionable to be so. I give as accurately as possible the gist of a conversation which lasted over two hours.

Señor Martin Artajo began by asking me how I had found London on my recent visit and what was the opinion there about Spain. I said that I had been forcibly struck with the unanimity of feeling against General Franco: his name seemed to survive now as a symbol of what had been defeated in the war. I had talked to many parliamentary cadidates just before the election and they had all mentioned the voter's quite violent feelings on the matter. I said that I was telling him this with all due respect, and as a personal observation which I thought could be confirmed from many sources.

Señor Martin Artajo said that he fully realised the situation as I depicted it; that he did not underrate its gravity but he would like to know whether I had formed an impression about the new Government's intentions. Was there any talk of breaking off relations, applying sanctions or recognizing a "government" in exile? I replied that I had no more knowledge on the matter than the man in the street, but that it seemed to me that an <u>impasse</u> inevitably lay ahead. I thought that the present moral isolation in Spain would almost certainly take more material form as time went on and that there seemed to be no hope for close and cordial relations so

long /

long as General Franco remained in power.

Señor Martin Artajo said that whilst he accepted my assessment of the situation he supposed that the new British Government had no interest in simply producing another civil war in Spain and that the way to development was not now wholly barred. He said that whilst it was evident that changes even of the most fundamental kind must be brought about, he was convinced that they could not be made in too great a hurry. He thought that it was not sufficiently realized abroad how far General Franco's régime had already evolved from its first beginnings. To take one example his own appointment as Minister for Foreign Affairs would not have been contemplated even a year or so back. He had never played any part in the Falangist movement and in fact was one of a large party which had been equally alive in the monarchist and republican régimes and had always stood against absolutism and totalitarianism in any form. He said that he wanted to make it clear nevertheless that in his present position he was not representing his group. He had hoped that other members of it and monarchist representatives would have accepted posts in the new Government. Personally, he regretted their decision not to do so, but he felt that his own position was not necessarily weakened thereby. He had a weapon which he would never have had if he had stayed outside the Government and which he would not hesitate to use if his efforts to improve the situation all failed; namely, resignation.

He /

He went on to say that whilst he believed there were still good grounds for negotiation and that given time the régime could and would evolve, it would be impossible to effect anything under a threat to its very life. If there were a reasonable way out, avoiding catastrophe, he would do his utmost in helping to open it but nobody could expect the Spanish State to commit suicide and let the country lapse into civil war.

I said that I quite appreciated his position but that it seemed to me that if one's house was on fire there might be little good in conjecturing how to get downstairs. There came a moment when the only thing to do was to jump out of the window.

Señor Martin Artajo took this purposely veiled suggestion of change more sudden and radical than his own tentative ideas of evolution, quite calmly. He said that the great trouble was whether any provisional Government, if it took over from the present one, would be given that immediate moral support and official recognition by the British and American Governments which alone could give it authority and the opportunity of maintaining order in the country until normal and stable conditions had been achieved. He could not help feeling that if, as he supposed, the British Government was even now debating whether to maintain relations with General Franco's Government, it might quite well delay indefinitely extending recognition to any other which on a strictly legal basis could hardly have more titles to legitimacy than the present one.

Señor Martin Artajo went on to say that he thought public opinion in Great Britain was gravely misinformed about the actual strength of Franco's position. He was apparently regarded as an unpopular tyrant whom most people in Spain would be glad to see the last of. Actually, there was a great mass of people who had suffered all too much from the Reds in the civil war, who were still enormously grateful to General Franco not only as they thought for saving the country from anarchy, but also for keeping Spain out of the war. They would not let him go without a struggle.

I said that I had indeed observed this, but that it seemed to me that there was at least one highly unpopular feature of the régime whose disappearance nobody would regret, namely, the Falange. Why, I asked, could not General Franco dissolve it immediately as at least a preliminary step towards a more normal state of affairs? Señor Martin Artajo replied somewhat naively that General Franco had a great sense of nobility and could not very well turn out all of a sudden a body which had been so loyal to him and identified itself with his leadership. He said that he thought that the power of Falangism in any case would decline still further. In November the re-election of the Junta Politica would be coming up as a matter of course and that would be the moment, he thought, for letting it fade out altogether. I remarked that the moment seemed to me to be all too far off.

Señor Martin Artajo finally returned to his main line that given time and encouragement it would be possible to find a way out of the present difficulties. He said that in some ways he thought it might be easier to discuss fundamental questions with the Labour Government than any other, as he believed that Labour was generally interested in facing up to social problems and had a real conscience about such matters, and the social question was the main pre-occupation of the present age in Spain as elsewhere. He concluded by saying that he was hoping to have full and frank discussions with the British and American Ambassadors before long and immediately after that would be putting his findings to General Franco. As a last word he said that he did not wish that there should be any atmosphere of secrecy or intrigue about our talk. On the basis of personal friendship it was possible to say many things which one could not say officially and he hoped that we would soon meet again.

Sir Attach
6/8/45

92

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 9332

10 AUG 1945

157

Registry Number Z 9332/233/41

FROM Sir V. Mallet, San Sebastian.

No. 3

Dated 2nd Aug. 1945.

Received in Registry 10th Aug. 1945.

Z : Spain

Political situation in Asturia.

Transmits despatch from British Vice Consul Ribadeo to His Majesty's Consul Vigo, dated the 2nd July. States that political tension in Asturias is probably more marked tham elsewhere.

This can be ascribed to MINERS, with tradition of violence and extreme left-wing views and to existence of, local powerful **Falange.**

Last Paper.

29328

References.

(*Print.*)

(*How disposed of.*)

L.) Major Jane W.O.
Miss Harris Wpt.

Aug 9.13

(*Minutes.*)

Copy Major Jane (W.O.)
Miss Harris (M.E.I.)

Such latent discontent will probably have been stimulated by the result of the British Election.

Research Dept. EDG 16/8

A.L.S. 12/8.

(Action completed.)

Sdc 17/8

(Index.)

10/7

Next Paper.

29333

158

Z 9332

10 AUG 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

SAN SEBASTIAN.

No. 3

2nd August, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith an interesting despatch from the British Vice-Consul at Ribadeo to His Majesty's Consul at Vigo, regarding the political situation in Asturias.

2. Although similar conditions of political tension exist in other parts of Spain it is probable that they are more marked in Asturias than elsewhere. This can be ascribed to the presence on the one hand of the miners with their tradition of violence and extreme left-wing views and on the other and to a great extent as a consequence of the existence of a powerful local Falange.

3. I am copying this despatch to His Majesty's Consul at Vigo.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,
Sir,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,

G G Lunnon

The Rt. Honourable Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

COPY

No. 26/45

SECRET

By Bag

British Vice Consulate,
Ribadao.

159

2nd July, 1945.

Sir,

POLITICAL REPORT.

The political situation is somewhat difficult to gauge at the present time in this area as there is a strict censorship in Asturias and very little information gets through. In the Asturian coalfields there is an atmosphere of frustration amongst the people and a feeling of irritation at the slowness of the movements of events in their own little world which means everything to them. These miners view the situation entirely from their own narrow and bigoted standpoint with little sympathy for the rest of Spain. To fully realize their position one has to appreciate that they suffered acutely after the victory of the Nationalists, and the campaign of suppression and elimination which followed created an atmosphere of hatred which has grown in intensity during the succeeding years. The ruthlessness and vindictiveness of the Nationalists would appear to be responsible for this serious state of affairs, as they did nothing to try and reconcile the miners, but on the contrary carried out a series of executions which had the effect of fanning and intensifying the hatred already existing. The Asturian miner is a difficult person to deal with and cannot be cowed into peaceful submission by force of arms. The Asturians nurtured the hope that after the liberation of France events would move swiftly in their area, believing they would receive assistance and arms from the Spanish and French Maquis across the Pyrennees. This hope was not realised and as a consequence a feeling of frustration hangs threateningly over the area and is a potential danger. That the miners are organized in so far as regards numbers and liaison there is no shadow of doubt, but they are very poorly armed and it is this fact alone which keeps them quiet. They also entertained the hope that the Spanish army would rise and overthrow the Falange, but there is not the slightest indication that the Army have any intention of carrying out this revolt. The Army officers are well "nursed" by the Falange and constant watch is being kept on the "Reds". A number of Moorish troops are stationed in the mining areas, and frequent arrests are made. In view of the above the political atmosphere is very unhealthy and it is my firm conviction that there will be

no /

no reconciliation with the present regime however much they may try to win favour amongst the miners - the existing hatred is too deeply rooted.

2. As regards the rest of this area there is nothing outstanding to report. Great indignation has been aroused amongst the small traders on account of the levy which is being imposed on them to raise funds for the Falange celebrations on the 12th July. This is not a voluntary contribution. On the contrary a quota is fixed for each establishment which the owners are compelled to pay. Should they make a protest on the grounds that the turn-over of their business is insufficient to meet such a levy they fall into disfavour with the Falange and suffer in consequence.

3. Another recent event which has stirred up great resentment has been the distribution of money for family allowance to the peasants. The Falange took advantage of the occasion to display their power and solidarity in Lugo, entertaining the hope that the distribution of this money would create a feeling of goodwill and support for their organization. The result was a complete failure. The public who had been forced to attend the demonstration, were enclosed in the public square so as to make the event seem more spectacular. As soon as the peasants received the money allocated to them they tried to break away from the crowd, but were obliged by the police to remain in the square until the very end of the ceremony. This restriction of their liberties caused resentment amongst the people, and the result was quite different from what had been expected by the authorities.

I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant,

(signed) William Gray.

T.B. Wildman, Esq.,
H.M. Consul,
Vigo.

93

Z

SPAIN

Z 9333

161

1940

Registry Number Z 9333/233/41

FROM Sir V. Mallet, San Sebastian.

No. 5

Dated 4th Aug, 1945.

Received in Registry 10th Aug, 1945.

Z: Spain

Survey of Spanish affairs and Anglo Spanish relations for 1944.

Transmits survey as above. A summary of economic affairs for the first nine months of 1944 was given in Madrid despatch 608 (C 13896/2/41) and of the last three months in Madrid despatch 356E (Z 7907/23/41).

Last Paper.

Z 9332

References.

(Print.)

~~PRINTED~~ Aug 10 Spain / Sect 2

(How disposed of.)

P.) in print.
Mr Ellis Rees 128.
Mr Goodchild 126.
Mr Harris 127.
Mr Welch B/T 125.
~~Aug~~ Sept 8.

(Minutes.)

Print

and copy in print
to Mr Ellis Rees (T&E)
Mr Goodchild (~~E.R.D.~~)
Miss Harris (M & S)
Mr Welch (B/T).

CNA 21/8.

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Resubmit after phone.
See R 6165
26/8

(Action completed.)	(Index.)
SJ. 28/8	10/1

Next Paper.

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SPAIN. D August 10, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 2.

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ARCHIVES

[Z 9333/233/41] Copy No. 8

Sir V. Mallet to Mr. Bevin.—(*Received* 10*th August.*)

(No. 5.)

Sir, *San Sebastian, 4th August,* 1945.

I HAVE the honour to send you the accompanying general survey of Spanish affairs and Anglo-Spanish relations during the year 1944, for which I am indebted to Mr. Bowker. The section on the propaganda activities by His Majesty's Embassy and the attitude of the Spanish press was written by Mr. Burns, the press attaché.

2. A summary of economic affairs during the first nine months of the year was given in Mr. Ellis Rees's report enclosed in Mr. Bowker's despatch No. 608 of the 6th October, 1944, and of the last three months of the year in Mr. Weston's report enclosed in Mr. Bowker's despatch No. E. 356 of the 26th June, 1945.

I have, &c.
V. A. L. MALLET.

Enclosure.

Outstanding Grievances.

THE story of Anglo-Spanish relations during 1944 was dominated by a struggle to obtain a settlement of our outstanding grievances against the Spanish Government, grievances which the steady change in the war situation in favour of the Allies made increasingly inadmissable and which were increasingly irreconcilable with the official policy of the Spanish Government as defined in their declaration of neutrality issued on the 3rd of February. These grievances, which had been the subject of strong representations by Lord Templewood both to General Franco and the Minister for Foreign Affairs during the preceding year, were once again the main subject of discussion in Lord Templewood's interview with General Franco on the 28th January. The grievances were the following :—

(*a*) The continued export of wolfram to the Germans.
(*b*) The continued presence of Blue Division units on the Russian front.
(*c*) The continued activities of German sabotage and espionage agents both in the peninsula and in Spanish North Africa.
(*d*) The continued internment of Italian merchant and warships in Spanish ports.

On this occasion Lord Templewood's representations were favourably received by General Franco, who expressed anxiety to satisfy His Majesty's Government on all points. On the same night, however, it was announced from Washington that oil shipments to Spain had been suspended, and although General Jordana received a vote of confidence from his colleagues in the Council of Ministers, it was soon apparent that he would not be able to remedy our grievances while the Spanish Government considered it was being coerced by the imposition of oil sanctions. Since there seemed no possibility of resumption of oil shipments until the wolfram problem had been settled, attention centred on an attempt to find a way out of this impasse. From the outset, it was clear that the Spanish Government, in view of its commitments with the Germans and the dependence of Spanish economy on Spanish shipping, would not agree to a complete embargo on the export of wolfram. On the other hand there were clear indications that it would be willing to restrict exports to a figure which would give us the substance of our demands. But the United States Government, having made a declaration of policy with regard to neutrals, and with an eye, no doubt, to the forthcoming presidential elections, stood out strongly for a complete embargo. Its attitude delayed progress and it was not until some three months later that

it finally agreed to a compromise. On the 2nd May an agreement was reached in two exchanges of notes between the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the one hand, and His Majesty's Ambassador and the United States Ambassador, on the other, which provided for the following :—

(*a*) A limitation of wolfram exports to Germany to 20 tons a month in May and June and 40 tons a month thereafter, with appropriate deductions for any mineral known to have been smuggled.
(*b*) The closure of the German Consulate at Tangier and the departure of the staff from Spanish-controlled territory or metropolitan Spain.
(*c*) The expulsion of German espionage and sabotage agents.
(*d*) The submission to arbitration of the question of the interned Italian warships.
(*e*) The immediate release of five of the seven interned Italian merchant ships.
(*f*) The final withdrawal of all Spanish units of any kind from the Eastern front.
(*g*) The continuation of all necessary facilities for the purchase and export of Spanish products by Great Britain and the United States of America.
(*h*) The withdrawal of the Japanese Military Mission in Tangier.
(*i*) The immediate resumption of petroleum shipments to Spain.

As always, it proved to be one thing to reach an agreement with the Spanish Government and quite another to obtain its implementation, and the rest of the year was taken up with repeated attempts to induce the Spanish Government to put into effect the terms of the agreement. The German consulate-general at Tangier was closed on the 23rd May. The five Italian merchant ships left when arrangements could be made for the arrival of British crews to man them. The question of arbitration on the detention of the Italian warships hung fire until the United States Ambassador finally persuaded the Minister for Foreign Affairs to agree to submit the matter to a Spanish arbitrator on the understanding that the decision would enable to ships to depart. The decision, which was based on the theory that the period of twenty-four hours allowed to the ships for refuelling had been interrupted by the ensuing dispute, allowed arrangements to be made for the ships to be refuelled within twenty-four hours of the issue of the decision. The ships finally left at the end of the year. As regards the Blue Division, His Majesty's Ambassador was informed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 24th March that all members of the Blue Division would have returned to Spain by the 8th April, and it was announced later that any individuals remaining behind were volunteers who had passed to the German command.

On the two main points, namely, wolfram and German agents, little progress was made. In spite of the official limitation of wolfram exports, large quantities continued to be smuggled across the frontier, until the moment of the German withdrawal, thanks to the efficient transport system set up by the German State organisation, Sofindus, and the complicity of highly-placed Spanish officials. It was not until the end of the year that the last German agents were expelled from Spanish North Africa. On the other hand, very few agents had left metropolitan Spain by the time the Germans withdrew from the Pyrenees, thus making further expulsions impracticable. The Spanish Government were pressed from that moment to intern agents, but by the end of the year this had been done only in the case of about 20 out of a list of about 150. Meanwhile, further agents continued to enter Spain by the German-Lufthansa air service, which, at the same time, continued to carry valuable merchandise to Germany. Towards the end of the year His Majesty's Ambassador made a strong protest to the Minister for Foreign Affairs about the lack of progress in regard to the prevention of wolfram smuggling and the internment of German agents, and called attention to further causes of complaint against the Spanish Government. These were the failure to settle a number of matters in North Africa, resulting from the failure of the local authorities to respect British treaty rights or their discourtesy towards a British consular officer, in most of which cases our difficulties seemed to be due to the obstructive, unfriendly attitude of the High Commissioner, General Orgaz : the continued persecution of persons sympathising with the cause of the United Nations : the failure to settle our claims for the restitution of properties belonging to British Protestant Mission Societies confiscated by the Spanish authorities, and for the return of bibles seized from the British Bible Society, and the failure to take measures to prevent the negotiation by German agents of forged British bank-notes.

While the Spanish Government failed during the year to meet some of our major outstanding grievances, it nevertheless showed readiness to adapt its policy to the changed course of the war in certain minor respects. In September instructions were issued to the press to avoid any Germanophil tendency in political commentaries and to give to Allied war commentaries the prominence formerly accorded to those of the Axis and to cease criticism of Russia. As a result of repeated representations, six small German naval auxiliary vessels, which took refuge in Pasajes after the withdrawal of the Germans from the Pyrenees frontier, were interned. At the end of September, in reply to the British and United States communications on the subject, the Minister for Foreign Affairs gave an assurance that war criminals would not be admitted into Spain, though, he added, no public statement could be made on the subject. In October, Captain Munn, an elderly British ornithologist, who had been expelled from Mallorca on a trumped-up charge of espionage, was allowed to return to his home in the island. His Majesty's Embassy were able to obtain the almost immediate cancellation of a fine of over 4 million pesetas imposed on a British subject in the Canary Islands for a customs offence for which he was patently not responsible. Most important of all, an *ad hoc* agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Spanish Government was reached on the 3rd October establishing a direct air service between London and Madrid.

Anglo-Spanish relations.

The Spanish Government made various attempts during the year to give the impression that Anglo-Spanish relations left nothing to be desired. In reporting the speech made by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on the 23rd February, the Spanish press gave prominence to Mr. Eden's expression of appreciation for Spain's attitude in the "very dark days of the war," but omitted the references to Spain's association with Germany and the occupation of Tangier. Mr. Churchill's friendly allusions to Spain in his speech of the 24th May were represented as official approbation of General Franco's régime. General Franco's complacency and continued failure to appreciate the realities of the international situation were strikingly manifested in November, when the Duke of Alba handed to the Secretary of State a letter addressed to the Duke by General Franco on the 18th October, requesting a clarification of Anglo-Spanish relations and offering Spanish support to Great Britain against Russia.

On the 3rd August, Count Jordana, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, since his appointment in succession to Señor Serrano Suñer, had worked conscientiously for an improvement in Anglo-Spanish relations and for a diminution of the influence of Falange, died suddenly at San Sebastian and was succeeded by Señor Lequerica, Spanish Ambassador at Vichy. The new Minister at once gave assurances of his determination to settle our outstanding grievances, particularly as regards German agents and wolfram smuggling, but by the end of the year had failed to make any considerable progress.

Evolution of the régime.

The year saw little real change in the character of the Government in spite of various manifestations intended to give the impression that democratic evolution was under way. Early in November, General Franco made a statement to a representative of the United Press in which he described Spain as an "organic democracy." This had been preceded by the syndical elections, which were much advertised in the press as marking the second stage in General Franco's plan to enable Spaniards to take part in the management of their own affairs. The first stage, it was explained, had been the constitution of the Cortes and the third was to be the law of local administration, still under preparation, providing for municipal elections. In fact, the syndical elections were nothing more than a Falange ramp and entailed the compulsory attendance of voters who could in practice vote only for party nominated candidates. Shortly afterwards, the official bulletin published the organic law establishing the composition and function of the resuscitated Council of State, which was presented as a further stage in the construction of the "organic democracy."

Falange.

There was little change during the year in the position of the Falange, although, for the first time, the diplomatic corps were not invited to the requiem mass at the Escorial on the anniversary of the execution of José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Of nine civil governors appointed in November, the majority were as

convinced Falangists as their predecessors. In August a special Franco guard was formed from members of the old guard of the Falange and the Blue Division. Numerous incidents occurred of Falange demonstrations hostile to the Allies, particularly in Barcelona.

The Monarchy issue.

While the position of Falange remained largely unchanged, there was equally little development on the issue of the monarchy. Early in the year an exchange of telegrams and letters took place between Don Juan and General Franco which ended in a more or less complete breach between the two. In February, a thirty-page pamphlet issued by the Monarchists was submitted to General Franco through the medium of General Vigón, together with a letter signed by a number of outstanding personalities calling for the abolition of Falange and advocating a regency as a first step towards the restoration of the monarchy. In March, a Monarchist demonstration, followed by 200 arrests, was organised in Madrid in favour of Don Juan and expressly against the so-called Charlos VIII, grandson (by his mother) of Don Carlos (VII), who died in 1909, who had been brought to Barcelona by the Falange with the object of driving a wedge into the Monarchist ranks. The very ineffectual young man was later dropped and passed once more into obscurity. In the same month four professors, including the vice-rector, of Madrid University, were arrested and rusticated following the discovery of a concerted Monarchist movement with the support of about 100 professors in universities all over Spain.

Left-wing activities.

The close police control exercised by the Government effectively prevented any major activities by outstanding Left-wing elements, although in February subversive plots were discovered at Malaga and Tetuan. After the withdrawal of the Germans from the Pyrenees, Spanish Republicans were for a time in control of certain parts of the frontier, and throughout October there was a series of incidents between Spanish military forces and these republican elements, who had been encouraged by republican propaganda to suppose that they had only to cross the Pyrenees in order to be received with open arms by their countrymen and start a successful revolution. At the end of December the police suddenly arrested some 300 persons, mostly business and professional classes, including well-known Republicans or former members of Gil Robles Centre party. Most of these persons were released shortly afterwards.

Spanish—United States relations.

The Spanish Government made great efforts during the year to establish friendly relations with the United States and on the 2nd December a Civil Aviation Agreement was signed providing, under reciprocity, for the establishment of United States civil aviation lines across Spanish territory with landing rights at various points. The United States Ambassador, Mr. Hayes, received flattering official tributes on relinquishing his post at the end of the year and was presented by General Franco with his portrait painted by Zuloaga.

His Majesty's Embassy.

The year was marked by two outstanding occurrences as regards the staff of His Majesty's Embassy. On the 17th May, His Majesty's Minister, Mr. Arthur Yencken, was killed in an accident when flying to Barcelona in order to be present at the exchange of British, American and German wounded prisoners-of-war and civilians. The Spanish Government, as a special gesture of sympathy, accorded funeral honours equivalent to those of a general of division. Towards the end of December, Sir Samuel Hoare relinquished his post as Ambassador on special mission to Spain. Sir Samuel Hoare arrived in Spain in June 1940, when the German armies were advancing through France. Four months before he left he had the satisfaction of being among the first to cross the International Bridge at Irun on the withdrawal of the German armies from the Pyrenees frontier.

Propaganda activities of His Majesty's Embassy and the attitude of the Spanish Press.

The general tendency described in the appendix to last year's annual report was developed during 1944 and propaganda activities expanded considerably. Our bulletin for the Spanish authorities which had a circulation of some 10,000

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at the beginning of the year had more than doubled its readership by the end. A weekly survey was also inaugurated in this period and quickly reached a circulation of over 25,000. Advantage was taken of the increasing tolerance of the press to run four different services of syndicated articles on political and military matters as well as feed the specialised periodicals with a variety of subjects suited to their needs from finance to football. An indication of our increasing success in placing our photographs may be seen in the fact that in December 1943 only twenty-five were placed as against 235 in November 1944.

It was reaching the somewhat embarrassing situation towards the end of the year that our opportunities were measured only by the opportunism of the Falangist press authorities who seemed only too anxious to bring the whole of their totalitarianism machinery to the defence of democracy—or their quaint interpretation of it. We could not altogether eschew these opportunities. *Non tali auxilio* . . . . is a noble sentiment but a dangerous one for press attachés.

Z 9333
10 AUG 1945

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BRITISH EMBASSY,

SAN SEBASTIAN.

No. 5.

August 4th, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to send you the accompanying general survey of Spanish affairs and Anglo-Spanish relations during the year 1944, for which I am indebted to Mr. Bowker. ..... The section on the propaganda activities by His Majesty's Embassy and the attitude of the Spanish press was written by Mr. Burns, the Press Attaché.

2. A summary of economic affairs during the first nine months of the year was given in Mr. Ellis Rees's report enclosed in Mr. Bowker's despatch No. 608 of the 6th October, 1944, and of the last three months of the year in Mr. Weston's report enclosed in Mr. Bowker's despatch No.E.356 of the 26th June, 1945.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

Vansittart

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.
Foreign Office.

Outstanding grievances

The story of Anglo-Spanish relations during 1944 was dominated by a struggle to obtain a settlement of our outstanding grievances against the Spanish Government, grievances which the steady change in the war situation in favour of the Allies made increasingly inadmissible and which were increasingly irreconcilable with the official policy of the Spanish Government as defined in their declaration of neutrality issued on the 3rd February. These grievances, which had been the subject of strong representations by Lord Templewood both to General Franco and the Minister for Foreign Affairs during the preceding year, were once again the main subject of discussion in Lord Templewood's interview with General Franco on the 28th January. The grievances were the following:-

(a) the continued export of wolfram to the Germans,

(b) the continued presence of Blue Division Units on the Russian front,

(c) the continued activities of German sabotage and espionage agents both in the Peninsula and in Spanish North Africa,

(d) the continued internment of Italian merchant and warships in Spanish ports.

On this occasion Lord Templewood's representations were favourably received by General Franco, who expressed anxiety to satisfy H.M. Government on all points. On the same night, however, it was announced from Washington that oil shipments to Spain had been suspended, and although General Jordana received a vote of confidence from his colleagues in the Council of Ministers, it was soon apparent that he would not be able to remedy our grievances while the Spanish Government considered it was being coerced by the imposition of oil sanctions. Since there seemed no possibility of resumption of oil shipments until the wolfram problem had been settled, attention centred on an attempt to find a way out of this impasse. From the outset, it was clear that the Spanish Government, in view of its commitments with the Germans and the dependence of Spanish economy on Spanish shipping, would not agree to a complete embargo on the export of wolfram. On the other hand there were clear indications that it would be willing to restrict exports to a figure which would give us the substance of our demands. But the United States Government, having made a declaration of policy with regard to neutrals, and with an eye, no doubt, to the forthcoming Presidential elections, stood out strongly for a complete embargo. Its attitude delayed progress and it was not until some three months later that it finally agreed to a compromise. On the 2nd May an agreement was reached in two exchanges of notes between the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the one hand, and His Majesty's Ambassador and the United States Ambassador, on the other, which provided for the following:-

(a) a limitation of wolfram exports to Germany to 20 tons a month in May and June and 40 tons a month thereafter, with appropriate deductions for any mineral known to have been smuggled.

(b) the

(b) the closure of the German Consulate at Tangier and the departure of the staff from Spanish controlled territory or Metropolitan Spain.

(c) the expulsion of German espionage and sabotage agents.

(d) the submission to arbitration of the question of the interned Italian warships.

(e) the immediate release of five of the seven interned Italian merchant ships.

(f) the final withdrawal of all Spanish units of any kind from the Eastern front.

(g) the continuation of all necessary facilities for the purchase and export of Spanish products by Great Britain and the United States of America.

(h) the withdrawal of the Japanese Military Mission in Tangier.

(i) the immediate resumption of petroleum shipments to Spain.

As always, it proved to be one thing to reach an agreement with the Spanish Government and quite another to obtain its implementation, and the rest of the year was taken up with repeated attempts to induce the Spanish Government to put into effect the terms of the agreement. The German Consulate-General at Tangier was closed on the 23rd May. The five Italian merchant ships left when arrangements could be made for the arrival of British crews to man them. The question of arbitration on the detention of the Italian warships hung fire until the United States Ambassador finally persuaded the Minister for Foreign Affairs to agree to submit the matter to a Spanish arbitrator on the understanding that the decision would enable the ships to depart. The decision, which was based on the theory that the period of 24 hours allowed to the ships for refuelling had been interrupted by the ensuing dispute, allowed arrangements to be made for the ships to be refuelled within 24 hours of the issue of the decision. The ships finally left at the end of the year. As regards the Blue Division, His Majesty's Ambassador was informed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 24th March that all members of the Blue Division would have returned to Spain by April 8th and it was announced later that any individuals remaining behind were volunteers who had passed to the German command.

On the two main points, namely, wolfram and German agents, little progress was made. In spite of the official limitation of wolfram exports, large quantities continued to be smuggled across the frontier, until the moment of the German withdrawal, thanks to the efficient transport system set up by the German State organization, Sofindus, and the complicity of highly placed Spanish officials. It was not

until /

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until the end of the year that the last German agents were expelled from Spanish North Africa. On the other hand, very few agents had left Metropditan Spain by the time the Germans withdrew from the Pyrenees, thus making further expulsions impracticable. The Spanish Government were pressed from that moment to intern agents, but by the end of the year this had been done only in the case of about 20 out of a list of about 150. Meanwhile, further agents continued to enter Spain by the German Lufthansa air service, which, at the same time, continued to carry valuable merchandise to Germany. Towards the end of the year, His Majesty's Ambassador made a strong protest to the Minister for Foreign Affairs about the lack of progress in regard to the prevention of wolfram smuggling and the internment of German agents, and called attention to further causes of complaint against the Spanish Government. These were the failure to settle a number of matters in North Africa, resulting from the failure of the local authorities to respect British treaty rights or their discourtesy towards a British Consular Officer, in most of which cases our difficulties seemed to be due to the obstructive unfriendly attitude of the High Commissioner, General Orgaz: the continued persecution of persons sympathising with the cause of the United Nations: the failure to settle our claims for the restitution of properties belonging to British Protestant Mission Societies confiscated by the Spanish Authorities and for the return of bibles seized from the British Bible Society, and the failure to take measures to prevent the negotiation by German agents of forged British Bank Notes.

While the Spanish Government failed during the year to meet some of our major outstanding grievances, it nevertheless showed readiness to adapt its policy to the changed course of the war in certain minor respects. In September instructions were issued to the Press to avoid any Germanophil tendency in political commentaries and to give to Allied war commentaries the prominence formerly accorded to those of the Axis and to cease criticism of Russia. As a result of repeated representations six small German naval auxiliary vessels, which took refuge in Pasajes after the withdrawal of the Germans from the Pyrenees frontier, were interned. At the end of September, in reply to the British and United States communications on the subject, the Minister for Foreign Affairs gave an assurance that war criminals would not be admitted into Spain, though, he added, no public statement would be made on the subject. In October, Captain Munn, an elderly British ornithologist, who had been expelled from Mallorca on a trumped-up charge of espionage, was allowed to return to his home in the island. His Majesty's Embassy were able to obtain the almost immediate cancellation of a fine of over 4,000,000 Pesetas imposed on a British subject in the Canary Islands for a Customs' offence for which he was patently not responsible. Most important of all, an ad hoc agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Spanish Government was reached on the 3rd October establishing a direct air service between London and Madrid.

Anglo-Spanish relations

Anglo-Spanish relations.

The Spanish Government made various attempts during the year to give the impression that Anglo-Spanish relations left nothing to be desired. In reporting the speech made by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons on the 23rd February, the Spanish Press gave prominence to Mr. Eden's expression of appreciation for Spain's attitude in the "very dark days of the war", but omitted the references to Spain's association with Germany and the occupation of Tangier. Mr. Churchill's friendly allusions to Spain in his speech of the 24th May were represented as official approbation of General Franco's régime. General Franco's complacency and continued failure to appreciate the realities of the international situation were strikingly manifested in November, when the Duke of Alba handed to the Secretary of State a letter addressed to the Duke by General Franco on the 18th October, requesting a clarification of Anglo-Spanish relations and offering Spanish support to Great Britain against Russia.

On August 3rd, Count Jordana, the Minister for Foreign Affairs who, since his appointment in succession to Señor Serrano Suñer, had worked conscientiously for an improvement in Anglo-Spanish relations and for a diminution of the influence of Falange died suddenly at San Sebastian and was succeeded by Señor Lequerica, Spanish Ambassador at Vichy. The new Minister at once gave assurances of his determination to settle our outstanding grievances, particularly as regards German agents and wolfram smuggling, but by the end of the year had failed to make any considerable progress.

Evolution of the régime.

The year saw little real change in the character of the Government in spite of various manifestations intended to give the impression that democratic evolution was under way. Early in November, General Franco made a statement to a representative of the United Press in which he described Spain as an "Organic Democracy". This had been preceded by the syndical elections, which were much advertised in the Press as marking the second stage in General Franco's plan to enable Spaniards to take part in the management of their own affairs. The first stage, it was explained, had been the constitution of the Cortes and the third was to be the law of local administration, still under preparation, providing for municipal elections. In fact, the syndical elections were nothing more than a Falange ramp and entailed the compulsory attendance of voters who could in practice vote only for party nominated candidates. Shortly afterwards, the Official Bulletin published the organic law establishing the composition and functions of the resuscitated Council of State, which was presented as a further stage in the construction of the "Organic Democracy".

Falange /

Falange

There was little change during the year in the position of the Falange, although, for the first time, the diplomatic corps were not invited to the requiem mass at the Escorial on the anniversary of the execution of José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Of nine Civil Governors appointed in November, the majority were as convinced Falangists as their predecessors. In August a special Franco guard was formed from members of the old guard of the Falange and the Blue Division. Numerous incidents occurred of Falange demonstrations hostile to the Allies, particularly in Barcelona.

The Monarchy issue

While the position of Falange remained largely unchanged, there was equally little development on the issue of the monarchy. Early in the year an exchange of telegrams and letters took place between Don Juan and General Franco which ended in a more or less complete breach between the two. In February a thirty page pamphlet issued by the monarchists was submitted to General Franco through the medium of General Vigón, together with a letter signed by a number of outstanding personalities calling for the abolition of Falange and advocating a regency as a first step towards the restoration of the monarchy. In March a monarchist demonstration followed by 200 arrests, was organised in Madrid in favour of Don Juan and expressly against the so-called Carlos VIII, grandson (by his mother) of Don Carlos (VII), who died in 1909, who had been brought to Barcelona by the Falange, with the object of driving a wedge into the monarchist ranks. The very ineffectual young man was later dropped and passed once more into obscurity. In the same month four professors, including the Vice-Rector, of Madrid University, were arrested and rusticated following the discovery of a concerted monarchist movement with the support of about 100 professors in Universities all over Spain.

Left-Wing activities.

The close police control exercised by the Government effectively prevented any major activities by outstanding left-wing elements, although in February subversive plots were discovered at Malaga and Tetuan. After the withdrawal of the Germans from the Pyrenees, Spanish Republicans were for a time in control of certain parts of the frontier and throughout October there was a series of incidents between Spanish military forces and these republican elements, who had been encouraged by republican propaganda to suppose that they had only to cross the Pyrenees in order to be received with open arms by their countrymen and start a successful revolution. At the end of December the police suddenly arrested some 300 persons, mostly business and professional classes, including wellknown republicans or former members of Gil Robles Centre Party. Most of these persons were released shortly afterwards.

Spanish - U.S. relations

The Spanish Government made great efforts during the year to establish friendly relations with the United States of America and on the 2nd December a Civil Aviation Agreement was signed providing, under reciprocity, for the establishment of United States Civil Aviation lines across Spanish territory with landing rights at various points. The United States Ambassador, Mr. Hayes, received flattering official tributes on relinquishing his post at the end of the year and was presented by General Franco with his portrait painted by Zuloaga.

His Majesty's Embassy

The year was marked by two outstanding occurrences as regards the staff of His Majesty's Embassy. On the 17th May, His Majesty's Minister, Mr. Arthur Yencken, was killed in an accident when flying to Barcelona in order to be present at the exchange of British, American and German wounded prisoners-of-war and civilians. The Spanish Government, as a special gesture of sympathy, accorded funeral honours equivalent to those of a General of Division. Towards the end of December, Sir Samuel Hoare relinquished his post as Ambassador on special mission to Spain. Sir Samuel Hoare arrived in Spain in June, 1940, when the German Armies were advancing through France. Four months before he left he had the satisfaction of being among the first to cross the International Bridge at Irun on the withdrawal of the German Armies from the Pyrenees frontier.

Propaganda activities of H.M. Embassy and the attitude of the Spanish Press.

The general tendency described in the appendix to last year's annual report was developed during 1944 and our propaganda activities expanded considerably. Our bulletin for the Spanish authorities which had a circulation of some 10,000 at the beginning of the year had more than doubled its readership by the end. A weekly survey was also inaugurated in this period and quickly reached a circulation of over 25,000. /increasing tolerance of the Advantage was taken of the press to run four different services of syndicated articles on political and military matters as well as feed the specialised periodicals with a variety of subjects suited to their needs from finance to football. An indication of our increasing success in placing our photographs may be seen in the fact that in December, 1943, only 25 were placed as against 235 in November, 1944.

It was reaching the somewhat embarrassing situation towards the end of the year that our opportunities were measured only by the opportunism of the Falangist press authorities who seemed only too anxious to bring the whole of their totalitarianism machinery to the defence of democracy - or their quaint interpretation of it. We could not altogether eschew these opportunities. NON TALI AUXILIO.. is a noble sentiment but a dangerous one for Press Attachés.

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SPAIN

Z 9418

13 AUG 1945

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"Registry Number" Z 9418/233/41

FROM Sir V. Mallet, Madrid

No. 424 (1/203/45)

Dated 1st Aug.

Received in Registry 13th Aug. 1945

Z: Spain

Law regarding local administration.

Above law was passed by Cortes 17th July. It contains exhaustive account of composition functions powers and duties of the bodies and officials which will be concerned in tasks of local government, and describes reference to each other and to Central Government Madrid. Comments on this. Copied to Lisbon.

Last Paper.

Z 9333

References.

(Print.)

M. Europe Spain.

(How disposed of.)

Miss Harris M. of I.
C.O.
M. Weston Treasury
Sir G. Mahon Board of Trade
M. Goodchild L. W. D.
C.O.
Secret
6 ca. 8.

(Action completed.)

Secret 10/8

(Index.)

10/7

Next Paper.

2944 19

(Minutes.)

Copy to

This despatch should, I think, be printed; and copies sent in print to

Miss Harris (M. of I.).
Mr. Weston (Treasury)
Sir G. Mahon (Board of Trade).
Mr. Goodchild. (L. W. D).
C. O.

Secret for the Spanish influence which the Falange can wield through the Civil Governors and the syndicates, these reforms would appear admirable in principle and evoke memories of Bismarck during the '80s in Germany. They should, however, provide a useful legacy for any régime which/

which succeeds Gen. Francos, Kough Spain
being Spain. I doubt if they will ever
be applied to the best social advantage.

R.H.G. Shaw.
27/8.

Research Dept.

All very interesting, - but you can't
make a silk purse out of a Sows ear -
especially in Spain.

[signature]
30/8

Hstm.
1.9.

"Mucho ruido, pocas nueces" - like
so many paper schemes in Spain.

E.D.G. 19/IX.

[signature]
20/x

ARCHIVES

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THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

SPAIN. August 13, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

[Z 9418/233/41] Copy No. 8

Sir V. Mallet to Mr. Bevin.—(Received 13th August.)

(No. 424.)

Sir, *Madrid, 1st August, 1945.*

THE law regarding local administration, to which reference has been made in several despatches and telegrams from this post, and which has been heralded by General Franco as one of the main bases of the "Organic Democracy" which is to be the new Spain, was passed by the Cortes on the 17th July last. The law comprises altogether sixty-eight articles and contains an exhaustive account of the composition, functions, powers and duties of the bodies and officials which will be concerned in the tasks of local Government and describes in detail their reference to each other and to the Central Government in Madrid.

2. The section which has been given most publicity is that providing for a limited system of self-government. Under the new arrangements the alcade, or mayor, of each municipality is to be assisted by a council, whose members will be elected, one third by "heads of families," one third by the syndicates, and the remainder by the previous two thirds from cultural, economic and professional associations and leading local personalities. Lists of candidates for election under the last of these three headings will be put forward by the Civil Governor. By invariable custom, the Civil Governor is also the provincial chief of the Falange. As the Falange will also directly control one third of the councillors through the syndicates, while the mayor himself is nominated by the Civil Governor or the Minister of the Interior, according to the size of the municipality, it is evident that, in effect, a minimum scope will be allowed to the democratic element represented by the "heads of families." In the provincial sphere the Civil Governor is to be assisted by a provincial council. This, however, far from being freely elected, is to be selected by officials of the provincial authority from among the alcaldes and councillors of the province. It will be seen from this that the arrangement contains in effect a very small measure of free election.

3. Other features of the law make striking innovations in municipal administration and it remains to be seen whether they will suffer the same fate as so many of the ambitious legislative measures promulgated in Spain, and be still-born. Municipalities will be required to embark on an ambitious programme of public works, providing for, among other things, public washing facilities (which are notoriously lacking in Spain), arrangements for collecting and cremating rubbish, disinfection and anti-insect campaigns, and the development of hygienic dwelling places, and including in municipalities of more than 5,000 inhabitants, the introduction of drinking water laid on in private dwellings, a laboratory for the analysis of food, children's sports' grounds and public parks, &c., &c. These duties are balanced by the grant of sweeping powers unprecedented in Spain. Under article 18 of the draft law, municipalities are given powers which enable them to enter the market as competitors in virtually any activity at present carried on by private enterprise. Thus, "the municipalities will be able to exploit directly services relating to business, industry, mining, forestry or agriculture, which may be of prime necessity or public utility, and which can be provided within the limits of the municipality to the benefit of its inhabitants." Powers are also given to the municipality to establish monopolies over the supply of water, electricity, gas, the collection and exploitation of waste, slaughterhouses, markets and a number of other similar activities of public interest, including, in towns of not more than 10,000 inhabitants, the supply of meat, fish, fruit and vegetables. (At present, water is the only public utility over which they may establish a monopoly.) They will also be able to engage, though without monopoly, in the supply of food-stuffs or articles of prime necessity, such as oven, bakeries and other similar institutions, dwelling houses, public granaries, credit and savings banks and places of entertainment. It may be noted that the powers over the control of marketing and supplies

of food, would enable enterprising municipalities to transfer to their complete control the extremely lucrative black market, a contingency against which no provision seems to be made in spite of the many safeguards against other abuses contained in the Bill.

4. It is interesting that this experiment in the grant of exceptional powers is limited to the smallest unit in Spanish local government, *i.e.*, the *municipio* as opposed to the provincial *diputación*, and, in effect, constitutes an act of decentralisation which in the long run may prove beneficial in a country which for so long has suffered from the excessive concentration of power in the hands of the central authorities. If the Spanish Government really intend their experiment to be put into effect they have acted with sensible caution in limiting its operation to the few small units which are likely to have the courage and initiative necessary to use their powers. In Spain the working classes and poor country people constitute a great reserve of vitality and undeveloped talent which must be canalised if use is to made of it in the interests of the country and which will certainly have freer play in the more familiar life of the village and small town than would be the case if the experiments were to be conducted on a provincial scale. Moreover, the ill effects would only be felt among the comparatively small population under the authority of the municipality if, in any particular case, a local experiment in "municipalising" production and other activities were to be a failure. Local government on a decentralised basis might well prove a training ground for the development of a sense of responsibility and proportion in the conduct of public affairs without which representative Government can never succeed and which is at present sadly lacking in Spain.

5. In conclusion, it should be added that many of the duties enumerated in the law as falling on the different units of local government (*e.g.*, street lighting, the provision of free medical and dispensary facilities, &c., &c.) are already provided for in previous legislation.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon.

I have, &c.

V. A. L. MALLET.

3c

Z 178

3v

Z 9418

13 AUG 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

No. 424
(1/203/45).

1st August, 1945.

Sir,

The law regarding local administration, to which reference has been made in several despatches and telegrams from this post, and which has been heralded by General Franco as one of the main bases of the "Organic Democracy" which is to be the new Spain, was passed by the Cortes on 17th July last. The law comprises altogether 68 articles and contains an exhaustive account of the composition, functions, powers and duties of the bodies and officials which will be concerned in the tasks of local Government and describes in detail their reference to eachother and to the Central Government in Madrid.

2. The section which has been given most publicity is that providing for a limited system of self-government. Under the new arrangements the Alcalde, or Mayor, of each municipality is to be assisted by a council, whose members will be elected, one third by "heads of families", one third by the syndicates, and the remainder by the previous two thirds from cultural, economic and professional associations and leading local personalities. Lists of candidates for election under the last of these three headings will be put forward by the Civil Governor. By invariable custom the Civil Governor is also the provincial chief of the Falange. As the Falange will also directly control one third of the councillors through the syndicates, while the Mayor himself is nominated by the Civil Governor or the Minister of the Interior, according to the size of the municipality, it is evident that in effect a minimum scope will be allowed to the democratic element represented by the "heads of families". In the provincial sphere the Civil Governor is to be assisted by a provincial council. This, however, far from being freely elected, is to be selected by officials of the provincial authority from among the Alcaldes and councillors of the province. It will be seen from this that the arrangement contains in effect a very small measure of free election.

3. Other features of the law make striking innovations in municipal administration and it remains to be seen whether they will suffer the same fate as so many of the ambitious legislative measures promulgated in Spain, and be still born. Municipalities will be required to embark on an ambitious programme of public works, providing for, among other things, public washing facilities (which are notoriously lacking in Spain), arrangements for collecting and cremating rubbish, disinfection and anti-insect campaigns, and the development of hygienic dwelling places, and including in municipalities of more than 5,000 inhabitants, the introduction of drinking water laid on in private dwellings, a laboratory for the analysis of food, children's sports' grounds and public parks, etc., etc. These duties are balanced by the grant of sweeping powers unprecedented in Spain. Under Article 18 of the draft Law municipalities are given powers which enable them to enter the market as competitors in virtually any activity at present carried on by private enterprise. Thus, "the municipalities

/will

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office,
S.W. 1.

will be able to exploit directly services relating to business, industry, mining, forestry or agriculture, which may be of prime necessity or public utility and which can be provided within the limits of the municipality to the benefit of its inhabitants". Powers are also given to the municipality to establish monopolies over the supply of water, electricity, gas, the collection and exploitation of waste, slaughterhouses, markets and a number of other similar activities of public interest, including, in towns of not more than 10,000 inhabitants, the supply of meat, fish, fruit and vegetables. (At present water is the only public utility over which they may establish a monopoly). They will also be able to engage, though without monopoly, in the supply of foodstuffs or articles of prime necessity such as ovens, bakeries and other similar institutions, dwelling houses, public granaries, credit and savings banks and places of entertainment. It may be noted that the powers over the control of marketing and supplies of food, would enable enterprising municipalities to transfer to their complete control the extremely lucrative black market, a contingency against which no provision seems to be made in spite of the many safeguards against other abuses contained in the Bill.

4. It is interesting that this experiment in the grant of exceptional powers is limited to the smallest unit in Spanish local government, i.e. the municipio as opposed to the provincial diputación, and in effect constitutes an act of decentralisation which in the long run may prove beneficial in a country which for so long has suffered from the excessive concentration of power in the hands of the central authorities. If the Spanish Government really intend their experiment to be put into effect they have acted with sensible caution in limiting its operation to the few small units which are likely to have the courage and initiative necessary to use their powers. In Spain the working classes and poor country people constitute a great reserve of vitality and undeveloped talent which must be canalised if use is to be made of it in the interests of the country and which will certainly have freer play in the more familiar life of the village and small town than would be the case if the experiments were to be conducted on a provincial scale. Moreover, the ill effects would only be felt among the comparatively small population under the authority of the municipality if in any particular case a local experiment in "municipalising" production and other activities were to be a failure. Local government on a decentralised basis might well prove a training ground for the development of a sense of responsibility and proportion in the conduct of public affairs without which representative government can never succeed and which is at present sadly lacking in Spain.

5. In conclusion it should be added that many of the duties enumerated in the law as falling on the different units of local government (e.g. street lighting, the provision of free medical and dispensary facilities, etc., etc.) are already provided for in previous legislation.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,

Vaughan

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Z

Z 9419

13 AUG 1945

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SPAIN

Registry Number Z 9419/233/41

FROM Chancery, Madrid to Western Department

No.

Dated 31st July

Received in Registry 13th August 1945

Z: Spain

Protest at behaviour of Falangists on occasion of funeral of Dr. Morales at Reus.

Refers to Chancery letter of 20th March (Z 3879/233/41). Encloses copy of translation of denial about prominence of swastika, and Falangist behaviour, received from Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Consulate General Barcelona were able to confirm account however; attaches copy of further aide mémoire which was left with Political Department requesting Ministry to verify truthfulness of their reply.

Last Paper.

Z 9418 (2387)

References.

(Minutes.)

A useful resumé of the German part.

R.L.W.S.
18/8

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Rele'd
20/8

(Index.)

10/1

Next Paper.

29494.

29082 F.O.P.

2-181

7 9419

5 AUG 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

31st July, 1945.

Dear Department,

Please refer to the letter from the Consulate-General at Barcelona No. H/23/45, of March 12th, about the incidents which occurred at the time of the funeral of Dr. Morales at Reus, of which a copy was sent to you on March 20th.

We duly protested to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the behaviour of the Falangists and the prominenee given to the swastika on this occasion. After two months' interval we received a flat denial in reply, in a note verbale of which a translation is attached. As the Consulate-General at Barcelona were able to give us ample confirmation of their original account, a further aide-mémoire (of which a copy with translation is also attached) was left today with the Acting Head of the European Section of the Political Department, to whom it was suggested that in the light of the accounts which it contained, the Ministry might wish to verify the truthfulness of the information on which their reply to us had been based.

Yours ever,

Chancery.

Western Department,
Foreign Office,
S.W. 1.

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TRANSLATION
OF NOTE VERBALE FROM MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
dated 23rd June, 1945.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs present their compliments to His Britannic Majesty's Embassy, and have the honour to inform them that from the investigation carried out by the competent authority it transpires that at the funeral of Dr. Morales which took place at Reus in March last, no shouts of any kind were to be heard and no flag was to be seen other than that of the Falange which covered the bier.

(108/58/45)

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AIDE MEMOIRE

It was stated in the Ministry's Note No. 551 (E21 EE) of June 23rd, that on the occasion of the funeral of Doctor Morales which took place at Reus in March last, no shouts of any kind were to be heard nor was any flag to be seen other than that of the Falange which covered the coffin.

In view of the clear denial contained in the Ministry's Note of the facts recorded in the aide-mémoire left with Señor del Castillo by Mr. Bowker on March 23rd, the Embassy have been at pains to check their own version of the facts. The Ministry may be interested to read the following detailed accounts by witnesses of the incident who have proved reliable in the past.

"En la ciudad de Reus el dia 4 del corriente y a las tres de la tarde en la carretera de Falset a Reus, y cerca de esta primera población, el Doctor Morales, Jefe Comarcal de la C.N.S. fué detenido por un paisano en medio de la carretera. De un grupo cercano salieron unos disparos los cuales dieron muerte instantanea al mencionado Doctor. Los mismos individuos le colocaron nuevamente dentro de su coche y lo dejaron parado en la misma carretera.

Ayer se celebró el entierro en la ciudad de Reus y al cual asistió obligatoriamente toda la población y representaciones politicas falangistas de toda la comarca. Incluso se obligó a todos los comercios, fabricas y locales de diversión y recreo estuviesen cerrados durante el mencionado entierro. El feretro fué puesto en un furgón para trasladarlo a la ciudad de Caspe, de donde es hijo el asesinado. Entre las coronas habia una con la cruz gamada. Durante la manifestación, los falangistas uniformados dieron muevas al comunismo, a Rusia y a los Aliados. El feretro fué llevado a hombros por los distintos alcaldes de Valls, Falset y otros pueblos. Asistió tambien el Gobernador

/ Civil

Civil de Tarragona, el cual en el momento del despido del duelo hizo un discurso de tonos muy acentuados à favor del Nuevo Orden. Fué radiado por las emisoras oficiales de Reus y Tarragona."

"Por curiosidad asistió a esta manifestación y pudo observar los hechos siguientes:

(a) Entre la concurrencia observó que había un nutrido grupo de ex-combatientes de la División Azul (quizás una compañía entera) y se destacaba un subdito alemán de apellido Horn, muy conocido en la comarca por sus actividades como jefe del partido nacional-socialista alemán. Este grupo gritaban "Muera el Comunismo," "Viva la Falange," "Muera la Democracia" "Muera Inglaterra" y "Gibraltar para España."

(b) Tambien pudo observar que entre las diversas coronas que acompañaban al feretro había una de grandes dimensiones con los colores de las banderas españolas, falangistas y alemanas, y una cinta con la "cruz gamada" unia las tres."

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID,

24th July, 1945.

"In the town of Reus on the 4th of the current month and at 3 p.m. Dr. Morales, District Chief of the C.N.S., was held up by a peasant in the middle of the road between Falset and Reus. From a group nearby, shots were fired which killed Dr. Morales instantaneously. These individuals put the body into their car and left it stopped in the same road.

Yesterday the funeral took place in the city of Reus and Falangist political representatives of the whole district had to attend. Also all firms, factories and places of amusement had to be shut during the funeral. The bier was placed on a hearse and taken to the town of Caspe, which was the victim's home-town. Among the wreaths was one with the Swastika. During the demonstration Falangists shouted, "Death to Russia, Communism and the Allies". The bier was carried on the shoulders of the Mayors of Valls, Falset and other villages. The Civil Governor of Tarragona was also present and, at a certain moment, made a speech in very emphatic terms in favour of the "New Order". It was broadcast by the official transmittors of Reus and Tarragona."

"Out of curiosity he attended this demonstration and was able to observe the following facts:-

(a) Among those present he noticed that there was a large group of former combatants of the Blue Division (perhaps a complete company) and a German national called Horn, very well known for his activities as head of the German nationalist party, was specially in

evidence./

evidence. This group shouted, "Death to Communism", "Long live the Falange", "Death to Democracy", "Death to England", and "Gibraltar for Spain".

(b) Also he was able to notice that among the wreaths which accompanied the bier there were some of large dimensions with the colours of the Spanish, Falangist and German flags and a ribbon with the Swastika joined the three together."

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 9494

14 AUG 1945

187

Registry Number: Z 9494/233/41

FROM: Department of Overseas Trade (communicated)

No. Z 41084

Dated 18th July

Received in Registry 14th Aug. 1945

Z: Spain

Situation in Spain: treatment of Mr. Juan C. Henston agent of Reeves and Sons Limited.

Communicates copy of letter from Winsor and Newton Limited dated 18th July, who, while in Spain recently, visited Mr. Henston. Describes treatment he received at hand of Spanish authorities in Barcelona, who did utmost to compel British subjects to leave the country. Asks that explanation be demanded of use of Gestapo methods.

Last Paper.

29419

References.

(Minutes.)

1.45.5
18/8

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Rdelcuf 20/8

(Index.)

1017.

Next Paper.

29516.

COPY
VMW.

188
Z

Z 9494

11 AUG 1945

Our Ref VH/JHK/KL.

WINSOR & NEWTON LTD.,
Wealdstone,
Harrow.
Middlesex.

18th July, 1945.

The Comptroller-General,
Department of Overseas Trade,
Hawkins House,
Dolphin Square, S.W.1.

COPY FOR Foreign Office
D.O.T. REF. Z.41084
OTHER DISBN.....

Dear Sir,

As we think it may be of interest to your department, we give you the following extract from a report we have received from our travelling representative who visited Spain recently:-

"Agent of Reeves & Sons.,Ltd." I called upon my friend Mr. Juan C. Houston, agent for Messrs. Reeves, and was disappointed to find that he was looking much older and thinner as a result of his experience of the German-Spanish Gestaop methods. Several members of the British community, including Mr. Webb, manager of the Anglo-South American Bank, had experiences of Spanish prisons, but I believe that that of Mr. Houston was the worst of all. Life had been more or less unbearable in Barcelona for some time, as the authorities apparently were doing their utmost to compel British subjects to leave the country, the the consulate did not think this to be in our interests and Mr. Houston decided to remain more as a matter of duty than out of personal interest.

The notorious Himmler paid a visit to Barcelona, and a few days later the authorities called at Mr. Houston's home, where they made a thorough search and from there they took him to one of their gaols. He was detained for several weeks, during which time he was put through the Gestapo methods of interrogation at all hours of the day and night, and during which he lived in solitary confinement under appalling conditions.

The object was to obtain a signed confession that he was a British spy, which, had he signed it to be free of the torture, would doubtless have resulted in his being delivered over the frontier. He is unable to write anything of his experiences, and he has asked me to call upon his various principals to explain to them the reasons why he is unable to give his attention to their interests as he did before his experiences.

Since the defeat of Germany, the Spanish papers continue to praise the policy of neutrality which enabled them to keep out of the war, but I trust that our government, which no doubt has full information of this and other similar cases, will demand an explanation of the use of these Gestapo methods when they were supposed to be neutral. Having backed the losing side Spain cannot reasonably expect not to lose the stakes, and if only that we may be respected by the Spaniards themselves it is to be hoped that our authorities will abandon all kid glove methods and demand satisfaction for the past and fair treatment for the future.

VE-Day. I celebrated VE-Day at the Embassy Residence in Madrid where a cocktail party was helt to celebrate the occasion. Those present were the British residents in Madrid and their wives, and I believe that no foreign or Spanish representatives were present, and in fact I imagine that in official quarters it was looked upon as an occasion for regrets.

The future of trade with Spain depends upon the course to be taken by our government. It is to be hoped that we shall not pamper them by paying absurd prices for their products and that

the/

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the question of trade balances is not one that will be decided unilaterally by the Spanish Government".

Our Representative has expressed his appreciation of the assistance he received from the Embassy in Madrid and from the Consulates in Valencia and Barcelona, both in the prosecution of his enquiries and in the travelling facilities made possible with their help, as without their good offices his journeys would have been much delayed and been undertaken under uncomfortable conditions. Through you, we should like to thank the officials concerned for their courtesy.

Yours faithfully.,
WINSOR & NEWTON LTD.
(Sgd). V. Harley.
Sales Director.

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Z

1945

SPAIN

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Z 9516

15 AUG 1945

Registry Number Z 9516/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM
Sir V. Mallet, Madrid.

No. 32

Dated 13th Aug, 1945.

Received in Registry 15th Aug, 1945.

Z: Spain ;

15 Aug

Public feeling in Spain consequent upon Potsdam declarations.

States it is unlikely that average man is anxious for fundamental political change. Franco may therefore reasonably hope his petition is fairly secure for some months. Propaganda has twisted attacks on the régime into attacks on the country itself. There is still possibility however that military coup will eliminate Franco and the Falange. Quotes from telegraphic reports from His Majesty's Consul General Barcelona.

Last Paper.

29498

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Reconstruction Dept

This telegram from Sir V. Mallet gives further support to the view that there is quite a chance that Franco, if left alone for the next few months, will make serious efforts to reform his administration and may indeed voluntarily withdraw from the scene. If, however, too much external pressure is applied then there is a risk either that Franco will be able to dig himself in more firmly or that there will be some kind of coup d'etat by the Generals. However, such a coup d'etat, though it might mean the disapperance of Franco without too much bloodshed, would not involve a radical reform of the régime or necessarily imply any great improvement in the Spanish internal position. It would merely mean that we had exchanged one form of dictatorship for another, and the lot of the average Spaniard would not have been appreciably improved. All the more reason, therefore, for us to continue to avoid intervening.

H. Hoyer Millar

16th August, 1945.

17/VIII

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

10/7

Next Paper.

29612/6

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

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Z 9516
2
15 AUG 1945

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[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

[CYPHER] CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet
No. 32 D. 7.00 p.m. 13th August, 1945

13th August, 1945 R. 6.05 a.m. 14th August, 1945

Repeated to Madrid, Lisbon, Gibraltar } SAVING

* * *

IMPORTANT

Reactions to the British election results have now become submerged by general feeling consequent upon Potsdam references to Spain. It is tempting to construe public feeling from opinions of either monarchist or republican pressure - groups who naturally tend to become more conspiratorial as external position of régime weakens, but I doubt whether average man is either ready or anxious as yet for any fundamental political change.

2. There is a considerable amount of native cynicism in the perennially misgoverned citizen of this country which produces an inertia now wedded to apathy and war-weariness. He may be sceptical about Franco's claim to immaculate neutrality and to the championship of law and order against the Bolshevik bogey but he is also unfavourably impressed by wholesale denunciation of the régime from outside and by advantages of a brand of political liberty which he regards as demagogy rather than democracy whenever it is propounded outside Anglo-Saxon countries.

3. Franco may therefore reasonably hope that the policy of gradual evolution to which he is at least verbally pledged by such measures as the bill of rights, the educational reform bill, the local representation bill and press law, together with a large measure of leniency towards so-called political offenders, will give him a mandate for some months to come or at least discourage active opposition. As he is also firmly convinced that he is the God-sent saviour of his people nothing short of a bullet would budge him from this position. Even then he believes that his view would be vindicated as it would be the signal for indiscriminate violence on all sides.

4. Needless to say official propaganda has had a certain measure of success in twisting our attack on the régime into an attack on the country itself. Ignoring all our charges of unneutrality in the past and His Majesty's Government's consistent attitude of reserve and resentment towards Franco, it presents the attack as an interference in Spanish internal affairs entirely new, unwarranted and unworthy to which we have been impelled by Russian pressure.

5.

15 AUG 1945

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5. Nevertheless in the face of definite indications that Potsdam declaration was to be followed up immediately by Great Britain and United States taking extreme steps to economic sanctions and/or a breach of diplomatic relations, it seems quite probable that a military coup would be staged to eliminate Franco and the Falange, if we made it clear that these were the only obstacles to friendly relations with us and that we would recognise the provisional régime which took Franco's place. But such a coup would by no means necessarily guarantee to the citizen those liberties which are the goal of the United Nations. A law similar to that for the defence of the Republic, indefinitely suspending an idealist constitution, would quickly supervene as generals in control would insist that [grp. undec.] law and order could not be maintained.

6. I base these views on many conversations with Spaniards in the last few days as well as reports from Consulates which have now reached me. Report of practically all, points out obvious fact that there is widespread satisfaction among Franco's opponents, nervousness among moderate elements and indignation among supporters. Their views among which there are some striking contradictions are best represented by following telegraphic reports from His Majesty's Consul General Barcelona by far the most important post:

[Begins] "there is a divergence of reactions over the Potsdam declaration. A large number of the people feel we are sadly misinformed at home about true situation in Spain: they will not realise that the declaration refers to the present Spanish Government and not to Spain as a country; they are therefore somewhat bewildered as well as offended at the strong tone taken recently by the B.B.C. Even those who have no love for the Caudillo and party do not quite understand. On the other hand opposition elements naturally see in it further encouragement. Whether they will go so far as to take any definite action is doubtful, and they may be content to wait quietly for transition of present Spanish Government into something more acceptable to us and to them. They realise transition is already beginning. There has been a serious fall in industrial share values in Barcelona stock exchange and a minimum value has been imposed".

[Ends].

(O.T.P)

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13 1945

WESTERN

Z9612 /G 193

17 AUG 1945

Z9612/233/941

Sir V. Wallace to Mr Harvey.

Dated 4 Aug

Received 14 Aug.

Spain: First impressions

States that it is not easy in San Sebastian to find out what is going on in the rest of Spain: U.S. Ambassador is very co-operative.
Describes present feeling in Spain.

Last Paper.
Z5448

(Minutes.)

P.K.W.J. 19/8.

References.
Z9145/16/28
Z9144/16/28
} in Dept.

spaces attached

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)
Desp) Sir V. Wallace from Mr Harvey 15 Aug

(Action completed.)
D.F.Z1/8

(Index.)

Next Paper.
Z11042

Sir A. Cadogan

Personal.

GCH 10/VIII

Secret

2

29612

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233/41

BRITISH EMBASSY,
SAN SEBASTIAN.
4th August, 1945

WR 2880/2/49/Rel

My dear Oliver,

We were a good deal rushed in trying to draft the answer to your telegram No. 7 of August 1st about Tangier. But I hope that my telegram No. 12 of August 3rd may have been of some use to you. It is difficult enough even for an Ambassador who has long experience of a country to answer the sort of hypothetical questions which you asked me and I am afraid that any estimate of what Franco's reaction may be must be very largely guesswork. In drafting my telegram, I naturally took the advice of those members of my staff who are most competent to advise me.

Jim Bowker will be in London at the same time as this letter and I hope that you will have a talk with him. He will be able to give you some sort of picture of the very confused situation which I find here. To begin with, it is not easy in San Sebastian to discover what is really going on in the rest of the country. It is probably equally difficult in Madrid, because the members of the Government are scattered all over the country. Franco is holiday-making in Galicia, the new Foreign Minister has been presumably getting to know his own office and is arriving here on August 6th; most of the diplomatic corps are up here and I am busy making their acquaintance and I am trying to pick their brains. I should like particularly to mention how extremely co-operative Armour is being. He took the trouble to come the whole way to Madrid to greet me on my arrival at the airport and here I am in daily contact with him. There is a distinct feeling that Franco and his entourage are alarmed. The result of the British elections, the unusually straight talk which I gave him on presenting my letters and now the blast from Potsdam are generally believed to have made a dent in the armour of his complacency. There is no doubt that many of the Generals are impressed by these events and are talking again about the need for a change of régime. There is, however, a very long way between talk and action in this country. It seems pretty clear that the army are the only people who could turn out Franco and bring about a comparatively orderly transition to another régime, which would presumably develop into a constitutional monarchy. Don Juan is understood to wish for a monarchy resting rather on the left centre than upon the discredited right. The fact remains, however, that there is no constitution in existence to which he could turn, and that the ground is not yet properly prepared for an abrupt change of régime. It may well be, therefore, that even if the change is on its way it will take quite a long time to mature. Meanwhile, one can never foretell whether some event inside or outside the country may not postpone developments almost indefinitely.

The/

Oliver Harvey, Esq. C.B., C.M.G.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

The Generals are obviously determined not to risk provoking a fresh Civil War or anything like it and if they felt that we were exerting pressure under Russian influence, they would be quite capable of swinging back to full support of Franco.

In these circumstances it seems to me very open to question whether we should be wise in provoking a show-down with the Spanish Government over Tangier. Although nothing may have been actually said, it is probably generally believed that we have no intention of entirely pushing the Spaniards out of Tangier during the interim period and an attempt to do so would certainly come as a very great shock to them and may indeed be considered extremely provocative, nor do I feel confident that such assurances as we could give regarding the future would carry much conviction.

As regards the Potsdam declaration, the Spanish Government have, for obvious reasons, suppressed the full text of the paragraph dealing with Spain. I suppose that one could hardly expect a Government-controlled press to publish a direct attack upon the Government itself, but no doubt our publicity methods will get the facts widely known before long and it will be extremely interesting to see what the reaction will be. I am much too new to this job to feel happy about any attempt to rush the Spaniards off their feet. In many countries it would seem the obvious policy to follow up one blow with a succession of other blows, in order to drive the advantage home. People here who have long experience of the country assure me that this is not a method which works with the Spaniards and that there is always a grave risk, if one pushes too hard, of driving the Spaniards into an attitude of mulish and blind obstinacy. I think I have pushed very strongly for a start, but it may be well to give time now for what I have said to sink in. Quite possibly I may get some enlightenment through my talks with the Foreign Minister next week.

It has been a bewildering first week, what with getting into the most awkward and unsuitable house in Madrid, making the acquaintance of a very large staff, moving up here where, thank goodness, the climate is heavenly, instead of the stifling inferno of Madrid, and trying to adjust oneself to the leisurely tempo and impossible time-table of Spanish life. My wife is having to cope with most complicated domestic problems and with servants who cannot speak a word of anything but Spanish. Our two children arrived successfully, and this, at any rate, is a great delight to us.

I think I shall enjoy this place a great deal when I get settled and I only hope that I shall not find myself uprooted by some change of policy on the part of His Majesty's Government. I shall be very grateful if you would keep me posted with any indication of what may be in the mind of our new Secretary of State.

Yours ever,

Victor Mallet

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FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.,

August 15th, 1945.

I should have written before to thank you very much indeed for your personal letter of August 4th, which gives your first impressions of Spain. We also had a talk with Jim Bowker and I think we know therefore pretty well the views of the Embassy on the present situation. We are all here quite clear as to the desirability of avoiding any action which Franco could interpret as an attack on Spanish interests in order to rally Spanish opinion around him. For the moment, if we can hold it, we seem to have got Franco just where we want him and I am sure what you describe in your despatch as an ominous attitude on our part, whilst leaving on the Spaniards the onus of finding a way out, is absolutely right. If only we can handle the Tangier negotiations in the way we want, all will be well. It is certainly the wish of the Secretary of State.

(SGD) O.C. HARVEY.

His Excellency
Sir V.A.L. Mallet, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.,
etc., etc., etc.,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

99

Z

197

Z 9816

23 AUG 1945

1945

SPAIN

Registry Number Z 9816/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM Sir Victor Mallet, ~~Madrid~~ San Sebastian.

No. 48

Dated 22nd August, 1945

Received in Registry 23rd August, 1945

Z : Spain.

Report that Senor Oriol is to convey to Don Juan from General Franco, invitation to return to Spain for re-establishment of monarchy.

The only condition attached to above it is reported is that Franco should be allowed to live quietly in Spain in some honorary capacity. As soon as arrangements are made Franco will ensure disappearance of Falange Priol stated he hoped His Majesty's Government and the United States Government would not exact any pressure. Above story is confirmed by Portuguese Ambassador in Madrid.

Last Paper.

29612

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Amended distribution

Repeated Washington No 8769
Berne No 1989 SAV:
Paris No. 1395

(Action completed.)

Mechwy 10/9

(Index.)

Next Paper.

29871.

(Minutes.)

Give "Diplomatic (Secret)" Distribution

Repeat Washington
Berne
Paris (Saving).

We have no specific evidence to refute his report, which may be true. If so, the plan stands a reasonable chance of success..

We will have to watch our step in case the change comes rapidly and calls for an immediate pronouncement of our views or otherwise.

R.H.W. Sloan
23/8.

See Sir's minute on last sheet.

Please now see Sir V. Mallet's telegram No. 52, which puts a slightly different light on this and shows that the initiative in the matter was taken by Oriol and not, as originally suggested, by Franco himself.

A1801

himself. The second telegram does, however, indicate that Oriol is a serious individual and suggests that there may well be something in this move to bring about a restoration of the monarchy.

There have, of course, been frequent rumours during the last few years that a restoration of the monarchy was about to take place, and indeed it is not so very long ago that the chances of Don Juan staging a successful return seemed pretty high. During the last twelve months or so, however, the stock of the monarchists has fallen considerably and until quite recently it looked as if Franco's own position inside Spain had been appreciably strengthened. However, with the Potsdam declaration and the change of Government in this country Franco's position has been seriously weakened and it seems clear from Sir Victor Mallet's recent reports, and in particular from his telegram No. 49, that not only is Franco himself very nervous about the future, but many of the more moderate elements who have hitherto supported Franco out of fear of another civil war and of going from a dictatorship of the Right to one of the Left, are now plucking up courage and are beginning to think that there is a chance of setting up some kind of moderate government in Spain.

It has often been suggested that in view of the conditions in present day Spain - the backwardness of most of the population, the high level of illiteracy, and the general lack of political sense among the inhabitants - a constitutional monarchy is the kind of government best suited to the country, and in view of past history and tradition the kind of régime most likely to be be acceptable to the majority of Spaniards. We have repeatedly been told that anything in the nature of a return to power by the exiled Republicans such as Dr. Negrin would arouse great opposition from all but the extreme Left elements in Spain, and would almost certainly end in civil war. On the assumption that this is really so, then the only alternative to continuing with Franco would seem to be some reasonably moderate centre government. This government ebuld be either a constitutional monarchy or a Republic on the pre-war French lines. For historical reasons the bulk of Spaniards, and particularly the Army, who are still the most powerful element in the country, are much more likely to prefer the monarchy.

Whether ~~When~~ the question is looked at from the Spanish point of view or from the purely British point of view, the important thing seems to be that if a change of government is to take place, this should be done peacefully and without bloodshed. For the reasons explained above the chances of this happening look greater if the new government is a constitutional monarchy than if it is a republic; and if therefore the Spaniards of their own free will agree to restore the monarchy it would seem to be a mistake for us to attempt in any way to discourage them - though we could no doubt impress on them the necessity of the monarchy

/being

There are handy reasons with which to justify the constitutional monarchy in this country!! OSS.

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being a constitutional one and not a ~~democratic~~ autocratic one. A great deal will depend on the Generals and the Army. The great majority of the Generals are naturally monarchists by sentiment. Furthermore, they feel - and the same applies to the priests - that they stand to lose less personally in the material sense, if the new government is a monarchy than if it is a republic. Their chances of retaining their jobs and their privileges (which have been increased considerably lately) will be greater under a monarchy than under a republic. A monarchy is the only kind of régime to which Franco is likely to hand his own power over voluntarily. This fact will further influence all those Spaniards, who wish at all costs to avoid another civil war, in favour of a monarchy.

I do not think there is any action for us to take in regard to these Madrid telegrams at the moment. Indeed, the whole thing may be just one more false alarm. The Secretary of State's speech will already have made it plain that H.M. Government have no intention of intervening in Spanish internal affairs and we should now, I think, sit back and wait and see whether the Spaniards themselves can find a way out of their present difficulties and produce a satisfactory alternative régime to Franco. If this régime happens to be a monarchy - then provided it give reasonable guarantees of being a constitutional one, and provided it is acceptable to the majority of Spaniards - ~~then~~ I should not have thought that there would be any cause for H.M. Government to object or to delay their recognition of the new régime.

I agree.

August 24th 1945.

25/VIII

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AMENDED DISTRIBUTION (23rd August, 1945)

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[CYPHER] DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet.
No. 48.

22nd August, 1945.

D. 6.30 p.m. 22nd August, 1945.

R. 4.50 a.m. 23rd August, 1945.

rrrrrr

IMPORTANT

SECRET

My United States colleague has given me a reliable report emanating from Senor Jose M. Oriol, a former civil Governor of Bilbao and important business man, who visited Franco last week-end and was asked by him to proceed immediately to Lausanne to convey to Don Juan a definite invitation to return to Spain for the re-establishment of the Monarchy. The only condition which appears to have been attached by Franco was that he should be allowed to continue to live quietly in Spain in some honorary capacity. Oriol states that the Army is fully in agreement with Franco's proposal and Don Juan can count upon its whole-hearted support. As soon as preliminary but definite arrangements for the change-over have been made, Franco will ensure the disappearance of the Falange party as he well understands that Don Juan will not return as long as the party exists. Oriol is to ask Don Juan how soon he can make his arrangements and what arrangements he wishes to make in order that they may be met as far as possible. In other words Oriol is to explore with Don Juan the method of transit from the present regime to a monarchy. It is hoped that these exploratory discussions will have reached a result by October, when it is proposed that the Cortes should issue call to Don Juan to return.

2. Oriol stated that it was earnestly hoped that His Majesty's Government and United States Government would do nothing to complicate the situation by taking sides or exert pressure which might appear to the Spaniards as an attempt to interfere in a domestic issue. It is believed that if a period of calm can be achieved, preliminary arrangements and transit can take place in an orderly manner.

3. Above story is confirmed by my Portuguese colleague who was present at private luncheon with the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Oriol on August 20th, at which Oriol used very similar language. Oriol hopes to leave Barcelona for Lausanne August 24th. He asked my United States colleague to inform me of the above.

4. Please pass to Berne if you think desirable.

O.T.P.

24 AU 45 F.O. REGISTRY

201

West Dept.

[CYPHER] DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet.
No. 48.

22nd August, 1945.

D: 6.30 p.m. 22nd August, 1945.

R: 4.50 a.m. 23rd August, 1945.

@@@ @@@ @@@

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SECRET

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O.T.P.

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Z 9816
23 AUG 1945

2 202
EH)

[CYPHER] DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

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No. 48.

D: 6.30 p.m. 22nd August, 1945.

22nd August, 1945.

R: 4.50 a.m. 23rd August, 1945.

@@@ @@@ @@@

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4. Please pass to Berne if you think desirable.

AUG 23 1945 O.T.P.
F.O. REGISTRY

WESTERN

1945

F.O.
371

SPAIN

FILE No 233

Pp. 9877 - 11732

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1972

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 9877

24 AUG 1945

Registry Number: Z 9877/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM
Sir V. Mallet.
San Sebastian.
No. 52

Dated 23rd August, 1945.

Received in Registry: 24th August, 1945.

Z : Spain.

Possibility of restoration of monarchy : Senor Oriol's mission to Don Juan.

Refers to San Sebastian telegram (Z9816/233/41) It is now believed that Senor Oriol's mission is less definite, having been undertaken at his own iniative with Franco's blessing. General Davila Minister for war has visited Franco and there is reason to believe he urged Franco to make way for monarchy.

Last Paper.

Z 9816

References.

Ref = Bpt - Stowe attached

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Repts Paris } Saw. 1997
Berne } 814
W'Gon } 412.

49590

(Action completed.)

S.S. 27/8

(Index.)

10/1

Next Paper.

29885

(Minutes.)

Repeated Paris. Berne. Washington } Saving.

More likely; and possibly just as significant.

R.A.B. Sharp
24/8.

I have submitted
draft as this along with a
minute to Mr Makins. 48.

Jn.
25.8.

22175 2 41 F.O.P.

23

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

[CYPHER] DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet
No. 52

D. 5.50 p.m. 23rd August 1945

23rd August 1945

R. 11.10 a.m. 24th August 1945

ØØØØØØØØ

Z 9877
24 AUG 1945

IMPORTANT

SECRET

My telegram No. 48. 29816/223/4

My Portuguese colleague now tells me that O's mission is somewhat less definite. It is undertaken at O's own initiative but with Franco's blessing and O had come to see Minister for Foreign Affairs here. My Portuguese colleague describes O as a most serious and influential man who was offered a portfolio by Franco last month but refused to accept one. He added that there might be a few days' delay before O's departure for Lausanne and that it was most important that we should all observe strict secrecy.

2. A further development of interest is that General Davila, Minister of War, has just visited Franco and we have reason to believe that he also urged Franco to make way for the Monarchy as quickly as possible. If this story is read in conjunction with the outright declaration by Minister for Foreign Affairs in today's press in favour of restoration of Don Juan "one day" it really begins to look as if things are moving.

O.T.P.

AUG 1945
F.O. REGISTRY

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101

1945

Z

SPAIN

4

Z 9885

25 AUG 1945

Registry Number Z 9885/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM Sir V. Mallett (San Sebastian)

No. 51.

Dated 23rd Aug. 1945.

Received in Registry 25th Aug. 1945

Z: Spain.

Interview given by Minister of Foreign Affairs to E.F.E. Agency: exlusion of Spain from United Nations: Tangier: Spanish neutrality.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs maintained it was untrue there were foreign influences in Spanish régime and that Spains attitude during war had been misunderstood.

He did not deny that Spanish Government had sent note to British and French Governments on Tangier. He defended Spanish neutrality and emphasised importance of Spain achieving her political evolution at pace imposed by her own national character.

Last Paper.

2877

References.

2957/1678

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

In this interview Señor Artajo comes out openly with a promise of the evolution of the Spanish regime to a traditional monarchy in which liberty and authority will be wisely blended. He insists that Spain must carry out this evolution "at the rythym and pace imposed by the national character". In this connexion see minutes on Z 9886. I am surprised that Senor Artajo should have found it necessary, in the first part of the interview, to go so far in defending the past record of the regime. He makes the stock attack on Communism, but tempers it with an expression of sympathy for the Russian people.

Copied to
Mr Ellis Rees (Tgr)
Mr Turner (B.B.C.)
Mr Goodchild (E.W.D.)

26th August, 1945.

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

2886.

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

Z 9885
25 AUG 1945

[EN CLAIR] GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V.Mallet.
No.51
23rd August, 1945.

D. 9.30 p.m. 23rd August, 1945.
R. 6.20 p.m. 24th August, 1945.

... ...

IMPORTANT

Today's press publishes interview given by Minister for Foreign Affairs to E.F.E. Agency. Following summarises main points:

Hostility of section of public opinion in certain countries not surprising given activity of Communism, its fundamental enmity toward Spain through six years campaign and deformation of exiled Reds. Partial transitory attitude of given group or sector of opinion should never be taken as official attitude of any country.

Exclusion of Spain from future League of Nations based on false premise that régime established with aid of agressor powers, or that it maintained ideological affinities or political ties with them. Only with Communist revolutions 1934, army backed by best part of nation rose against tyranny and succeeded in restoring order and installing rightiest (sic) state. No foreign volunteers in national army until many weeks after International Brigade had been fighting with Reds, and world as yet unaware nearly all tanks possessed by nationalists were Russian captured from Reds who [? grp.omitted ? were] nationalist armies' chief source of arms. Proof of national and sovereign character of Movimiento is its recognition by all governments except Russian and Mexican. Untrue foreign influences in Spanihs régime nor any concessions towards Axis whether political, commercial, or economic. This independence created crisis in relations with Germany story not generally known. Anyone knowing national character would understand there could be no ideological affinity between national movement and totalitarian régimes. Former began by proclaiming fundamental human rights of individual which today's Bill of Rights explicitly recognised and it had to be jealous of its authority to defend them. Thus not suprising in government's note on Potsdam rebuts references towards Spain as based on false premise whose acceptance explains, by gigantic work of tergiversation of Spanish expatriates who have received innumerable persons of good faith, Peruvian move to break relations described as "passing extremist manifestation",

although

25 AUG 1945

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7 9885

although painful and ungrateful in view of Spain's always noble and generous attitude towards countries of Hispano America, regardless of their internal régime. Government convinced its attitude and great internal strength is determined, none shall threaten it from without, and thereby it renders service not only to Spain but to the international community and small nations resisting lamentable precedent which supposes that internal workings of a state and its liberty to govern itself as it chooses can be subject to intervention of foreign opinion and this precisely when Atlantic Charter and San Francisco and Potsdam declaration itself proclaim not once but again right of nations that other powers shall not interfere with their private affairs. Asked to confirm that Spain had addressed note on Tangier to British and French, Minister said: "Given that English radio gave out news even before Spanish Government received reply to this note I cannot deny fact, nor that note makes reservations respecting whatever may have been happening behind our country's back in preliminary conversations which have been held and are still being held in Paris on Tangier question, since it is clear that nothing truly definitive or valid can be arranged without reckoning with Spain, which is power primarily interested in fate of city enclosed within zone of its protectorate, and great majority of whose population is Spanish. Nor is it any indiscretion to say that note expresses Spain's displeasure at learning invitation to participate in such negotiations should have been extended to a European power which by reason of its extremely easterly position can have no interest in Tangier situation other than the strategic interest for opening it offers for proselytising. Spain, either [sic] Government, have nothing against the Russian nation for whose people they feel keen sympathy, nor have they anything to say of actual Soviet régime as form of internal government for that State. What Spain cannot admit is importation of Communist doctrines into Spain and much less penetration by its activities and propaganda". Decision to display flags on public buildingxs interprets rejoicing of all Spaniards at coming peace. Spanish neutrality sustained not without effort during two wars, added to her traditional love of peace, more than entitled her to figure among nations who in spirit, justice, and fraternity are reconstructing future international community, and it is to be hoped that these credentials, reinforced by her irreproachable conduct, will bring Spain before long to occupy prominent place in universal comity. Asked how he expects to fit Spanish régime into new framework of Europe, having regard to recent speeches in House of Commons, Minister replied that régime set up in 1936 was not a closed, rigid, or inflexible system, but on the contrary was flexible, and evolutionary on basis of few fundamental principles of christian public law. Purged day by day by purely transitory forms and accident, Spain's political system would show increasingly

its

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its essential character - a wise blend of liberty and authority, harmonising these two concepts with foundation of principal political systems of world and especially Anglo-Saxon, with which Spanish system will finish by coordinating itself as it moves towards new forms of popular representation and political liberty. Absolutely necessary however Spain should be able to achieve her political evolution at rhythm and pace imposed by national character. In this inspired by political wisdom of Anglo-Saxons who have always known how to evolve without precipitancy. Spain prepared to go as far as anybody in suiting her social reforms to the time as [? grp. omitted] and social insurance legislation. Labour has witnessed labour strivings towards social justice can be a great extent coincide with our own. Concluding, Minister says: "On these lines, as head of state foreshadowed in his speech of 17th July, our political system will one day debouch at traditional monarchy with which it will have reached final equilibrium".

Full translation by bag.

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102

1945

Z

SPAIN

8

Z 9886

25 AUG 1945

Registry Number Z 9886/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM Sir V. Mallett. (San Sebastian)

No. 50.

Dated 22nd Aug. 1945.

Received in Registry 25th Aug. 1945.

Minister for Foreign Affairs on: Spanish press censorship: political evolution - Spain: defence of Franco.

Refers to San Sebastian telegram 49 (Z 9833/537/41) Minister for Foreign Affairs discussed above with Sir V. Mallett. New press law is being prepared for early Autumn and he suggested British wireless should discuss Spanish affairs from more constructive angle. He referred to possible restoration of the monarchy and attempted to defend Franco.

Last Paper.

29885

References.

4816

Spanish Dept attached

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

a) Paris No 1561
Wton No 1508
Lisbon No 197
Moscow No. 913.
Aug. 31

b) Mr Ellis Rees Tel
Mr Turner BDE England
Mr Goodchild EWD
Aug 31

c) San Sebastian No 27
Aug 29th P.T.O

(Action completed.)

D.F. 1/3

(Index.)

8/10/7

Next Paper.

29890

(Minutes.)

ZP

Copied by bag to Paris, Washington, Lisbon & Moscow.
Copied also to Mr Ellis Rees (Tel) Mr Turner (BDE) & Mr Goodchild (EWD)

This is an interesting telegram. The new Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs shows himself fully alive to the need for a change in the Spanish regime, but his ideas as to how far that change should go, and how fast it should take place, do not seem to correspond with our own. His defence of General Franco seems to me to suggest that he envisages General Franco remaining in some capacity in a restored monarchy.

Sir Victor Mallet was, I think, absolutely right to emphasise the need for speed and to insist that Franco, so long as he remained, must himself be the greatest obstacle to good relations between Spain and the rest of the world.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs must clearly be kept up to the mark. The danger is, of course, that unless we maintain our pressure on the Spanish Government, making it clear that we are in earnest about our desire to see changes in Spain and that we are looking for quick results, Senor Artajo's reforming zeal will fade away in the face of resistance from General Franco and the party. For we may be sure that General Franco will try to hold on to power and to delay making changes as long as he possibly can, in spite of what he is reported to have said to Senor Oriol (San Sebastian telegram No. 48) about wanting to live quietly in Spain in some honorary capacity.

I suggest that we should send a telegram to Sir Victor Mallet approving his language and stressing the need to keep Senor Artajo up to the mark.

I submit draft.

26th August, 1945.

Now see the S of S's minute in the same sense.

27.8.

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

2 9886

89

Action cont'd

Rptd) Lisbon No 15(S)
Wtn No 826(S)
Moscow No 238(S)

8) Mr Ellis Rees Tory
Mr Turner Bd Engle
Mr Cordahl(EWD)
Aug 31

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Spain

Telegram

Advise Ambassadors to
speak up. contact previous
that Franco-Falange
is the main obstacle

EB

26/8/45

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

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Z 9886
25 AUG 1945

10

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[CYPHER] CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Sir V. Mallet. D. 10.00 p.m. 22nd August, 1945.
No. 50
22nd August, 1945. R. 6.30 p.m. 23rd August, 1945.

£ £ £ £ £

9833/537/41

My immediately preceding telegram.

Minister for Foreign Affairs invited me to visit him at his private villa on evening of August 20th. Others present were my Press Attaché, Senor Larraz (an economist and former Finance Minister of high integrity, who recently refused once more to join Franco's new government) and Political Director at Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2. Minister for Foreign Affairs had explained beforehand that he wished to have a completely informal and frank discussion. We began with your speech as reported in my immediately preceding telegram. From this we got on to Spanish press censorship and Minister told me that the new press law was being prepared for early Autumn which would allow expression of much greater freedom of opinion, although it could not allow complete freedom as in England because of Spanish tendency to allow discussion to degenerate into violent abuse.

3. This led on to general discussion of Mr. Churchill's "tests of freedom" and a very long historical explanation to show how civil war had arisen owing to Marxist revolutionary coup in 1934 (3 years after proclamation of Republic) against constitutional Republican régime. Larraz in particular emphasised that British Labour Party had a vital task all over the world to prevent ? by their example and utterances [grp. undec:] foreign labour movements from degenerating into Marxist dictatorships of Balkan type. Larraz asked whether British press and wireless could not apply themselves to objective discussion of Spanish affairs from this angle rather than adopt destructive attitude, and [grp. undec:] discredited Spanish exiled Left Wing leaders abroad.

4. Minister for Foreign Affairs said that he doubted whether ~~Minister of Labour~~ realised immense step forward already taken during the last month in Spain. He indicated that Falangism, regarding which he used strong language, was fast fading out of the picture. Referring to political evolution now in progress,

he

25 AUG 1945
F.O. REGISTRY

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2 SEP 1938

he affirmed his personal desire to see restoration of constitutional monarchy supported by all moderate elements including those Left Wing intellectuals who had supported Republic in 1931 but now realised it was a failure. Incidentally, His Excellency declared that only possible candidate was Don Juan. In referring to forthcoming municipal elections which he expected for late Autumn, Minister made certain remarks which might conceivably be taken as meaning that these elections would be used as a means of restoring monarchy.

5. I emphasised that evolution away from existing régime which both you in your speech and His Excellency himself both apparently desired, ought now to be pressed forward as soon as possible, and that Franco, as long as he remained in power, must himself be greatest obstacle to good relations between Spain and the rest of the world. Minister who seemed to understand this quite well nevertheless had to put up defence for Franco on the grounds that his main preoccupation was to bring about evolution without risk of revolutionary outbreaks. Timing was therefore a matter of great delicacy. Spanish members of the party attempted to convince us that Franco had not really been pro-German and that he had played a clever game with Hitler. Nevertheless Press Attaché and I stuck to our point strongly that Franco's war record damned him.

6. The next day I received a long personal letter from Minister for Foreign Affairs but probably written by Political Director summarising reasons for giving present régime his support, but emphasing that it was now in transit. This definitely does not appeal to me as constructive, but I think he meant it as an apologia for his acceptance of office in a régime in which he obviously no longer believes. It is also probably designed by him for showing to Franco as obviously he could not put on paper many of the remarks made to me during our talk.

7. I think this conversation, in conjunction with Oriol's story in my telegram No. 48 is of considerable significance. I was impressed by Artajo's sincerity and genuine anxiety to find an evolutionary way out of the present deadlock.

Full report by bag.

OTP

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[CYPHER] CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

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No. 50
22nd August, 1945. R. 6.30 p.m. 23rd August, 1945.

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Full report by bag.

CTP

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Registry
No. Z 9886/233/41.

I.P.G.

Draft.

H.M. Ambassador,
San Sebastian.

Telegram.

No. . . 27.

Dated . Aug 28

Cypher

Cabinet Distribution.

Repeat SAVING:

Lisbon.

No. . 115. SAV

Washington

No. . 826. SAV

Moscow

No. . . 238. SAV

Copy:

Mr. Ellis Rees,
Treasury.

Mr. Turner,
Bank of England.

Mr. Goodchild,
MEconomic Warfare
Dept.

14

OUT FILE

Despatched 4.40 p *M.* 28/8

August, 1945.

Your telegram No. 50 [of the 22nd August: Spanish internal situation].

I have read your telegram under reference with interest, and I approve your language. You should, ~~of course, continue to keep the~~ keep constant pressure on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, ~~up to the mark~~, stressing in particular that so long as Franco and the Falange remain they must represent the main obstacle to the re-establishment of good relations with Great Britain. You should leave (Senor ARTAJO) ~~him~~ in no doubt that we are in earnest in wishing to see changes in the Spanish régime, and moreover that we hope to see quick results. Otherwise there is, of course, a danger that Senor Artajo's reforming zeal, which in any case does not appear to go far or fast enough, will lose momentum in the face of resistance from General Franco and the Party, which ~~has~~ public opinion in this other countries will become increasingly impatient for early action.

28/VIII

C of 7 8 copies plse 15

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[CYPHER] CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

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he

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he affirmed his personal desire to see restoration of constitutional monarchy supported by all moderate elements including those Left Wing intellectuals who had supported Republic in 1931 but now realised it was a failure. Incidentally, His Excellency declared that only possible candidate was Don Juan. In referring to forthcoming municipal elections which he expected for late Autumn, Minister made certain remarks which might conceivably be taken as meaning that these elections would be used as a means of restoring monarchy.

5. I emphasised that evolution away from existing régime which both you in your speech and His Excellency himself both apparently desired, ought now to be pressed forward as soon as possible, and that Franco, as long as he remained in power, must himself be greatest obstacle to good relations between Spain and the rest of the world. Minister who seemed to understand this quite well nevertheless had to put up defence for Franco on the grounds that his main preoccupation was to bring about evolution without risk of revolutionary outbreaks. Timing was therefore a matter of great delicacy. Spanish members of the party attempted to convince us that Franco had not really been pro-German and that he had played a clever game with Hitler. Nevertheless Press Attaché and I stuck to our point strongly that Franco's war record damned him.

6. The next day I received a long personal letter from Minister for Foreign Affairs but probably written by Political Director summarising reasons for giving present régime his support, but emphasing that it was now in transit. This definitely does not appeal to me as constructive, but I think he meant it as an apologia for his acceptance of office in a régime in which he obviously no longer believes. It is also probably designed by him for showing to Franco as obviously he could not put on paper many of the remarks made to me during our talk.

7. I think this conversation, in conjunction with Oriol's story in my telegram No. 48 is of considerable significance. I was impressed by Artajo's sincerity and genuine anxiety to find an evolutionary way out of the present deadlock.

Full report by bag.

OTP

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Z 9886/233/41

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

[CYPHER] CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO SAN SEBASTIAN.

No. 27 Saving D. 4.40.p.m. 28th August, 1945.

28th August, 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon 115 Saving
Washington No. 826 Saving
Moscow No. 238 Saving.

e e e e

OUT FILE

Your telegram No. 50. [of the 22nd August: Spanish internal situation].

I have read your telegram under reference with interest, and I approve your language. You should keep constant pressure on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, stressing in particular that so long as Franco and the Falange remain they must represent the main obstacle to the re-establishment of good relations with Great Britain. You should leave Senor Artajo in no doubt that we are in earnest in wishing to see change in the Spanish régime, and moreover that we hope to see quick results. Otherwise there is, of course, a danger that Senor Artajo's reforming zeal, which in any case does not appear to go far or fast enough, will lose momentum in the face of resistance from General Franco and the Party, whilst public opinion in this and other countries will become increasingly insistent on early action.

OTP

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163

1945

Z

SPAIN.

Z 9890

25 AUG 1945

18

Registry Number Z 9890/233/41

FROM Sir Va. Mallet
San Sebastian.

No. 12

Dated 14th August,

Received in Registry 25th August, 1945.

Z: Spain

Interview with Senor Artajo: situation in Spain.

Gives account of interview when Senor Artajo emphasied extent of political changes taking place in Spain and flexibility of present régime. He expected this to lead to democratic system. Sir V. Mallet then spoke as instruced in Foreign Office telegram 13 (Z 9143/537/41). Senor Artajo stated that Spain was annoyed at not having been invited to Tangier Conference. Gives his opinion of Senor Artajo. Copied Lisbon Gibraltar and Tangier.

Last Paper.

2988

References.

Z 4657/16/22 - in Dept
Z 9143/537/41 - Spare attached

(Print.)
PRINTED
(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

2989

1.) D.O. comm'd 1475 (Minutes.)

? Spain.

Senor Artajos declared intentions would sound more convincing were they not professed by an historical inaccuracy: the Spanish Brigade only started operating several weeks after the arrival of the Italians and, I believe, the Germans on the side of Franco. But his remarks on the implementation of the Bill of Rights and end of the 'state of war' are interesting. He helped to draft the Bill and may, therefore, help to see it implemented.

Sir V. Mallet seems to have a clear idea of our policy and to be presenting it with

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with figures and sketch.

Z 9830

Lt. W. Sloan
27/8.

19

Snr Artajo repeated his historical inaccuracy in the interview he has since given to the E.F.E. agency.

I agree that this should be minuted.

R. Garran
27/8

I think Sir V. Baker spoke very well for his dept. might usefully be forwarded.

I had the opportunity today of saying something to the Spanish Counsellor (who of course is an ardent Monarchist) about the continuation of executions of the 'Red Reds'. He seemed to agree with me on both points.

Hayman
28.8

A.D. Aug. 30. 1945.

ARCHIVES

20

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

SPAIN. August 25, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

Circulated to the Cabinet by direction of The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

[Z 9890/233/41] Copy No. 8

Sir V. Mallet to Mr. Bevin.—(Received 25th August.)

(No. 12.)

Sir, *San Sebastian, 14th August*, 1945.

I PAID a visit yesterday to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, this being the first occasion on which I have seen his Excellency since his arrival last week at San Sebastian. His journey here had been delayed a couple of days by his having been summoned to visit General Franco at Coruña at the time of the Potsdam declaration.

2. Señor Artajo, after a few preliminaries, asked me whether I had anything particular to say to him. I remarked that he had probably been somewhat surprised that I should have spoken so seriously and frankly at my first interview with him and with the Generalissimo. I had, however, done so from a feeling that the Potsdam Conference was likely to have something to say about Spain, and I had not wished to give the appearance of being one day all smiles and the next day all frowns. I felt that it was much better to maintain a consistent line even if it were a disagreeable one. I should continue, therefore, to speak with absolute frankness, and I hoped that his Excellency would do the same. To this the Minister entirely agreed. I then asked him how he thought that Spain could get out of the impasse in which she now found herself. General Franco had deprecated the idea of Spain living in isolation from the rest of the world. She was now more isolated than ever. This seemed to me a thoroughly unhealthy position for a country which had great future possibilities of contributing both morally and materially towards the reconstruction of European society. Señor Artajo answered that Spain had certainly no desire to be isolated and felt that she would be in a position to contribute in many ways to reconstruction. He must, however, register a complaint against the terms in which the Postdam declaration had been drafted, because it was not fair to say that the present Spanish régime was founded upon help provided by the Axis Powers. Franco's movement had been a National movement, and such foreign help as had been given had only come later in the day after the republicans had already been enjoying the assistance of the International Brigade. Moreover, the foreign help had certainly not been sufficient to turn the scale. He went on to say that the National movement in Spain had already changed very greatly and very often, and that further evolution would take place in the future at the suitable moment. He continued with great emphasis to explain how the present régime was not a "closed régime," but was flexible and adaptable. I answered that the changes which he outlined could mean much or little. What did his Excellency mean?

3. Knowing that Señor Artajo is professedly a Monarchist, I wondered whether he would venture so far into the future as to adumbrate a restoration, but I suppose that he felt that he could hardly go so far at his first long interview with me as newly-appointed Foreign Minister of Franco, so he merely went on to describe in general terms how he thought the evolution of Spain would take place. He declared that what had been done already amounted to a good deal more than foreign observers were prepared to admit. The people would increasingly have the opportunity of taking their part in the government of the State. Spain remembered only too well the red revolution in which she fell through misinterpretation of the word "liberty." The Minister himself had been six months in prison, although at that time he was not a politician at all. Spain did not wish again to fall into a state of revolution and anarchy, and preferred that evolution should be carried out with determination, but step by step. The new Spanish Government appointed last month contained persons who represented entirely different ideas from those who in the past had stood for an authoritarian régime. Spaniards who, like himself, were good Catholics could not approve of totalitarianism, but, on the contrary, they respected human rights. His Excellency expected that the development which he foreshadowed would lead to a democratic system and social legislation which would bring Spain

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much nearer to the English way of government. The beginning would be the municipal elections.

4. I then spoke as instructed in your telegram No. 13 of the 9th August, and, while declaring that no responsible person in Great Britain wished to see a fresh civil war break out in Spain, I stressed the point that it was for the Spanish people themselves to decide the kind of régime they wished to have. In order, however, for any such régime to meet with His Majesty's Government's approval, it would have to be based on democratic principles with free speech, free elections, free press and impartial justice. The Minister answered me by referring to the new Bill of Rights. The legislation necessary to put this charter into force would very soon be passed. I remarked that the Bill of Rights contained many admirable principles, but that there seemed to be far too many loopholes in it which would enable its liberal principles to be effectively nullified. Moreover, I understood that the "state of war" still existing in Spain prevented its application. His Excellency answered that when the laws had been passed the "state of war" would come to an end, and, even if the laws had subsequently to be suspended owing to a state of emergency, this could only be done for a fortnight. I reverted to British ideas of what constituted a democratic State, and in this connexion took the opportunity of reading to him the "tests of freedom" enunciated by Mr. Winston Churchill when he last visited Italy. Señor Artajo listened with obvious approval and asked me to send him a copy of the tests of freedom, which I promised to do. He remarked that they exactly stated what was being aimed at in Spain. I replied that there was unfortunately often a wide gap between good intentions and performance. It was all very well to talk about a Bill of Rights, but there were still thousands of so-called political prisoners languishing in Spanish gaols and executions were, I understood, until very recently at least, still taking place. This was a matter which greatly disturbed public opinion in my country and also in the United States, as I knew that my United States colleague had mentioned to his Excellency. The Minister replied that there were no more executions taking place now, and, when I asked him how many political prisoners were still in gaol, he replied that, strictly speaking, there were no political prisoners, only perhaps a few left over from the time of the revolution. I remarked that this was, indeed, a very long time! He replied that many common criminals had posed as political offenders, whereas they were men who, in any case, would have had to be locked up.

5. The Minister then turned to the question of Tangier. He said that the Generalissimo was extremely annoyed that Spain had not been invited to the meeting in Paris. I answered that I had received His Excellency's Note and had immediately telegraphed it to you but that I had not yet received your instructions regarding a reply. Meanwhile, I would remind him that Spain had only herself to blame for the situation which had arisen because of her unilateral and illegal action in 1940. Señor Artajo answered that Spain had taken over Tangier in 1940 in order to anticipate action which she knew that Germany herself wished to take. Spain had in fact forestalled Germany, and this had been to our advantage. What he objected to most in the present situation was that the Soviet Government had been invited to attend the meetings at Paris, although Russia had no real interest in Tangier except to use it for political propaganda. I replied that here again Spain had a remedy in her own hands, if she were in a position to clear up her relations with the Soviet Union. It was absurd to think that Spain could continue for ever without relations with one of the three greatest Powers in the world. Other countries had made this mistake in 1919 and had afterwards regretted it. His Excellency went on to express, not without revealing a certain sense of humour, his anxiety lest Russian communism might still be an article for export.

6. At the end of our interview I took the opportunity of reminding his Excellency that he had said that Spain was evolving and that the personalities administering the country were being changed; but that what really mattered was that the same system of government still continued and that this system as long as it persisted must prevent the possibility of improved relations between our two countries.

7. I find Señor Artajo by no means an unattractive personality and he seems capable of engaging in calm and reasoned discussion. I fancy that he understands our point of view fairly clearly and is depressed at the prospect before him, as a young and inexperienced Minister, of an unpopular dictator. Whether he really believes that the evolution of which he talked so eloquently will eventually lead to Franco's elimination, or whether he hopes, in spite of all that my United States colleague and I have said to him, that the disappearance of the Falange alone will

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solve our major problems, I find it hard to assess. He certainly appears to anticipate that the Falange will before long be officially dissolved. The Political Director, with whom I had a subsequent talk, told me that he felt sure that the Falange was well on the way to extinction, and that the retention of a certain number of Falange Ministers in the present Government was a last minute change of mind by Franco who had intended to get rid of them all, but had finally been persuaded that so sudden a change would look too ungrateful towards the party which had so long been his mainstay. Perhaps it was not without significance that at one moment during my talk with Señor Artajo he used the word "Caudillo" when referring to Franco and then in a rapid undertone to his interpreter remarked "No. Better use the word 'Generalissimo.'" I was amused to notice that thereafter the word "Caudillo" never reappeared!

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, the Governor of Gibraltar and His Majesty's Consul-General at Tangier.

I have, &c.

V. A. L. MALLET.

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Z 9890
25 AUG 1945

23

2

BRITISH EMBASSY,
SAN SEBASTIAN.

No. 12.

14th August, 1945.

Sir,

I paid a visit yesterday to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, this being the first occasion on which I have seen His Excellency since his arrival last week at San Sebastian. His journey here had been delayed a couple of days by his having been summoned to visit General Franco at Coruña at the time of the Potsdam declaration.

2. Señor Artajo, after a few preliminaries, asked me whether I had anything particular to say to him. I remarked that he had probably been somewhat surprised that I should have spoken so seriously and frankly at my first interview with him and with the Generalissimo. I had, however, done so from a feeling that the Potsdam Conference was likely to have something to say about Spain, and I had not wished to give the appearance of being one day all smiles and the next day all frowns. I felt that it was much better to maintain a consistent line even if it were a disagreeable one. I should continue therefore to speak with absolute frankness and I hoped that His Excellency would do the same. To this the Minister entirely agreed. I then asked him how he thought that Spain could get out of the impasse in which she now found herself. General Franco had deprecated the idea of Spain living in isolation from the rest of the world. She was now more isolated than ever. This seemed to me a thoroughly unhealthy position for a country which had great future possibilities of contributing both morally and materially towards the reconstruction of European society. Señor Artajo answered that Spain had certainly no desire to be isolated and felt that she would be in a position to contribute in many ways to reconstruction. He must, however, register a complaint against the terms in which the Potsdam declaration had been drafted, because it was not fair to say that the present Spanish régime was founded upon help provided by the Axis Powers. Franco's movement had been a National movement and such foreign help as had been given had only come later in the day after the republicans had already been enjoying the assistance of the International Brigade. Moreoever, the foreigh help had certainly not been sufficient to turn the scale. He went on to say that the National movement in Spain had already changed very greatly and very often and that further evolution would take place in the future at the suitable moment. He continued with great emphasis to explain how the present régime was not a "closed régime" but was flexible and adaptable. I answered that the changes which he outlined could mean much or little. What did His Excellency mean?

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

3/

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3. Knowing that Señor Artajo is professedly a monarchist I wondered whether he would venture so far into the future as to adumbrate a restoration, but I suppose that he felt that he could hardly go so far at his first long interview with me as newly-appointed Foreign Minister of Franco, so he merely went on to describe in general terms how he thought the evolution of Spain would take place. He declared that what had been done already amounted to a good deal more than foreign observers were prepared to admit. The people would increasingly have the opportunity of taking their part in the Government of the State. Spain remembered only too well the red revolution in which she fell through misinterpretation of the word 'liberty'. The Minister himself had been six months in prison, although at that time he was not a politician at all. Spain did not wish again to fall into a state of revolution and anarchy, and preferred that evolution should be carried out with determination but step by step. The new Spanish Government appointed last month contained persons who represented entirely different ideas from those who in the past had stood for an authoritarian régime. Spaniards who like himself were good Catholics could not approve of totalitarianism but on the contrary they respected human rights. His Excellency expected that the development which he foreshadowed would lead to a democratic system and social legislation which would bring Spain much nearer to the English way of government. The beginning would be the municipal elections.

4. — 9163/537/41 I then spoke as instructed in your telegram No. 13 of 9th August and while declaring that no responsible person in Great Britain wished to see a fresh civil war break out in Spain, I stressed the point that it was for the Spanish people themselves to decide the kind of régime they wished to have. In order, however, for any such régime to meet with His Majesty's Government's approval it would have to be based on democratic principles with free speech, free elections, free press and impartial justice. The Minister answered me by referring to the new Bill of Rights. The legislation necessary to put this Charter into force would very soon be passed. I remarked that the Bill of Rights contained many admirable principles, but that there seemed to be far too many loopholes in it which would enable its liberal principles to be effectively nullified. Moreover, I understood that the "state of war" still existing in Spain prevented its application. His Excellency answered that when the laws had been passed the "state of war" would come to an end, and even if the laws had subsequently to be suspended owing to a state of emergency this could only be done for a fortnight. I reverted to British ideas of what constituted a democratic state and in this connection took the opportunity of reading to him the "tests of freedom" enunciated by Mr. Winston Churchill when he last visited Italy. Señor Artajo listened with obvious approval and asked me to send him a copy of the tests of freedom which I promised to do. He remarked that they exactly stated what was being aimed at in Spain. I replied that there was unfortunately often a wide gap between good intentions and performance. It was all very well to talk about a Bill of Rights, but there were still thousands of so-called political prisoners languishing in Spanish gaols and executions were, I understood, until very recently at least, still taking place. This was a matter which greatly disturbed public opinion in my country and also in the United States, as I knew that my United

States /

States colleague had mentioned to His Excellency. The Minister replied that there were no more executions taking place now, and when I asked him how many political prisoners were still in gaol, he replied that strictly speaking there were no political prisoners, only perhaps a few left over from the time of the revolution. I remarked that this was indeed a very long time! He replied that many common criminals had posed as political offenders whereas they were men who in any case would have had to be locked up.

5. The Minister then turned to the question of Tangier. He said that the Generalissimo was extremely annoyed that Spain had not been invited to the meeting in Paris. I answered that I had received His Excellency's Note and had immediately telegraphed it to you but that I had not yet received your instructions regarding a reply. Meanwhile, I would remind him that Spain had only herself to blame for the situation which had arisen because of her unilateral and illegal action in 1940. Señor Artajo answered that Spain had taken over Tangier in 1940 in order to anticipate action which she knew that Germany herself wished to take. Spain had in fact forestalled Germany, and this had been to our advantage. What he objected to most in the present situation was that the Soviet Government had been invited to attend the meetings at Paris, although Russia had no real interest in Tangier except to use it for political propaganda. I replied that here again Spain had a remedy in her own hands, if she were in a position to clear up her relations with the Soviet Union. It was absurd to think that Spain could continue for ever without relations with one of the three greatest Powers in the world. Other countries had made this mistake in 1919 and had afterwards regretted it. His Excellency went on to express, not without revealing a certain sense of humour, his anxiety lest Russian communism might still be an article for export.

6. At the end of our interview I took the opportunity of reminding His Excellency that he had said that Spain was evolving and that the personalities administering the country were being changed: but that what really mattered was that the same system of government still continued and that this system as long as it persisted must prevent the possibility of improved relations between our two countries.

7. I find Señor Artajo by no means an unattractive personality and he seems capable of engaging in calm and reasoned discussion. I fancy that he understands our point of view fairly clearly and is depressed at the prospect before him, as a young and inexperienced Minister, of an unpopular dictator. Whether he really believes that the evolution of which he talked so eloquently will eventually lead to Franco's elimination or whether he hopes, in spite of all that my United States colleague and I have said to him, that the disappearance of the Falange alone will solve our major problems, I find it hard to assess. He certainly appears to anticipate that the Falange will before long be officially dissolved. The Political Director, with whom I had a subsequent talk, told me that he felt sure that the Falange was well on the way to extinction, and that the retention of a certain number of Falange Ministers in the present Government was a last minute change of mind by Franco who had intended to get rid of them all, but had finally been

persuaded /

persuaded that so sudden a change would look too ungrateful towards the Party which had so long been his mainstay. Perhaps it was not without significance that at one moment during my talk with Señor Artajo he used the word "Caudillo" when referring to Franco and then in a rapid undertone to his interpreter remarked 'No. Better use the word "Generalissimo"' I was amused to notice that thereafter the word "Caudillo" never reappeared!

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, the Governor of Gibraltar and His Majesty's Consul-General at Tangier.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant.

Vacuaw

[redacted] 1733 4
20 AUG 1945

With the Compliments of the Under Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs.

18 AUG 1945

27

(This is an unparaphrased version of a Secret cypher message and unless it is marked O.T.P. (One Time Pad) the text must first be paraphrased if it is essential to communicate it to persons outside British and United States Government Services.)

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

Put with 2

CYPHER (TYPEX) FROM: D.O. O.D.

TO: CANADA (GOVT.)
AUSTRALIA "
NEW ZEALAND "
SOUTH AFRICA "

(Sent 6.10 p.m. 17th Aug., 1945.)

D. No. 1473 SECRET.

My telegram D. No. 1417 of August 11th. Spain.

His Majesty's Ambassador Spain has spoken to Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs along the lines of paragraph 4 of my telegram under reference. Minister for Foreign Affairs in reply emphasised the importance of the evolutionary process now going on in Spain, which would shortly lead to the passing of laws to implement the Bill of Rights, and to municipal elections in the autumn. He hinted, without specifically stating, that the Falange would soon be dissolved; maintained that execution and detention of political prisoners had now ceased and that remaining prisoners in gaol were common criminals masquerading as political refugees; and said that new members of Spanish Government represented entirely different ideas from those who had formerly stood for an authoritative regime.

2. At the end of the interview His Majesty's Ambassador reminded Minister for Foreign Affairs that in spite of all he had said it was the whole system which required changing and so long as it continued there was no possibility of improved relations.

Copy to:- Foreign Office Sir B. Newton.
Mr. C.B.B. Heathcote-Smith.
Mr. R.K. Sloan.

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1044

28

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 9891

25 AUG 1945

Registry Number Z 9891/233/41

FROM Sir V. Mallet
San Sebastian.

No. 14

Dated 20th August,

Received in Registry 25th August, 1945.

Z: Spain

Decree ordering national flags to be hoisted to celebr celebrate end of war: attitude of Falange.

Transmits translation of Decree as above of 15th August,. Flags were ordered to be flown fro three days During first two days flags were not flown on buildings belonging to Flalange Party. Comments on possible reasons for their reluctance to participate in Victory celebrations.

Last Paper.

Z 9890

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Miss Harris Mo/I

Aug 30.

(Minutes.)

Copy Miss Harris (M. of I)

There is a touch of Waugh in this.

L.L.D. Sloan
27/8.

Research Dept. E.D.G. 3/ix

R. Garran
27/8

27.1

(Action completed)

8 dec 45
6/9

(Index.)

8/10/7

Next Paper.

Z 8892

29

2

Z 9891
AUG 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

SAN SEBASTIAN.

No. 14

20th August, 1945

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith copies in translation of a Decree, dated August 15th, which was published in the Spanish press of that date and appeared in the Official Bulletin on August 16th, ordering that the national flag should be hoisted for three consecutive days on public buildings in Spain to celebrate the end of the war.

2. During the first two days flags were not flown in Madrid on the various buildings belonging to the Falange Party, except at the Party Headquarters. On the third day, however, a few other Falange buildings, but by no means all, flew flags, albeit on a scale not to be compared with the celebrations ordered for national festivals. This reluctance on the part of the Falange Party to comply with the order may be interpreted either as a sign of their unwillingness to participate in celebrating the victory of the United Nations, or as a tacit recognition that the buildings of the Falange cannot be regarded as covered by the expression "buildings of the State". The first hypothesis seems the more likely.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

(for His Majesty's Ambassador)

C. Bramwell

C. BRAMWELL.

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office.

TRANSLATION

ORDER of August 15th, 1945, by which it is ordered that in order to celebrate the cessation of hostilities in the world war, the national flag should be hoisted during three consecutive days in buildings of the State, the Province and the Municipality.

Your Excellencies: With the unconditional surrender of Japan to the Allied countries, peace, so much desired by the best spiritual elements in the world, begins to be a reality.

Spain, which in spite of the critical situation in which at certain moments she has found herself, succeeded in maintaining her neutrality in this terrible conflict, imposing upon herself the noble task of working tirelessly from the earliest moments to mitigate the sufferings of the victims of the war, and to help reconcile the peoples at war with one another, joyfully receives this news and prays God that the nations, animated with a constructive spirit, may succeed in establishing a genuine international community inspired by a profound feeling of justice and by whatever else shall remove for ever the dreadful nightmare of war.

As an expression of the deep and sincere joy of Spain in this all important hour in the life of humanity, this Presidency has thought fit to order:

Article 1. In order to celebrate the total cessation of hostilities in the world war, the national flag will be hoisted during three consecutive days in the buildings of the State, the Province and the Municipality;

Article 2. The respective Ministries will apply that which is laid down in the foregoing order.

God preserve Your Excellencies many years.

Madrid, 15th August, 1945 P.D.
Under-Secretary, P.A. José Diaz de Villegas.

Your Excellencies the Ministers.

105

7945

Z

SPAIN

31

Z 9892

25 AUG 1945

Registry Number Z 9892/233/41

FROM Sir V.Mallet, San Sebastian.

No. 15

Dated 20th August,

Received in Registry 25th August, 1945.

Z: Spain

Replacement of Senor Correa Veglison Civil Governor of Barcelona by Lt.Col.Bartolomé Barba Hernandez.

Reports above announcement enclosing copies of reports from His Majesty's Consul-General Barcelona. Comments on significance of this ~~situation~~ substitution of a Falangist. Gives account of career of his successor and of Falange attempts to demonstrate against his appointment. Copied Barcelona.

Last Paper.

29891

References.

Z

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Miss Harris Nos 1
Maj Crane No.0.
Aug 30

(Action completed.) Sdc Chwtt 6/9

(Index) 10/9

Next Paper.

29893

(Minutes.)

There have been reports of other changes among the Civil Governors, though details are lacking. In this case, whatever the reasons for Sr. Correa's departure, the appointment of General Barba can, I think, only represent a step in the right direction.

Copy (San Seb. despatch only)
Miss Harris (M.of I.)
Major Crane. (W.O.)

Research Sept: EDG 5/IX

A.L.W. Sloan. 27/8.

R. Gurney 27/8

Nov 28.1

29082 F.O.P.

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Z 9892
25 AUG 1945

Z
32

BRITISH EMBASSY,

SAN SEBASTIAN.

20th August, 1945.

No. 15.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on the 8th of August it was announced that Señor Correa Veglison had been relieved of his post as Civil Governor at Barcelona and had been replaced by Lieutenant Colonel Bartolomé Barba Hernandez. I enclose herein copies of the relevant reports received from His Majesty's Consul-General at Barcelona. The change is not without significance. Barcelona may be taken as a touchstone for the political situation in Spain as a whole, and the substitution of a Falangist, who was also the local head of the Falange Party, by a military man may well be the first of a series of moves to reduce the power of Falange in this country, so much of which has been hitherto wielded by the Civil Governors.

2. Señor Correa Veglison has been, moreover, one of the most outstanding Civil Governors in recent years and not one of the least popular. If he has fallen foul of local big business, he has usually managed to ingratiate himself with the working class as a National Socialist with emphasis on the Socialist, and with a jealous eye on the prerogatives of Barcelona as against the central authority at Madrid. Although we have had our suspicions in the past that he was something of a double dealer, in his official relations he has, with a few more noticeable exceptions (as over the surrender to ourselves and the Americans of the German official premises in Barcelona) usually made anyhow a pretence of willingness to meet our legitimate complaints. His attitude may well have been a cover for still more cordial relations with the Germans but he has certainly not shown that mixture of stupidity and deliberate obstructiveness which has for so long been the characteristic of most of the Falange Civil Governors. It is probably true that his local popularity was unpleasing to General Franco, and his forthright Falangism obnoxious to the Military Governor, General Solchaga, a soldier of the old school, who has been not unfriendly to us in the past and is well known to have no sympathy for the Party.

3. The new Civil Governor is a career Army officer aged 50, with no special political characteristics. He has a good army record; has been through the Staff College and served during the various Moroccan campaigns. In 1929 he was appointed as Instructor at the Military Academy, where he remained until 1932, but from this date, like so many senior Army officers, he was suspended by the Republican Government and placed on half pay. In 1936 he joined the Nationalist rising and commanded a column of Requétés. In 1939 he was appointed Chief of Staff of the 32nd Division (Levante) from which he was transferred again as Chief of

Staff /

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, M.P.,

Foreign Office.

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Staff to the 13th Motorised Division at Madrid. Apart from a short while as Government Delegate in 1937 under General Prima de Rivera, he has never held any political post hitherto. His Majesty's Consul-General at Barcelona reports that he is a monarchist and one of the group of officers on the General Staff who, with General Rada, are known for their strong anti-Falange feelings. It remains to be seen what his attitude will be in Barcelona, where he has not only a strong body of his predecessor's Falange supporters to deal with, but also Republican and Separatist elements.

4. There were abortive attempts on the part of the Falange in Barcelona to demonstrate in favour of Señor Correa Veglison, when it was announced that he had been relieved of his post, and there was much talk of demonstrations of protest. On the same evening a small crowd of some 150 gathered in the Plaza Cataluña. They are reported even to have booed Franco and to have given cheers for Correa. After the charge by the mounted police they were dispersed. There was an attempt to circulate leaflets which was also squashed by the local authorities.

5. Barcelona is proverbially a hive of political unrest and it came as no surprise to me therefore to learn that about the same time active leaflet campaigns were being carried on by the "Alianza Catalana" on the one hand and the Monarchists on the other. The former widely distributed a leaflet strongly reminiscent of recent emission of Radio Moscow. Its very violence of tone belied one of its main arguments, namely, that the threat of red violence was a myth invented by General Franco to keep himself in power. It urged soldiers to mutiny, policemen to disobey, civilians to seize arms, and in general to produce a situation similar to that obtaining in the Autumn of 1936. The Monarchist pamphlet, on the other hand, was at pains to say that General Franco himself was the obstruction to peaceful evolution and that his idea of heading a council of regency was altogether too compromising, both for the monarchy and the country. As Alfonso XIII had left Spain to avoid bloodshed, so, the manifestoes argued, should Don Juan return with the same end in view.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch less the enclosures to His Majesty's Consul-General at Barcelona.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

Vansittart

Copy.

CYPHER TELEGRAM O.T.P.

From: Barcelona. D. Saving.
To: Madrid. R. 9/8

No. 19 Saving of 7th August, 1945.Dec.1220 10/8 CW,NV.

My Saving tel. No. 18.

The Civil Governor came to pay his farewell call yesterday. He is leaving in about 2 days and will rejoin his regiment, in which he has the rank of Comandante at Ceuta. He proposes to go as quietly as possible in order to avoid any risk of disturbance although there has been no further incident since that reported in my Saving tel. under reference.

2. The new Civil Governor is I understand due to take over about the end of the week. He is said to be Anglophile.

3. Although Señor Correa is I think a disappointed man, I believe we have not heard the last of him. There are many versions current of reason for his dismissal but I think the plain truth is that Franco cannot afford at present time to have a Civil Governor in Barcelona however competent an administrator he may be who is at the same time the local head of the Party movement.

4. Please pass to San Sebastian as my Saving tel. No. 1

[redacted] Copy

SAVINGRAM No. 18.

From: Barcelona.
To: Madrid.

Date: 3rd August, 1945.

My Savingram No. 17.

When the report that the Civil Governor, Sr. Correa, had been recieved of his post reached Barcelona yesterday, there was much talk of demonstrations of protest being organised.

In the evening a small crowd of some 150 gathered in the Plaza Cataluña. They are reported even to have booed Franco and to have given vivas for Correa. After a charge by the mounted police they dispersed.

The police and military on duty today have been reinforced; and the Chief of Police, I learn on good authority, has been instructed by the Captain General to dissolve immediately by force any demonstration in favour of Correa.

Lord Templewood's estimate of Sr. Correa in his despatch No. 442 of July 12, 1944, to the F.O. is, I believe, a correct one: and it can be readily seen, therefore, that his removal must be considered as an event of some political importance. Its cause can be said to be the same as that underlying the recent changes in the Cabinet.

The local press has not yet made any announcement on the subject.

I understand that Lt. Col. Barba, an officer on the staff of Gen. Rada, is Sr. Correa's successor. I am told that Col. Barba is a strong Monarchist.

Copy.

CYPHER TELEGRAM O.T.P.

From: Barcelona.
To: Madrid.

D. Saving 31.7.45.
R. 1200 2.8.45.
Dec.at 1200 2.8.45. AAP.

No. 17 of 31st July, 1945.

Civil Governor goes to Madrid tonight and from what he told me today I think there is no doubt he expects to be relieved of his post.

2. We cannot regret his removal as he has been somewhat unco-operative, and is in addition a strong Falangist. But I believe his departure will be an unpopular move so far as the general public and provincial officials are concerned.

106

1945

Z

SPAIN

37

Z 9893

25 AUG 1945

Registry Number Z 9893/233/41

FROM Chancery, San Sebastian to Western Department.

No. (1/257/45)

Dated 20th August,

Received in Registry 25th August, 1945.

Z: Spain

Political situation in Spain.

Transmits letter addressed to Mr. Attlee from Spanish national Rodriguez de Vera, forwarding a memorandum on the above with translation.

States that the writer at present is in prison is a well-known member of former Socialist party in Spain and formed part of a delegation which visited England during the Republic. Points out the interest attached to the enclosure.

Last Paper.

9892

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

further pp. in Dept

A. L. W. Sloan
29/8.

Research Dept. EDG 3/12

29/8

(Action completed)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 9928

Z
38

(1/257/45)

Z 9893

25 AUG 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,

SAN SEBASTIAN.

20th August, 1945.

Dear Department,

We enclose a letter addressed to Mr. Atlee from a Spanish national called Rodriguez de Vera, forwarding a memorandum on the political situation in Spain of which a translation is attached.

The writer of the letter, who is at present in prison, is a well known member of the former Socialist party in Spain and formed part of a delegation of members of the party which visited England during the Republic. The enclosure is drawn up in somewhat vague terms, but it is not without interest that a Spaniard of Dr. Rodriguez de Vera's political opinions should subscribe to the view that early elections might well result in bloodshed and that the exiles of the Republic are completely discredited inside Spain.

Yours ever,

Chancery.

Western Department,
Foreign Office.

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Prison of Madrid
Olugust seventeenth

Rigth Hon Mayor Ottle

Sir

May be you dont remember about my personality; I was one of the seventeen Chamber's members from the Socialist Party following the drive of mr Besteiro itself

I dare to adress you this letter because the situation into my country is not ease to considerate from the abroad and the largest number of the responsible politic men are now in the foreings countries

Therefore I will expose to you and to the Party, so largely brother of mine, our aims and "points of view" not only by myself but also speaking as headman of a group assembling a large number of politics men belonging to several parties having each one serving the Republic before 1936 as ministers, directors, members of the two Chambers (1931, 1933) governors de

I expect that you will considerate ours aims as withness of our good faith and chevalry, ours predictions as the best will towards our native

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country, ours councils if so as our surety and love towards your greatt Nation and the greattest Party

I hope your kind pardon and remain Sir Premier and fellow. your faithfully

R. Rodrigues de Vere

M.D. (Greatt War Volantary)

Situacion política

España es el pais de mayor sensibilidad política de Europa, es decir es el pais en donde mayor número de personas se interesan normalmente por la política. Pero tambien es el pais de menor disciplina política del mundo y donde las masas tienen la máxima inconsistencia y la mínima estabilidad

Y es que hay una masa neutra antes fuera de los Partidos y ahora harta de los Partidos, que no comprende que los que perdieron la guerra quieran volver sin que se les hayan exigido responsabilidades ni que los que ganaron la guerra hayan sido tan ignaros e ineptos para perder la paz

Esa masa neutra enorme en nuestro pais, tiembla igualmente ante el recuerdo de los desórdenes del 36 que ante el desorden y la inseguridad actual y sueña en un gobierno republicano de zona templada, que pacifique el pais antes de una aventura electoral que se desarrollaria sangrientamente

En Marzo de 1943 fui requerido por el Servicio Americano para que comprometiese a participar con un programa mínimo, en la responsabilidad de un Gobierno Provisional a determinado número de exministros de la Republica y de la Monarquia, aquellos y estos, exentos de toda responsabilidad en los sucesos del 36 y no participantes en el Poder ni durante la guerra civil ni despues

La Embajada de los E. E. U. U. tiene en sus archivos una copia firmada de las bases que aquel gobierno

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de «gentlemen» se comprometia a establecer teniendo estudiadas las soluciones a todos los problemas en sus aspectos practicos; de dicho documento debió tener conocimiento por nuestro deseo el I. S.

La solucion transitoria es la misma hoy y como creemos, seguiran las cosas que las Naciones Unidas no impondran ahora esa solucion, anunciamos desde ahora el fracaso de cualquiera otra en nombre del grupo de caballeros, ex-ministros, ex-subsecretarios ex-directores, ex-diputados, jefes de Asalto, generales republicanos etcetc cuyo apoyo al Gobierno de naturaleza indicada consta por escrito en el Servicio Americano

y pasamos toda otra solucion por las siguientes razones

1º Porque ninguno partido politico de la República está organizado ahora como para apoyar ni organizar un ministerio

2º Porque si el Ministerio viene de fuera parcialmente fracasará si los que vienen son hombres de 2ª fila con la repulsa general a dejarse gobernar por los exilados "que no sean los pocos insustituibles"

3º Porque si estos últimos son los que vienen a gobernar, se gastaran, dada la necesidad de orden, enseguida y arrastrarán en su fracaso la 3ª República

4º Porque el apoyo de un Gobierno con color propio ha de ser o la Union Nacional Antifascista que es virtual y unicamente comunista o la Alianza Democratica que es una entelequia de unos grupos tan pobres en solidez como en personalidades, sin programas de resoluciones inmediatas y sin mas apoyo leal que el Partido Socialista cuando se formase en realidad

con lealtad y valentia a quien un dia habra de quejarse lo advertimos en ultimo descargo de nuestra conciencia de españoles

Madrid 6 de Agosto 1945

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FOST 1749

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Prison of Madrid.
August seventeenth.

Rigth Hon. Mayor Attle.

Sir,

May be you dont remember about my personality; I was one of the seventeen Chamber's members from the Socialist Party following the drive of Mr. Besteiro itself.

I dare to adress you this letter because the situation into my country is not ease to considerate from the abroad and the largest nomber of the responsible politic men are now in the foreings countries.

Therefore I will expose to you and to the Party, so largely brother of mine, our aims and "points of vew" not only by myself but also speaking as headman of a group assembling a large number of politics men belonging to several parties having each one serving the Republic before 1936 as ministers, directors, members of the two Chambers (1931, 1933) governors etc.

I expect that you will considerate ours aims as withness of our good faith and chevalry, ours predictions as the best will towards our native country, ours councils if so as our surety and love towards your great Nation and the greatest Party.

I hope your kind pardon and remain Sir Premier and fellow, your faithfully,

(sgd) R. RODRIQUEZ DE VERA
M.D.
(Great War Voluntary)

(13.8.45)

T SECRET

Translation.

POLITICAL SITUATION.

Spain is the country with the greatest political sensibility in Europe, that is to say it is the country where the greatest number of people are normally interested in politics. But is also the country with the least political discipline in the world, where the masses have the maximum inconsistency and the minimum stability.

This is due to the existence of a neutral mass which at oneetime did not belong to any party and which, even if it now belongs to various parties, does not understand that those who lost the war wish to return without any responsibility being exacted, or that those who won the war have been so ignorant and inept that they have lost the peace.

That neutral mass which is enormous in our country trembles equally at the thought of the disorders of 1936 and at the disorders and madness of the present day, and dreams of a republican government of a moderate nature which would pacify the country before an electoral adventure which would lead to bloodshed.

In March 1943 I was requested by the American Service (Secret ?) to enlist a number of ex-ministers of the Republic and the Monarchy, all of whom were exempt of all responsibility in the happenings of 1936 and who did not participate in the government either during the Civil War or later, to undertake the responsibility of forming a provisional government.

The U.S. Embassy has in its archives a signed copy of the bases on which these "gentlemen" committed themselves to form a government after studying the solutions to all the problems in their practical aspects; in accordance with our wish the British Intelligence Service must have received information about that document.

The transitory solution is the same today and as we believe, judging by developments, that the United Nations will not now impose that solution, we wish to state now the failure of any other solution, in the name of gentlemen who are ex-Ministers, ex-Under Secretaries, ex-Directors, ex-Members of Congress, Commanders of Assault Police, Republican Generals, etc. etc. whose support of a government of the nature indicated has been set down in writing and is in the possession of the American Service. Any other solution will fail for the following reasons:-

(1) Because none of the political parties of the Republic is now organised in such a way that it could support or organise a government.

(2) Because if the government comes partially from abroad and is composed of men of second rank it will be generally rejected out of objection to being governed by exilés "except the few who cannot be substituted".

(3) Because if these last mentioned came to govern they would soon get worn out because of the necessity of maintaining order and this would lead to the failure of the Third Republic.

(4) ...

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(4) Because the support of a government with personal colour must depend on the NATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST UNION which is virtually and solely Communist, or the DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE which is an entelechy of some groups which are as lacking in solidarity as in personalities, have no programmes for solving immediate problems and can only count on the loyal support of the Socialist party when it has been really formed.

With loyalty and valour we pass this information to those who one day will find reasons for complaint, in a final attempt to ease our consciences as Spaniards.

Madrid, 6th August, 1945.

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1945

Z

Z 10000

29 AUG 1945

46

SPAIN

z Registry Number | Z 10000/233/41

FROM Mr. Mossop
Admiralty (communicated)

No. M/MID 7291/45.

Dated

Received in Registry | 29th Aug., 1945.

Z: Spain.

Report on Spain by Naval Attaché Madrid

Transmits copy of above reporting arrival of Ministry of Foreign Affairs in San Sebastian and discussing effect of Professor Laski's speech in Paris and Potsdam Declaration on Spanish people.

Last Paper.
Z 9933
~~Z 9926~~

(Minutes.)

References.

Research Dept
Z 9971/ix

R. Garran
3/9

(Print.)

Returned.
3 9.

(How disposed of.)

9

(Action completed.)
Sdelw
10/9

(Index.)
10/7

Next Paper.

210651

2908a F.O.P.

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Enter

47

"M/N.I.D.7291/45" Military Branch,
ADMIRALTY, S.W.1.

August, 1945.

With the compliments of

Mr. J. Mossop.

I. P. Garran, Esq.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

Z 10000
29 AUG 1945

M/N.I.D.7291/45.

48

Naval Attaché, Madrid.

14th August, 5

Director of Naval Intelligence, Admiralty.
Copy to S.O.(I), Gibraltar.

R/205/45

Political.

The M.F.A. arrived in San Sebastián towards the end of last week and has been carrying out a series of conversations with Ambassadors.

H.E. sees him this afternoon, whereas Mr. Armour and the Nuncio have already had their innings. Mr. Armour listened to all Senor Atajo's pleas for patience and assurances that, in fact, the transition was already in full swing, but rounded off the interview with a blunt warning that unless something was done speedily there was little hope for the future of Hispano-American relations. The Nuncio is also reported to have spoken up to the effect that Franco and Falange must go and it is obvious that the unfortunate M.F.A. will get a further cold douche this afternoon.

For the peace of this poor country it is only to be hoped that M.F.A. will go to Galicia with sufficient fortitude to tell Franco the truth and the necessity for radical measures including the advisability of Franco's own retirement.

The utterly irresponsible speech made in Paris yesterday by our Professor Laski only helps to bring nearer the horror of another civil war. The cardinal truth to remember now, even as is Spain's determination to keep out of the war in Europe, is the widespread desire to avoid civil war at all cost. Evidently anyone who deliberately advocates a policy which can only lead directly to such a tragedy, is no better than a common criminal.

Even ...

Even the comparatively mild Potsdam Declaration has driven a lot of waverers back to support Franco, but the Professor's speech only tends to increase this support a hundredfold, and this at the very time when a definite move is taking shape for the demise of Falange and Franco.

I have always understood that our strategical requirements necessitated a friendly and peaceful Spain. This desideratum can doubtless be achieved if we will exercise just a little more patience and allow Falange and Franco to go quietly. Above all let us be realists and recognise that any sudden advent of a Left Republican Régime would lead straight to anarchy and chaos. How can we wreck the degree of law and order and the foundations for prosperity existing in this country by insisting upon free elections in a 75% illiterate country.

(sgd) M.H.SCOTT.

Captain, R.N.
NAVAL ATTACHE.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

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Z 10051

31 AUG 1945

Registry Number Z } 10051/233/41.

TELEGRAM FROM Sir V. Mallet, San Sebastian.

No. 5 (Saving)

Dated 27th Aug. 1945.

Received in Registry } 31st Aug. 1945.

Z : Spain.

Speech by General Franco.

Refers to San Sebastian telegram (Z 9685/233/41). Reports speech by General Franco on 22nd August possibly intended as a counter-blast to external pressure and hostile comment.

Last Paper.

~~Z 9685~~

Z 10000

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

B) Miss ~~Sykes W/Food~~ Harris

31 Aug

(Minutes.)

MP in Dept

Share ref attached

Copied Miss Harris, M.I.D.

This speech shows that the pressure for change is at least beginning to have its effect on General Franco.

P. Gurran

V 31/8

Keep ge. Bm 9 down

Thank him.

Jm.

1.9.

(Action completed.) 31/8

(Index.) 8.9.17

Next Paper.

Z 10107.

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Z 10051

31 AUG 1945

[EN CLAIR]

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet.
No. 5. SAVING

27th August 1945. R. 11.40. a.m. 30th August 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon Saving No. 5.
Gibraltar Saving No. 5.

.....

On August 22nd General Franco made a speech at the closing of the National Fisheries Congress at Vigo which has been given great publicity in the Spanish Press. It was possibly intended as a counter-blast to external pressure and hostile comment and tacitly supports the pronouncements of the Minister for Foreign Affairs reported in my telegram No. 51.

2. Although there is much in the speech justifying the Nationalist Movement on familiar lines there is an emphasis on its alleged social and popular character presumably deemed appropriate to the present moment. There is no mention of Falange. Thus General Franco claimed that the people's voice, the authentic voice of democracy, discussed and settled matters in each particular trade or calling, taking its decision to the State for final execution. The principal preoccupation of the Government was to serve the people. General Franco said that social progress was still in its beginnings but would be continued without faltering. He concluded, "We have no fear of popular opinion, we are not afraid of asking for the people's confidence. Very soon you will see it in the various elections - syndical, municipal and provincial - which we shall be holding.... We face reality which is this: to serve the people, to work for the people, to fight for the people, so as to make Spain greater, more just and more social-minded."

3. With the mention of public opinion, elections and so forth, General Franco has travelled at least verbally a long way from his earlier tirades against the democracies and his speech as a whole shows more sensitivity to outside opinion than he usually displays, but that he is determined that any evolution shall be along the lines and at the time which he considers suitable. He does not commit himself to clear out and leaves it open to hang on if he thinks this in the best interests of the country.

F.O. REGISTRY

DIQ

Z

SPAIN

1945

Z 10107

1 SEP 1945

52

Registry Number Z 10107/233/41

FROM Sir A. Clark Kerr, Moscow.

No. 3820

Dated 30th Aug. 1945.

Received in Registry 1st Sept. 1945.

Z : Spain

Moscow Press on Franco Spain.

Gives summary of article in Izvestiya of 29th August by regarding the chances of survival in Spain of Franco régime.

Last Paper.

Z 10054

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Rptd: Madrid 136 SAV: 1st. Sept:

(Minutes.)

Repeated to Madrid Saving

This article reflects the Soviet Govt's disappointment that we and the Americans are not prepared to go beyond the Potsdam communiqué as regards Spain.

RG

1/9

Or it may foreshadow their intention to recognise the Franco régime.

JM

1.9.

(Action completed.)

Idle 12/10

(Index.)

10/7

Next Paper.

210 & 10

~~210 136~~

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Z 10107
1 SEP 1945

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[EN CLAIR] GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM MOSCOW TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir A. Clark Kerr
No. 3820
30th August 1945

D. 2.47 p.m. 31st August 1945
R. 9.45 p.m. 31st August 1945

FFFFF

IMPORTANT

Izvestiya August 29th publishes one and half column article by Mirov on "Franco Spain" with emphasis on pertinent decision reached at Berlin Conference during war: it was confidently expected that Franco would not survive it. News Chronicle said so in 1943 and so did Gil Robles. Franco however bases his hopes on knowledge that people's memory is short. Hitler and Mussolini's aggression started in Spain; since then Franco made strenuous efforts to achieve Hitlerite victory: still loyal to fascist ideology but openly pretending to dissociate himself from fascism Franco now talks of "Catholic Democracy". He seeks for monarchy but even Juan fights shy in order not to prejudice already slender chances of assuming crown. Article ridicules report from Madrid that Foreign Ministry will confer with British and United States Ambassadors on possible objections to Franco's "organic democracy". Berlin decision on Spain is widely approved but "Italia Nuova" and "Tablet" differ for reasons of either cynicism or stupidity; try to comfort Franco. Franco press takes situation more seriously and realises that Franco is isolated by Berlin decision and without support of own people. Rumours of imminent Franco resignation are mere blind to soothe opinion both internal and external. But Berlin decision stimulates Spanish masses and all true friends of Spain. Concrete possibility of unification of all anti-fascist emigration forces now looms ahead as proven by meeting of Cortes in Mexico. France and other countries now demand severance of diplomatic relations. No manoeuvres by pro-fascists in undemocratic and democratic countries can prevent liberation of Spain.

1 SEP 1945
F.O. REGISTRY

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 10140

1 SEP 1945

Registry Number: Z 10140/233/41

FROM Sir V. Mallet, Madrid.

No. 439

Dated 28th Aug, 1945.

Received in Registry 1st Sept, 1945.

Z: Spain.

Interview granted by Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Directors of the E.P.A. and Logos Agencies the Spanish régime. Axis influence ending.

Refers to San Sebastian telegram No. 81 of 23rd August (Z 9885/233/41). Transmits translation of interview as above unless the nature of the present régime was discussed and allegation that Axis interfered in Spanish policy. Spanish relations with other countries was also discussed and likewise Spanish reaction to Japanese defeat and the political evolution in Spain.

Last Paper.

210907

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

1) Miss Harris 1st/9
Miss Cook Copy Sept 8

(Minutes.)

Copy Miss Harris. (N.E.D.).
Mr. Leeston (Treasury).
R.L.L.S.
5/9.

1) from British Embassy, Madrid to Registrar of 14th September.
R.L.L.S.
8/10

(Action completed)

Miss Cook 8/9

(Index.)

10/7

Next Paper.

210284

2908a F.O.P.

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No. 439

[redacted] HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid,
presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A.,
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British....Embassy,.....
Madrid.
.....

.....

28th August, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence: 9885/233/41

San Sebastian tel No. 51 of August 23rd, 1945.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Translation of an interview.	Interview granted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Directors of the EFE and Logos Agencies on August 22nd, 1945.

IJ

Z 10140
1 SEP 1945

56

21010a/23/41

INTERVIEW GRANTED BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE EFE AND LOGOS AGENCIES ON AUGUST 22ND, 1945.

To what do you attribute the external difficulties which you have encountered on your arrival at the Ministry?

"It cannot come as a surprise that some sectors of opinion of certain foreign countries should be hostile to Spain and its Government in view of the extraordinary international activities developed by atheist communism and its fundamental hatred against our country, as well as the defamatory campaign carried out tenaciously by the exiled reds for the past six years.

"However, one should never take into account as an official attitude of any country, what is only a partial and possibly transitory attitude of some group or of a certain sector of opinion".

Has Y.E. anything to add to the Government's Note regarding the Potsdam declaration?

"The purpose of not admitting Spain into the future Society of the United Nations, should she request admittance, is based on an inaccurate supposition. According to the said declaration this exclusion would be made on the assumption that the Spanish régime was established with the help of the attacking Powers and that it has maintained with them ideological affinities and undesirable political relationship, but this statement would not bear an impartial examination. The liberation Movement of the year 1936 was a genuine national uprising, the moral and historical justification of which can be found, even for the most legalistic Spaniard, as I consider myself to be, in the fact that during the six previous years the live forces of the country and particularly the Spanish Right wing had tried to avert the civil war, attempting to defend themselves against the revolution by purely legal means, notwithstanding the fact that in those days legality was often unjust and arbitrary. Only when the communist revolution, after the outburst of 1934, was once more in the streets and the principle of authority no longer existed, only then, I repeat, the Army followed by the larger and better part of the country, rose against the tyranny of ungovernable multitudes and after an heroic fight, succeeded in re-establishing order and restoring a state of law.

No Cajar.

On the other hand, in the ranks of the national army, foreign volunteers only appeared several months after the uprising and only when many weeks previously, in the red ranks, the so-called "International Brigade" constituted, it can be said, the strength of its army. A fact which the world ignores is that the tank brigade which the nationals possessed during the struggle consisted mainly of the Russian tanks which were captured from the red brigades during military operations, the latter being the most important source of supply of armaments for the national army.

And lastly, a proof of the genuine national and sovereign character of the Movement, is the fact that at the end of our war, the Government of Franco was recognised by all other Governments with the exception of those of Russia and Mexico.

And as regards the assumed interference of the Axis in Spain's policy?

The contention that there has been foreign interference in the régime of the Spanish Government, during the war or the years following it, is equally inaccurate. Precisely this national characteristic with which the Spain of Franco was described made her more jealous of her independence and for this reason no concessions of any kind

kind were granted to the Axis nations, certainly not on political grounds, but neither commercially or economically. This wholly independent attitude of the Spanish Government created several critical moments in its relations with Germany, a crisis to which it might be worth while drawing attention to some day, because they are not known to the world.

As regards the supposed ideological affinity of the Spanish Movement with the totalitarian movements, anyone who knows our national idiosyncrasy will be able to understand that such an affinity was not even possible. The Movement, as a national one, had to begin by proclaiming the fundamental rights of the human being, which nowadays have been explicitly acknowledged by the Fuero de los Españoles (Bill of Rights) and therefore the Movement had to appear as jealous of legitimate liberties as the Spaniards themselves are. And if the Movement made use of its authority energetically, it did so for the purpose of safeguarding the natural rights of mankind, which had been iniquitously trampled upon and overruled by revolutionary tyranny.

These being the facts it is not surprising that in the Government's Note regarding the declarations of Potsdam, the statements affecting Spain should have been rejected for, as I say, they are founded on an inexact assumption, the free acceptance of which can be explained as a result of the gigantic misrepresentation carried out by the expatriated Spaniards who have managed to lead astray innumerable people of good faith.

What impression has Y.E. gathered from the campaign initiated in one of the South American countries regarding the breaking-off of relations?

As could be expected the attempt to which you refer has failed, and it is to be believed, therefore, that it will have no repercussion. As regards the attempt in itself, it constitutes an act which although painful in that it has corresponded in ungrateful manner to the noble and generous attitude which our country has always shown towards the South American nations, whatever may have been their internal régime or form of government, it goes no further than a transitory manifestation of extremist overflow, which characterizes the first stage of these two wars and which no doubt will calm down when minds become serene and reach a just and balanced vision of the affairs of our country.

The Government convinced of their reasonableness and fully conscious of the very solid internal situation, are firmly decided that nothing from outside shall place this situation in danger, whereby, apart from lending a great service to Spanish interests, and to the future of our country, it is at the same time useful to the international community, and particularly to that of the small nations, rejecting the fatal precedent, which the possibility of intervention by foreign opinion in the internal affairs of a state and its freedom to govern itself on whatever form it might consider convenient, would mean, and precisely at a time in which the Atlantic Charter, the Agreements of San Francisco and the declaration of Potsdam itself proclaim over and over again the right of nations not to have their private affairs interfered with by any other Power.

Is it true that the Spanish Government has delivered a protest to

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to the British Ambassador and to the Delegate of the French Government regarding the affairs at Tangier?

Since the British wireless has given the news, even before the Spanish Government had received a reply to their Note, I cannot deny that the matter is a true fact and that in the Note the usual reservations have been made regarding whatever may have been agreed upon behind our country's back during the preliminary conversations which have taken place and are taking place in Paris, with reference to Tangier matters, for it is clear that nothing can be agreed which will be really definite and valid without taking into account Spain, which is the first power interested in the fate of a city enclosed in the zone of her protectorate and the European population of which is in its immense majority Spanish. Nor is it indiscreet to say that in the note itself is expressed the displeasure with which Spain has learnt that a European power has been invited to participate in those negotiations which, owing to its extremely eastern position cannot have in the Tangier area any motives other than the strategic interest which the place in question offers her for her proseletysing activities.

Spain and her Government have nothing against the Russian nation, for whose people they feel lively sympathy; nor have they anything to say about the Soviet régime itself in so far as concerns the interior form of government of that state. What the Spanish Government cannot admit is the importation into Spain of Communist doctrines and even less the penetration of Communist activities and propaganda.

How did Y.E. receive the news of the surrender of Japan?

The surrender of Japan which puts an end to the war is the most pleasing news which all peace-loving persons could have received. For this reason, believing that they were interpreting the feelings of all Spaniards the Government ordered that the national flag should be raised as a sign of rejoicing in all public buildings as soon as peace was known.

A neutrality maintained not without difficulties and with effort through two wars, joined to a tradition which is doctrinal and at the same time positive, of love for peace, confer on our country more than sufficient qualifications to appear among the nations which in a spirit of justice and brotherhood are reconstructing the future international community, and it is to be hoped that those qualifications, reinforced by an irreproachable conduct, will achieve for us in a very near future an outstanding place in that universal commonwealth.

One last question. How does Y.E. think that the Spanish régime will have to fit itself in to the new framework of Europe in connexion with the speeches made in the last few days in the House of Commons?

The régime established in Spain on July 18th, 1936, does not constitute a closed, rigid and inflexible system but on the contrary on the framework of fundamental principles which cannot be other than those of public Christian law our political constitution is open, flexible and evolutionary.

Cleansed daily of purely transitory and passing forms and accidental attributes our political system will ever increasingly continue to show its traditional and autocthonous essence. However, these essential values in our public life are nothing without the wise linking

/ linking

linking of the concepts of liberty and authority, which makes possible both the respect of the fundamental rights of the individual and the inflexible maintenance of the laws of the public Authority, and the harmony of which today constitutes the fundation for the principal political systems of the world and particularly of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, with which therefore the system of government of our country will eventually be coordinated, our country which is progressing towards new forms of popular representation and political liberty.

In any case it will now be understood that it is absolutely necessary for Spain to be able to carry out her political evolution at the rhythm and by the stages which are our particular idiosyncrasies. In proceeding in this fashion on the other hand we draw inspiration from the wise political conduct of those Anglo-Saxon peoples who have always succeeded in making the necessary evolutions without being precipitate or violent. As regards social transformations we are ready to carry as far as in the social reforms which the times require, as is proved by our legislation for labour and social insurance, which is as advanced as that of the leading country in such matters. The social restlessness of our youth will find no boundaries other than those imposed by the conservation of economic order, in so far as it is regarded as necessary for the augmentation of the national wealth, and in this sense and given the fact that labour in itself does not presuppose a materialist philosophy and, without doubt for that reason, has not so far as is known received any kind of rebuke on the part of the Catholic conscience, nobody will be surprised if Spain can look with benevolence and even sympathy on labour's aspirations to social justice, with which to a large extent our aspirations may coincide.

Along this road, as the Head of the State himself announced recently in his speech of July 17th last, our political system will one day launch out into the traditional monarchy whereby Spanish politics will achieve certain stability.

S 70

S 70

Z 10140/233/41
22 SEP 1945

Z.
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BRITISH EMBASSY,
MADRID.

1/318/45. 14th September, 1945.

INDEXED

Dear Registrar,

Z

We must apologise for the typing of the enclosure to our printed letter 439 of August 28th, regarding the interview granted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Directors of EFE and Logos Angencies on August 22nd.

We have only just noticed that in the rush to catch the bag the inverted commas were not continued after the first two paragraphs while no very clear indication is given to show where the answers begin and the questions end. We suggest that the Western Department Registry should underline the questions, which will make reading easier, should it ever be desired to make further reference to this document.

Yours ever,

Chancery

The Registrar,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

112A

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 10284 61

5 SEP 1945

Registry Number. Z 10284/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM Sir V.Mallet, San Sebastian.

No. 66

Dated 3rd Sept.1945.

Received in Registry 5th Sept.1945.

Z : Spain

Pastoral letter issued by Spanish Primate: on position of church and need for Spanish unity.

Spanish Primate issued on 1st September long pastoral which consisted of 1) explanation and defence of attitude of Church during Civil War 2) plea to foreign powers to avoid revival of Civil War and 3) appeal for integral peace with representative from of Government.

Last Paper.

210160.

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Rptd Lisbon 666
Copied to Telegraph Sect. Co. for rep to Gibraltar
S.) Miss Harris
not D.
Sept

Rptd.
The Vatican
K 9 SAVING
15.9 46

(Action completed.) 5 dec 46 2-19

(Index.) 10 17

Next Paper.

210332.

(Minutes.)

Copies Miss Harris (M.J.2)

The pastoral seems to have contained some little stiff on the past, but as a guide to 'evolution' it may do good.

Research Sept: For comment on this Pastoral Letter see Mr Hartfall's note to Mr Garran of 7th Sept: R.L.Ls. Sloan 5/9. 2206 11/ix

This pronouncement may not prove as good as it sounds. I rather suspect that the Church has decided to come out openly in favour of limited reforms by the present Government in Spain - which is not enough.

J.G. 7/9

I'm afraid Mr Garran may be right.

22175 2 41 F.O.P.

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[EN CLAIR]

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

Z 10284

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

5 SEP 1945

Sir V. Mallet
No. 66
3rd September 1945

D. Untimed 3rd September 1945

R. 4.00 p.m. 4th September 1945

: : :

Spanish Primate issued September 1st long vigorously-worded pastoral which is given great prominence in national press. It consists of (i) explanation and defence of attitude of Church during Civil War, (ii) plea to foreign powers to avoid revival of Civil War antagonisms, (iii) strong appeal for integral peace on staple and representative form of government.

2. Regarding Civil War, pastoral argues that it took on nature of crusade of liberation once Communist extremist elements had assumed control of Republican Government and began widespread religious persecution which resulted in assassination of dozen bishops and thousands of priests without trial and simply for profession of faith. This called forth joint pastoral of Spanish Episcopate in 1937 which is extensively quoted. Accusations that Church took sides with totalitarian régime are rejected. Archbishop maintains that in various pastorals since 1923 under all forms of government he has insisted on independence of Church from state.

defence?

3. On Spanish external situation he gives difference of Spanish neutrality on familiar lines. Argues that it is to nobody's interest to reopen a question settled by "armed plebiscite" or attempt to clean up embers of Civil War only to stir up a new blaze. All external forms of state which could serve as pretext for suspicion should be eliminated but Spain's undeniable right to solve her own internal problems and to organise her régime should be respected.

4. On internal situation he pointedly expresses hope that laws will be passed to make bill of rights reality, practically and integrally observed. Says that end of world war makes it urgent necessity to teach a total definitive organisation of state. Time has come for people's participation in government. This can take various [?word omitted] important thing is to prevent elections being adulterated either by those who vote or those who organise voting. Asks for firm permanent institution consistent with historical Spanish unity and degree of political education possessed by Spanish people; an end to old rivalries; an open way to fellowship of all Spaniards; return to Spain of all those who do not come to provoke trouble; sound channels for expression of legitimate opinion; and that there may be as much strength in constituted authority as generosity towards those who oppose it.

Repeat Lisbon, Gibraltar.
[Repeated to Lisbon under telegram No. 660]
[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Gibraltar]

SEP 1945
F.O. REGISTRY

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Mr Garnett: Put with 2
Submit
Mr Hogen Gladstone

INDEXED

Carter's summary

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brings out quite clearly

the apologistic nature

of this Pastoral. Play

Daniel is a climber

who has chosen a singularly

unfortunate moment to

attempt the next step

on the up.

Z 1029 K | 833 | LII

11 SEP 1945

E.D.T. 7/IX

PASTORAL by the PRIMATE OF SPAIN
on the occasion of the end of the War.

To Mr Garran, Western Department.

From Mr W.Horsfall Carter, Research Department

You may care to have a few notes on the recent pronouncement by Dr Pla y Daniel, Primate of Spain and Arhhbishop of Toledo, which is the latest and not the least important apologia of Franco and his Regime. After reading it in extenso I am not sure that the summary given in San Sebastian Telegram No 66 of the 3rd September provides a faithful record of the Archbishop's Pastoral.

Preliminary Note

Dr Pla y Daniel is an appointee of Franco (with the reputation of being a careerist). He is therefore tied to the Regime in a way in which Cardinal Segura, Archbishop of Seville, for example, is not. Cardinal Segura is the classic type of 'Prince of the Church', reminiscent of the Middle Ages, who will stand for no interference with the Church's prerogatives: his quarrel with Franco and the Regime is,,of course, on that ground- not from any greater inclination towards democracy or liberalism.(He is said to be immensely popular, by the way, in Andalusia and to have done fine work on behalf of a number of Basque priests persecuted by the Falange.) Dr Pla y Daniel is probably more representative of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which is nowadays, on the whole, hand-in-glove with the Regime,

The Primate issued an earlier Pastoral -in May of

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this year- which was a thoroughgoing eulogy of Franco and the Regime and a vigorous attack on their detractors; it included a scarcely-veiled disparagement of Don Juan. This Pastoral of the 1st September barely mentions Franco, and there are obscurely allusive passages about Spain's historical tradition which might be interpreted as being favourable to Don Juan and the Monarchy. But the intention is clearly to fortify with the authority of the Church the official thesis of the Regime with regard to the civil war and neutrality, and to expound views on "the future shaping of the Spanish State" which, it must be said, amount to an endorsement of General Franco's own proclaimed programme of <u>evolución</u>. What is perhaps worth emphasizing is that, in contrast with his earlier Pastoral, the Archbishop seems now to be very much on the defensive. He is concerned to explain and defend the attitude of the Church during the civil war, then to exculpate the Spanish hierarchy from any charge of serving Fascist or totalitarian regimes, and finally, as it were, to trace, for the benefit of his Catholic flock, the limits within which they should keep in their political ideas. (This may well be with an eye to the activities of the <u>Acción Católica</u> group represented by the new Foreign Minister, Señor Artajo.)

<u>Neutrality</u> The passages on this subject are particularly revealing. The document begins with a reference to the Pastoral of May, 1945 which expounded "los motivos justísimos" of Spain's neutrality. Those reasons, writes the Archbishop, "as far as we know are not in dispute; but now, in the hour of peace, there are more or less open accusations that Spain did not observe that neutrality strictly enough". He then goes on to say: "We solemnly state that the most perfect neutrality has been maintained by <u>the Church</u>"- which is

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a characteristic evasion of the point! Later on there is a passage saying that it is for the Spanish State, which alone possesses the full documentation, to tell the story of that neutrality!. But, above and beyond particular episodes, there is the public and undeniable fact that Spain did not sign the Tripartite Pact which would have committed Spain to going to war, nor did Spain become involved in the war, in spite of powerful pressure and difficult situations, with the belligerent armies on her frontiers and belligerent warships steaming around her coasts. And yet to-day, at the conclusion of the World War, the name of Spain and her Government is being bandied about everywhere. God grant that all this will not rekindle the flames of the civil war."

Civil War

The Archbishop holds forth at some length on the views of the Fathers of the Church on war, international or civil, leading on to a justification of the famous joint pastoral of the Spanish episcopate in 1937. His chief point is that the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy blessed one group of belligerents only after the civil war had taken on the character of a crusade of liberation of the country from Communism and extremist excesses. On this he quotes his previous Pastoral which accused the Government of that time of not even trying to dominate the Communist masses-- which is unfair and untrue. And, further on, he declares that the civil war became eventually an "armed plebiscite" which put an end to religious persecution. "Let no one now champion an unnecessary revision of that plebiscite which might sweep us into a fresh civil war.....Because our war ended before the World War began far too much importance has been attached to the help received from the nations defeated in the World War; then they were not belligerents. And, indeed, Nationalist Spain received equal (sic)

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help from other nations which never joined the Axis and which indeed were and are allies of the ~~United~~ victor-nations."

Defence of the Church

In a section dealing with "the attacks on Spain and her present Government" there is a spirited defence of the Spanish Church against the charge of servitude to or defence of Fascist or totalitarian regimes. The principle of non-interference (no infeudación) of the Church in any political regime is stoutly affirmed. This is followed by an assertion that the independence of the Church had not for centuries been so amply recognized, in theory and in practice, as by the present regime.

Spanish Political Tradition

In the last section the Archbishop is concerned to warn Spaniards against any abrupt political changes. "It would be an error to break the spiritual trajectory of the country and it cannot be believed that we shall fall into that error."

The rest about the Charter (Fuero de los Españoles) and other constitutional steps is straightforward Franco talk, with emphasis on Spain cleaving to her historical traditions and being left alone to solve her own internal problems: "let there be outlets of a substantial kind for the expression of legitimate opinions through "natural" organs". (See San Sebastian Telegram No 66)

7.9.45 Research Department

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1945

Z

SPAIN

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Z 10332

5 SEP 1945

Registry Number Z 10332/233/41

Foreign Office Minute

FROM Sir A. Cadogan

No.

Dated 31st Aug, 1945.

Received in Registry 5th Sept, 1945.

Z: Spain

Situation in Spain: new Spanish Government in Mexico: possibility of change in régime.

Records conversation with Counsellor of the Soviet Embassy when latter asked if changes in Spanish Government were satisfactory. He asked several questions about His Majesty's Government's attitude to new "Spanish Government", also whether Sir A. Cadogan thought there would be a change in the Spanish régime in near future. Suggests that perhaps Soviet Government are contemplating recognition and alternative Spanish Government.

Last Paper.

216248

References.

(Minutes.)

See tel. No 253 Saving to Moscow.

R.K.W.S.

6/9.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Tel.) Moscow 253 Saving. Sept 5th.

Rptd Madrid 13 Saving.

Tait 2126.

W'hall 575.

(Action completed.)

Sdelbert 10/9

(Index.)

10/9.

Next Paper.

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Z 10332
5 SEP 1945

The COUNSELLOR of the SOVIET EMBASSY this afternoon subjected me to a cross examination on the subject of Spain.

He began by asking whether the recent changes in the Spanish Government were regarded as satisfactory. I told him that they certainly indicated some improvement but could not be regarded as indicating a change of régime.

He then enquired about the "new Spanish Government in Mexico". Was this likely to unite all Spanish republicans outside Spain and were the Mexican Government going to recognise it? I said that I thought our indications were that the republicans had recently been losing ground and were not united amongst themselves. I had no indication that the Mexican Government proposed to recognise the new so-called Spanish Government.

Monsieur Koukin then asked me whether we should allow members of this Government to come to England, to which I replied that we should not of course let them come in an official capacity but if any individuals applied for permission to come to this country and could show any good reason for wishing to do so, I did not think that we should forbid them.

Monsieur Koukin said that the Spanish republicans had been encouraged by the advent of the Labour Government, who they expected would be much more sympathetic to them. I referred to the Foreign Secretary's speech in the House of Commons which made it clear that while we did not approve of the existing régime in Spain, we had no idea of direct interference in Spanish internal affairs. In that respect the policy of the present Government was pretty well in line with that of the late Government.

Monsieur Koukin then asked me whether I thought it possible that there would be a change of regime in Spain itself in the near future. To that I could only

reply /

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reply that so far as understood the situation, there was a growing realisation in Spain of the isolation to which Spain was subjected owing to the maintenance of the Franco régime. I could not tell whether public opinion would, in the near or distant future, make itself felt sufficiently to produce any change. Monsieur Koukin said that so far as he could see Franco was likely to remain indefinitely and he could not see from what quarter any impetus towards a change could be expected. I said that it was true that it was very difficult to forecast how a change could be brought about; Monsieur Koukin had said that Franco maintained a rigid control but that was perhaps not wholly true as there was an element in Spain which was rather uncertain from his point of view and that was the army. It was possible that the generals, if united, might demand a change. The only other alternative, which happily seemed uhlikely at the moment, was a republican revolution in Spain itself. The last thing we wanted was another civil war in Spain or anywhere else in Europe.

Monsieur Koukin's questions were so insistent that I wondered whether his Government have any idea of recognising some alternative Spanish Government.

AB.

31st August, 1945.

Mr. Hayley.
Mr Hofer. Miller.
MB 1/ix
Mr Gallop. Jd. Seal. 5/9.
Send letter upon this
as "Saving Tee" to
Madrid Moscow.
1.9 MB. 2/9

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reply /

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FO371/74990

Mr. Harvey.

reply that so far as understood the situation, there was a growing realisation in Spain of the isolation to which Spain was subjected owing to the maintenance of the Franco regime. I could not tell whether public opinion would, in the near or distant future, make itself felt sufficiently to produce any change. Monsieur Koukin said that so far as he could see Franco was likely to remain indefinitely and he could not see from what quarter any impetus towards a change could be expected. I said that it was true that it was very difficult to forecast how a change could be brought about; Monsieur Koukin had said that Franco maintained a rigid control but that was perhaps not wholly true as there was an element in Spain which was rather uncertain from his point of view and that was the army. It was possible that the generals, if united might demand a change. The only other alternative, which happily seemed unlikely at the moment, was a republican revolution in Spain itself. The last thing we wanted was another civil war in Spain or anywhere else in Europe.

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(Intld.) A.C.

31st August, 1945.

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FO371/49590

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Registry No. 2.10332/233/41

P.G.

OUT FILE

Despatched 6/9 6/50 M.

Draft.

H.M. Ambassador,
Moscow.
Telegram.

No. 253 Saving
Dated. Sept 5th

Repeat

H.M.Ambassador
Madrid
No. 138 Saving

H.M.Ambassador
Paris
No. 226 Saving

H.M.Ambassador
No. 875 Saving.
Washington.

~~Cypher~~

Cabinet Dist.

Counsellor of the Soviet Embassy, in the course of a recent discussion with Sir A. Cadogan, showed considerable interest ~~about~~ in the position in Spain.

2. He began by asking whether the recent changes in the Spanish Government were regarded as satisfactory. Sir A. Cadogan replied that they certainly indicated some improvement but could not be regarded as indicating a change of régime. // N.B. 3. M. Koukin then enquired about the new "Spanish Government" in Mexico. Was this likely to unite all Spanish Republicans outside Spain and were the Mexican Government going to recognise it? Sir A. Cadogan replied that our information was to the effect that the Republicans ~~had recently been losing ground~~ were indications that exiles were not united among themselves.

3. M. Koukin then asked whether H.M.G. would allow members of this Government to come to England, to which Sir A. Cadogan replied that we should not of course allow them to come in an official capacity but that if any individuals applied for permission to come here and could show any good reason for wishing to do so, we should not be likely to refuse them.

4. M. Koukin went on to say that the Spanish Republicans had been encouraged by the advent of the Labour Government, which they had expected would be much more sympathetic towards them. Sir A. Cadogan referred to my speech in

the.....

the House of Commons which made it clear that while we did not approve of the existing regime in Spain we had no intention of directly interfering in Spanish affairs. In that respect the policy of the present Government was ~~generally~~ pretty well in line with that of the late Government.

5. M. Koukin then asked whether there was likely to be a change of regime in Spain itself in the near future. Sir A. Cadogan replied that according to our information there was a growing realisation (among Spaniards) that Spain was becoming isolated as a ~~result~~ consequence of the continuance of the Franco regime. It was not possible to say whether public opinion would, in the near ~~of~~ or distant future, make itself felt sufficiently to produce any change. M. Koukin expressed apprehension that Franco seemed likely to remain indefinitely and said that he could not see from what quarter any impetus towards a change could be expected; Sir A. Cadogan replied that though it was true that it was difficult to forecast how a change could be brought about, there was an element in Spain which was rather uncertain from General Franco's point of view, namely the Army. It was possible that the Generals, if united, might demand a change. The only other alternative, which happily seemed unlikely at the moment, was a revolution. The last thing we wanted was another civil war, whether in Spain or anywhere else.

6. M. Koukin was somewhat ~~questioning~~ in his questioning almost as to our attitude. He asked whether we were contemplating some alternative Spanish Govt. recognising ~~to~~ ~~some Spanish Government in Mexico~~.

AG. Sept. 4/45.

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Z 10332/233/41
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[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on.]

[EN CLAIR]

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO MOSCOW

No. 253 Saving 5th September, 1945

Repeated to Madrid No. 138 Saving,
Paris No. 2126 Saving,
Washington No. 875 Saving.

& & &

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3. M. Koukin then enquired about the new Spanish "Government" in Mexico. Was this likely to unite all Spanish Republicans outside Spain and were the Mexican Government going to recognise it? Sir A. Cadogan replied that our information was to the effect that there were indications that the Republican exiles were not united among themselves.

4. M. Koukin then asked whether His Majesty's Government would allow members of this Government to come to England, to which Sir A. Cadogan replied that we should not of course allow them to come in an official capacity but that if any individuals applied for permission to come here and could show any good reason for wishing to do so, we should not be likely to refuse them.

5. M. Koukin went on to say that the Spanish Republicans had been encouraged by the advent of the Labour Government, which they had expected would be much more sympathetic towards them. Sir A. Cadogan referred to my speech in the House of Commons which made it clear that while we did not approve of the existing regime in Spain we had no intention of directly interfering in Spanish affairs. In that respect the policy of the present Government was pretty well in line with that of the late Government.

6. M. Koukin then asked whether there was likely to be a change of regime in Spain itself in the near future. Sir A. Cadogan replied that according to our information there was a growing realisation among Spaniards that Spain was becoming isolated as a consequence of the continuance of the Franco regime. It was not possible to say whether public opinion would, in the near or distant future, make itself felt sufficiently to produce any change. M. Koukin

expressed

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expressed apprehension that Franco seemed likely to remain indefinitely and said that he could not see from what quarter any impetus towards a change could be expected; Sir A Cadogan replied that though it was true that it was difficult to forecast how a change could be brought about, there was an element in Spain which was rather uncertain from General Franco's point of view, namely the Army. It was possible that the Generals, if united, might demand a change. The only other alternative, which happily seemed unlikely at the moment, was a revolution. The last thing we wanted was another civil war, whether in Spain or anywhere else.

7. M. Koukin was so insistent in his questioning as almost to suggest that his Government were contemplating recognising some alternative Spanish Government.

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Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 10340

6 SEP 1945

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Registry Number Z 10340/233/41

FROM Mr.Bellenger, War Office, to Mr.Bevin.

No.

Dated 29th Aug.1945.

Received in Registry 6th Sept.1945.

Z : Spain

Possibility of restoration of monarchy: conversation with Lieutenant Colonel Peira.

Records conversation as above when Spanish Attaché stated that he thought return of monarchy was desirable and probable and that it would be accepted in Spain by all classes but not by republicans outside Spain.

Last Paper.

Z10332

References.

(*Minutes.*)

A.K.W.S. 13/9.

(*Print.*)

(*How disposed of.*)

Off.) to Bellenger to Mr Bevin. Sept 1.

(Action completed.) Secd. Cl. 13/9.

(Index.) 10/7

Next Paper.

Z10534

29082 F.O.P.

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WAR OFFICE

29th ~~August 1945~~

WO 10340
6 SEP 1945

Cir Thomas MO

Dear Ernest

At an Army Council luncheon today for military attachés I sat next to Lt Col. Pena the Spanish attaché. He told me in the course of conversation that he thought the return of the monarchy was both desirable & probable, Don Juan being the candidate. I asked him whether there would be a democratic monarchy with Parliamentary government on popular elections & he said he thought so. Possibly two or three months after the monarchy had been reinstated. In that event

General Franco wanted me to
a military role in charge of
the Army. He thought that
the monarchy would be
"accepted" in Spain in all
classes but not by republicans
outside Spain.

Naturally I expressed no
opinions - except on the subject
of Wines in which he appeared to
be very interested!

Yours sincerely

H Macmillan

Western Dept

Ent 80

1st September 1945.

Thank you very much for your letter of 29th August telling me of what the Spanish Attaché had said to you.

These views about Spain are nothing new, but coming from that source they are interesting. I will pass the letter to the appropriate Department in the Foreign Office.

E. Bevin

J. Bellenger Esq., M.P.

115

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 10534
12 SEP 1945

81

Registry Number: Z 10534/233/41

FROM Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 443(1/294/45)

Dated 3rd September,1945

Received in Registry: 12th September,1945
Z : Spain.

New Civil Governor of Barcelona Lieutenant Colonel Bartolomé Barba.

Transmits copy of despatch from Consulate General Barcelona No.30 of 31st August gives account of visit to new Civil Governor who gave good impression. Comments on contrast between reception during Companys régime and that of today.

Last Paper.

Z 10340

References.

9+92 - & LoRD.

(Minutes.)

Research Dept E.D.G. 19/ix

P.G. Jarman 10/9

J.H. 11.9.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.) Filed 20/9

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 10571

29082 F.O.P.

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No. 443 (1/294/45)

2
82

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid presents his compliments to the Foreign Secretary and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Madrid.

2.

3rd Sept., 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:

San Sebastian despatch No.15 of 20.8.45.to F.O.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Despatch from H.M. Consulate General, Barcelona, No. 30 of 21st August to H.M. Ambassador, Madrid.	New Civil Governor of Barcelona.

Z 10534
12 SEP 1945

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Despatch No 30.

H/91/45.

British Consulate General,

Barcelona.

21st August, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that I paid my first visit on the new Civil Governor, Lt Colonel Bartolomé Barba, to-day.

2. He gave a good impression. He was most friendly and made it clear that he had received special instructions in regard to his attitude to ourselves and the Americans. I took the opportunity of speaking about some outstanding matters in connection with the German institutions here, and he promised to investigate the points which I had raised.

3. The contrast between one's reception at the Civil Governor's office during the Correa régime and that of to-day is most marked. Whereas then all guards and officials gave the Falangist salute and Correa invariably wore his blue shirt, now the salute is a normal military one and Colonel Barba is in army uniform. I understand that the local security and police force have received instructions from the Civil Governor to give only military salutes henceforth.

4. The political secretary of the Civil Governor, Miguel Moya, is a comparatively young man. He is a journalist and art critic, and has represented the "A.B.C." in Italy, Roumania and Bulgaria.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

H. A. HOBSON

His Excellency,
Sir Victor A.L. Mallet, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 10571

14 SEP 1945

Registry Number Z 10571/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM
Sir V.Mallet (Madrid)

No. 6 Saving.

Dated 10th Sept.1945.

Received in Registry 14th Sept.1945.

Comments on pastoral letter of Spanish Primate.

Refers to Madrid telegram 66 (Z 10284/233/41). Spanish press proclaim pastoral as authoritative vindication of General Franco and his régime. General call to bid old rivalries must remain as pious aspiration. Gives reaction of Republicans and Monarchists. Emphasizes that reception of pastoral shows political importance of bishops is by no means negligible. Next annual meeting of International Catholic Students organization is to be held in Spain.

Last Paper.

210534

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

~~Repeated to~~
~~The Vatican 49 Saving.~~

(Action completed.)

Pde 14/9
25/9

(Index.)

14/11/7

Next Paper.

210684.

(Minutes.)

P.P. in Research Dept.

Repeat Saving both
ref. to The Vatican.

Lt.Co. Sloan.
14/9.

The Primate's letter was dead in line with General Franco's new policy of 'evolucion' and the fact that it has been well received in some Catholic anti-Franco circles means that it has ~~been~~ served General Franco's purpose.

Time.

Research Dept. E.D.4. 22/ix

V 20/9

22175 2'41 F.O.P.

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Z 10571

[EN CLAIR] CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE 1945

Sir V. Mallet
No. 6 SAVING
10th September, 1945.

R. 12.40 p.m. 13th September, 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon No. 8 Saving
Gibraltar No. 7 Saving
Minister of Information No. 1 Saving.

[ ][ ][ ]
Z 10284 | 233 | 41

My telegram No. 66 (summary of Pastoral Letter of Spanish Primate).

The Spanish Press loudly claimed the Primate's pastoral as an authoritative vindication of General Franco and his régime but it is unlikely to be seen as such by those supporters who read it carefully and will certainly not make any converts to Falangism. Whether the Archbishop's invitation to the Government to legislate for the immediate operation of the Bill of Rights, its stress on the urgency of reaching a total and definitive organisation of the state and arranging for the people's share in the government of the country, was prearranged with General Franco for his acceptance at a later date is a matter for speculation. In any case Franco will be unable to ignore it totally.

2. In the meantime, the Archbishop's general call for an end to old rivalries and the return to Spain of all who do not come to provoke trouble must remain as a pious aspiration. Republican critics point out that the pastoral might have shown more of the independence of spirit that it claims if it had been issued two years ago and that it is largely a tardy and half-hearted acknowledgement of the inevitable. In other anti-Franco Catholic circles its plea for steadiness and reform has been well received, being taken as a counterpoise to the pronouncements of the exiled Republicans in Mexico, and as only conditional support for General Franco. Monarchists tend to read into it rather more than it actually contains of advocacy for their cause.

3. Meanwhile from a confidential source I learn that the Minister for Foreign Affairs and other more enlightened Catholics are seriously preoccupied about the somewhat distant

relations

14 SEP 1945 F.O. REGISTRY

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Z 10571

relations between the Spanish Church and the Vatican, Senor Martin Artajo has pressed a certain learned and liberal-minded priest who is a Professor at Madrid University to proceed to the Vatican as an intermediary. If the visit comes off, we may expect some salutary guidance to the Spanish bishops as a result. The reception of the Archbishop's pastoral is sufficient to show that the political importance of the bishops is by no means negligible.

4. Some interest has been caused here by the announcement that the next annual meeting of the International Catholic Students organisation, Pax Romana, which met recently in England is to be held in Spain with Christian Democracy and Liberty for its theme. I think that contacts of this kind should be welcomed as they tend to counteract the innate prejudices and insularity of Spanish Catholics and disabuse them from the idea that it is unorthodox to be anti-Franco.

5. Please inform Ministry of Information.

[Copies sent to Ministry of Information].

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1945

SPAIN

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Z 10684
17 SEP 1945

Registry Number Z 10684/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM

Sir V. Mallet, San Sebastian.

No. 89 90

Dated 15th Sept.,

Received in Registry 17th Sept., 1945.

Z: Spain

Decrees passed by Council of Ministers.

Reports details of about 60 decrees not yet available. More important measure includes, formation of ministerial committee to consider application of bill of rights, grant of pardon to deserters and annulment of decree 263, imposing Falangist salute. Comments on this.

Last Paper.

21 05 71

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

S.) No Ellen Rees 19 15 Sept

(Action completed.) 20/9

(Index.) 8 10/7.

Next Paper.

21 07 14

(Minutes.)

As regards the Bill of Rights we must reserve judgement until we can see what ~~it~~ brought if any it eventually brings to the people of Spain

The grant of pardon to deserters & evaders would be significant gesture only if it were to be applied honestly and impartially without discrimination and petty persecution.

The most significant innovation is certainly the abolition of the Falangist salute which, as Sir V. Mallet says, must be a heavy blow to Falangist prestige. General Franco has thus launched his programme of 'evolution' ~~[illegible]~~ by a measure which must inevitably weaken the Party, who have hitherto been his staunchest supporters. It will be interesting

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Z 10684
17 SEP 1945

interesting to see to what elements he will now look for support while he tries to recast the régime ~~[illegible]~~ to suit the changing times and so to take the edge off world criticism while himself remaining at the head of the State.

R. Garran

17/9

Copy to Ellis Rees (T&C)

I'm afraid that Lenso is trying to show on himself, which seems rich to Delange.

H. Hughes

D.9

GRh

19/IX

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Z 10684 89
17 SEP 1945

[CODE] (R) CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet
No. 89
15th September, 1945

D. 1.00 p.m. GMT 15th September, 1945
R. 10.25 p.m. BST 15th September, 1945

ddddddd

About 60 decrees of varying importance were passed by Council of Ministers recently concluded. The subjects were announced in the press on 13th September but details will not be available until official state bulletin is published next week when I shall furnish a full report. So far, there has been no press comment.

2. A more important measure includes the following:

(a) formation of a ministerial committee to consider application of Bill of Rights;

(b) grant of pardon to deserters and evaders from the forces;

(c) an agreement on regulations for preparation of an electoral census, annulment of decree number 263 of 24th April, 1937.

3. See my immediately following telegram.

F.O. REGISTRY 17 SEP 1945

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Z 10684

SEP 1945

[CYPHER] CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet
No. 90
15th September, 1945

D. 1.00 p.m. 15th September, 1945
R. 1.10 a.m. 16th September, 1945

ddddddd

My immediately preceding telegram. No

What appears at first sight to be a routine Cabinet meeting has in fact reached decisions which, if put into practice, mean several jumps forward in Franco evolutionary process.

2. Bill of Rights, which must remain a dead letter until laws are passed to put it into practice, now passes to a committee minister for that purpose. This is both a postponement of undefined duration and a promise of ultimate fulfilment. And we judge from prominence accorded to it in the press, requisite legislation is to the fore-front of general programme.

3. Grant of pardon to deserters and evaders from the forces primarily affects fugitives abroad of the former Republican Army. They may now re-enter Spain without further penalty than ordinary military service instead of being subject to trial and probable imprisonment for desertion as hitherto. This may be interpreted primarily as a military measure to reinforce the standing army but politically it is a step forward in the way of reconciliation. Applicants for enlistment will be posted to African garrisons in the case of army and equivalent place or subordinate post in the case of the navy thus relieving existing units for service elsewhere.

4. Active preparation of census is designed no doubt with a view to municipal elections being held next January. I am reliably informed that these elections will be free and secret to all heads of households and will affect one third of each of municipal bodies in the country. The object is to test opinion for a possible further consultation of the people.

5. Annulment of decree number 263 is announced without any indication of subject matter. Research reveals that decree in question imposed Falangist salute on all and sundry. Falangist circles will presumably be informed, but bulk of the population have apparently been left to learn by experience

that/

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that it is now against rules to salute in Axis fashion. This is undoubtedly a heavy blow to Falangist prestige which may well have serious consequences for a party so dependent on outward show. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the flagging of San Sebastian for Franco's arrival is entirely with national flags and all Falangist flags which began to appear were hastily removed by order.

O.T.P.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

92.

Z 10714

17 SEP 1945

Registry Number	Z 10714/233/41.
FROM	Sir V. Mallet, San Sebastian, to Mr. Hoyer Millar.
No.	
Dated	30th Aug. 1945.
Received in Registry	17th Sept. 1945.
	Z: Spain.

...in Spain: Position of General Franco.

Refers to Mr. Hoyer Millar's conversation with the Duke of Alba agreeing with latter's point that representation of Franco's movements as non Spanish tends to align people behind Franco. Discusses situation in Spain and Franco's position. Encloses article from recent American army newspaper, referring to Madrid despatch 18(Z /3090/41).

Last Paper.

Z 10684

References.

Z 10133/3090/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Sdecided 28/9

(Index.)

11/7.

Next Paper.

210716

North American 18 (Minutes.) 24/9 Sept.

R.H.S.

21/9.

29082 F.O.P.

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Z 10714
17[illegible]

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BRITISH EMBASSY,

SAN SEBASTIAN.

30th August, 1945.

My dear Derick,

Many thanks for your letter of August 20th with its enclosure recording a conversation between Cadogan and the Spanish Ambassador.

Alba undoubtedly makes a point when he says that representing the origin of Franco's movement as non-Spanish causes resentment in certain Spanish quarters favourable to us and tends rather to align people behind Franco. Indeed he might have gone further; such an attitude makes it practically impossible to find any peaceful settlement of Spanish internal politics as it really ignores the pre-occupation of Spaniards in Spain who, after all, must have the final say in the affairs of their country. It seems to me that on any reading of Spanish history in the last few decades men of the type of Franco and his supporters have been on the verge of appearing at every successive Government crisis and that the Civil War was practically a foregone conclusion from the repressive rule of Primo de Rivera onwards and a certainty since 1934. The Axis took advantage of an endemic characteristic of Spanish politics; it originated nothing. As you know, a good deal of the soundest opposition to Franco and Falange in Spain today is to be found among those who were on the Nationalist side in 1936. They would be again if the political conditions of the time recurred but they consider that Franco betrayed the movement by letting Falange take control of it, with Axis backing, and that Franco produced an ideology and state-organisation foreign to Spanish temperament and tradition. Such a development was never envisaged by the Generals or the Army, when the Generals nominated Franco Head of the State. If understanding of this attitude commonly existed abroad it would tend to reconcile conflicting elements and to extrude the extremes of Falangism and communism (both of which boost themselves in Spanish politics by screaming that the other is the only alternative!)

In this connection you might look at an article from a recent issue of the American army newspaper "Stars and Stripes" which I enclose. It was on sale in Biarritz, whence forays of uniformed America tourists have been coming here (see my despatch No. 18 of the 27th August, 1945) - an ironic comment on the G.I.'s junketing! Among many prisoners in gaol here and the whole over-simplified line of argument is calculated to produce just the effect which Alba spoke of. True, it is the sort of article which so often appears in any Left-Wing paper anywhere, but it seems a pity that the United States forces in Europe should be led to think that it embodies the whole truth about recent Spanish history.

Yours ever
Victor Mallet

F.R. Hoyer Millar, Esq., C.M.G., C.V.O.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

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Franco still controls the guns in Spain

On Borrowed Time

Europe's Last Fuehrer, Generalissimo Franco, Has Plenty of Worries Since the Fall of His Bosses

By Klaus Mann

Stars and Stripes Staff Writer

THE dictator of Spain, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, has plenty of worries these days. Ever since the fall of his former bosses and protectors—Hitler and Mussolini—El Caudillo, which is the Spanish equivalent of Der Führer, has been living on borrowed time.

What is the origin of Spanish dictatorship? Why is the nature of this regime so incompatible with the principles and purposes of the United Nations? What is General Franco's record?

The government which established itself in Spain, in 1939, after three years of civil war, owes its existence to two foreign powers—Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. It was with the military, economic and political support of Hitler and Mussolini that Spanish generals, including Francisco Franco, started their revolt against the legitimate government of their country. The tenacity and determination with which the people of Spain resisted the rebellious officers indicated clearly that the Fascist movement was not popular with the majority of the nation. It took Franco and his followers three years to overcome this resistance. This was all the more remarkable, as the rebels, or "nationalists," as they chose to call themselves, continued to enjoy the material and military help of their Italian and German friends whereas the Republicans, or "loyalists," were not able to obtain the most essential supplies—not even on a cash and carry basis. The non-intervention policy maintained by the democracies worked one-sidedly in favor of the Fascists.

SPAIN'S civil war was indeed a prelude to World War II, a dress rehearsal in which the powers of evil tested, in a moral and military sense, their war of aggression upon the cause of humanity. When Franco's troops marched into Madrid on March 28, 1939, the dictators in Berlin and Rome could congratulate themselves on the victorious conclusion of a major campaign. Franco was right when, in a speech delivered on July 17, 1941, he said that the first battles of World War II "were joined and won on our soil."

When the real thing started, Franco's interests and sympathies were naturally on the side of the Axis. Even before the outbreak of hostilities, the Caudillo had co-ordinated his policy with the Italo-German line by joining the Anti-Comintern pact and withdrawing from the League of Nations. His hesitation in declaring war on the democracies resulted partly from Spain's physical and moral inability to face a new war after three years of devastating internal strife. He was hesitant also because Spain's status as a non-belligerent ally of the Axis powers promised to be more advantageous than an open military partnership would have been.

THE masters of Nationalist Spain made no secret of their loyalty to the Nazi-Fascist cause as long as Hitler held the upper hand in Europe. During the opening phase of the war, Franco and his government-controlled press were jubilant about Allied setbacks. In 1941, the Caudillo stated triumphantly in an official proclamation addressed to members of the National Council: "The war has taken a bad turn for the Allies, and they have lost it."

Some months later, in February, 1942, he was still certain of a German victory, and promised that if there were one moment of danger, it would not be one division of Spanish volunteers that would go but a million Spaniards would offer themselves. The next year, however, found the generalissimo somewhat less confident. On March 6, 1943, he appealed for peace, suggesting that it would be senseless to go on fighting as the war had reached a dead point at which none of the belligerents had the power to destroy his opponent.

But the war continued and Franco went on assisting by deed and word those whom he was wont to call "our Fascist comrades." He sent his Blue Division to fight with the German Army against the Russians. He let Spain serve as a convenient supply and espionage base for the Nazis. Hitler's agents were free to use Spanish consulates and embassies throughout the world for the transmission of information to Berlin, and as headquarters for their world-wide intrigues. Spanish ships reported the position of Allied merchantmen to German U-boats. Spanish workers were sent to Germany to aid in Hitler's war plants. The so-called neutral press of Franco Spain was a valued Goebbels mouthpiece. Nazi operations were tolerated within the Spanish police, the Spanish radio system and in every department which could aid Hitler in his war against the Allies.

THE dossier on Franco's pro-Axis activities bulges with evidence. Even so conservative an observer as Sir Samuel Hoare, now Lord Templewood, had to admit that Spain was practically a semi-occupied country in which German influences pervaded important sections of national life. Having served for five years as British Ambassador in Madrid and having been widely criticized for his pro-Franco leanings, Lord Templewood astounded the House of Lords in London with a detailed description of how he, the representative of His Majesty's Government, was besieged by the Gestapo in Madrid. Said he: "I had many instances in my own experience of this non-military occupation. I had the Gestapo living in the next house looking over a wall watching every movement I made and constantly trying to suborn my domestic staff."

Of course, the democratic world in general and Allied authorities in particular were well aware of what was going on in Madrid. Yet, the U.S. and Great Britain maintained diplomatic relations with Franco. As for the Soviet Union, it has never recognized the Fascist Spanish regime. It is true that occasional frictions developed between the western democracies, on the one hand, and the Caudillo, on the other, in July, 1941. Washington even went so far as to impose an embargo on oil shipments to Spain only to lift the embargo again a few weeks after Pearl Harbor. The general line, however, adhered to by both London and Washington was to accept Franco's neutrality at its face value. No doubt, this conciliatory attitude on the part of the Allies was due mostly to considerations of military expediency.

THE usefulness of this policy was particularly obvious at the time of the Allied invasion of North Africa. It was then that the Allied Combined Chiefs of Staff insisted that every step possible be taken to keep Spain neutral and to prevent the Germans from entering the Iberian Peninsula. Years afterwards, in 1944, Churchill appeared in Commons to speak kind words about Spain which, as the former Prime Minister put it, had done the Allies a great service by overlooking the concentration of air and sea power at Gibraltar for the North African invasion.

At that point, however, this kind of leniency toward the Spanish brand of Nazi-Fascism was no longer in keeping with the general mood and tendency of democratic world public opinion. Mr. Churchill's pro-Franco statement was widely criticized. President Roosevelt himself, at a press conference on May 30, 1944, indicated that he disagreed with his British colleague, suggesting that Spain's conduct as a neutral had been less than satisfactory.



... and Spanish living standards

TWO things had become clear by now: First, that the military situation no longer necessitated or justified a policy of appeasement toward Franco Spain; second, that the Spanish dictatorship remained essentially adverse to the interests and ideals of the United Nations no matter what kind of conciliatory gestures the generalissimo might make to curry favor. When Allied victory appeared to be just over the horizon, Franco began to take steps obviously calculated to improve his position with the winning side. The Madrid government forbade German commercial planes to land in Spain and set up an inspection system to prevent German war criminals from entering the country. Some Falangist — Fascist — ministers were removed from Franco's government and replaced with men of monarchist leanings. Last April, the generalissimo even went so far as to break diplomatic relations with Japan.

But it was too late to jump on the band wagon. Francisco Franco was politically doomed. The distrust with which his regime was regarded abroad was matched or exceeded by its unpopularity at home. Today, as many as 5,000,000 political prisoners are still held in Spanish jails and concentration camps. The regime has utterly failed in improving the low living standards of the Spanish masses. Even before the present crisis of Franco's international situations, an unbiased English observer, Vernon Bartlett of the *London News Chronicle*, wrote: "After a visit to Spain at the end of last year, it is astonishing to discover how many people who were passionately pro-Franco during the civil war now criticize him with a vehemence and openness which is almost staggering for a foreigner. The Falange Spanish Fascist party is hated by the Monarchists hated by the Catholics, hated by the people.

PRESIDENT Harry S. Truman, Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee and Generalissimo Josef Stalin, in their joint proclamation summing up the results of the Potsdam Conference, singled out the present Spanish government as unfit for membership in the United Nations with the explanation that the Franco regime is unqualified because of its origin, nature, record and close association with aggressor states.

Clearly the Caudillo has become an unbearable liability to his nation. He will have to go and he knows it. The question is only who is going to replace the generalissimo and his discredited clique. If it goes according to Franco's wishes, his successor will be a monarch of the House of Bourbon. Only a strong and flexible monarchy, as the Dictator put it in a recent speech, would be able to preserve the spirit of Falangism.

The trouble is that the pretender to the Spanish throne, Don Juan, 32, youngest surviving son of the late King Alfonso XIII, happens to be on bad terms with the generalissimo, whom he recently attacked in an open letter. Franco would prefer Prince Alfonso Jaime, nine-year-old, son of Don Juan's elder and deaf brother, Don Jaime, 37, who renounced his claim to the throne in 1933. At the same time there are rumors that the worried Dictator has approached an illegitimate son of Don Jaime, who is reported to be living in Guernica, which was destroyed by Nazi bombs during the civil war, under the name of Count Arana.

WHILE the generalissimo is desperately searching for a king to place on the throne of Spain, Spanish Republicans in exile insist that a restoration of the monarchy would be diametric to the wishes and interests of their nation. It is true that these refugee politicians have not yet quite suceeded in reaching a definite agreement among themselves. Rivalries continue between such groups as the anti-Communist Committee of Liberation represented by the former Republican Minister of National Defense, Indalecio Prieto and the followers of Dr. Juan Negrin, last Premier of the Republic. The exile Republican leaders recently took a far step towards advancing their cause when their Parliament in Mexico City elected a new President of the Republic in Exile. He is Martinez Barrio, former head of the Parliament in Exile. The future of the Republican cause may in large measure depend on the backing the exile leaders give the new cabinet. The new government will petition other governments for recognition and seek to bring about Franco's downfall by diplomatic pressure.

Just how this may be accomplished is not clear. Britain's new Labor government has stated that it is not favorable toward forceful intervention in Spain. And as far as forceful opposition is concerned, it is to be remembered that Franco, as long as he has the army at his back, still controls the guns which keep his enemies at bay.

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F0371/49590
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Franco still controls the guns in Spain

On Borrowed Time

Europe's Last Fuehrer, Generalissimo Franco, Has Plenty of Worries Since the Fall of His Bosses

By Klaus Mann

Stars and Stripes Staff Writer

THE dictator of Spain, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, has plenty of worries these days. Ever since the fall of his former bosses and protectors—Hitler and Mussolini—El Caudillo, which is the Spanish equivalent of Der Führer, has been living on borrowed time.

What is the origin of Spanish dictatorship? Why is the nature of this regime so incompatible with the principles and purposes of the United Nations? What is General Franco's record?

The government which established itself in Spain, in 1939, after three years of civil war, owes its existence to two foreign powers—Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. It was with the military, economic and political support of Hitler and Mussolini that Spanish generals, including Francisco Franco, started their revolt against the legitimate government of their country. The tenacity and determination with which the people of Spain resisted the rebellious officers indicated clearly that the Fascist movement was not popular with the majority of the nation. It took Franco and his followers three years to overcome this resistance. This was all the more remarkable, as the rebels, or "nationalists," as they chose to call themselves, continued to enjoy the material and military help of their Italian and German friends whereas the Republicans, or "loyalists," were not able to obtain the most essential supplies—not even on a cash and carry basis. The non-intervention policy maintained by the democracies worked one-sidedly in favor of the Fascists.

SPAIN'S civil war was indeed a prelude to World War II, a dress rehearsal in which the powers of evil tested, in a moral and military sense, their war of aggression upon the cause of humanity. When Franco's troops marched into Madrid on March 28, 1939, the dictators in Berlin and Rome could congratulate themselves on the victorious conclusion of a major campaign. Franco was right when, in a speech delivered on July 17, 1941, he said that the first battles of World War II "were joined and won on our soil."

When the real thing started, Franco's interests and sympathies were naturally on the side of the Axis. Even before the outbreak of hostilities, the Caudillo had co-ordinated his policy with the Italo-German line by joining the Anti-Comintern pact and withdrawing from the League of Nations. His hesitation in declaring war on the democracies resulted partly from Spain's physical and moral inability to face a new war after three years of devastating internal strife. He was hesitant also because Spain's status as a non-belligerent ally of the Axis powers promised to be more advantageous than an open military partnership would have been.

THE masters of Nationalist Spain made no secret of their loyalty to the Nazi-Fascist cause as long as Hitler held the upper hand in Europe. During the opening phase of the war, Franco and his government-controlled press were jubilant about Allied setbacks. In 1941, the Caudillo stated triumphantly in an official proclamation addressed to members of the National Council: "The war has taken a bad turn for the Allies, and they have lost it."

Some months later, in February, 1942, he was still certain of a German victory, and promised that if there were one moment of danger, it would not be one division of Spanish volunteers that would go but a million Spaniards would offer themselves. The next year, however, found the generalissimo somewhat less confident. On March 6, 1943, he appealed for peace, suggesting that it would be senseless to go on fighting as the war had reached a dead point at which none of the belligerents had the power to destroy his opponent.

But the war continued and Franco went on assisting by deed and word those whom he was wont to call "our Fascist comrades." He sent his Blue Division to fight with the German Army against the Russians. He let Spain serve as a convenient supply and espionage base for the Nazis. Hitler's agents were free to use Spanish consulates and embassies throughout the world for the transmission of information to Berlin, and as headquarters for their world-wide intrigues. Spanish ships reported the position of Allied merchantmen to German U-boats. Spanish workers were sent to Germany to aid in Hitler's war plants. The so-called neutral press of Franco Spain was a valued Goebbels mouthpiece. Nazi operations were tolerated within the Spanish police, the Spanish radio system and in every department which could aid Hitler in his war against the Allies.

THE dossier on Franco's pro-Axis activities bulges with evidence. Even so conservative an observer as Sir Samuel Hoare, now Lord Templewood, had to admit that Spain was practically a semi-occupied country in which German influences pervaded important sections of national life. Having served for five years as British Ambassador in Madrid and having been widely criticized for his pro-Franco leanings, Lord Templewood astounded the House of Lords in London with a detailed description of how he, the representative of His Majesty's Government, was besieged by the Gestapo in Madrid. Said he: "I had many instances in my own experience of this non-military occupation. I had the Gestapo living in the next house looking over a wall watching every movement I made and constantly trying to suborn my domestic staff."

Of course, the democratic world in general and Allied authorities in particular were well aware of what was going on in Madrid. Yet, the U.S. and Great Britain maintained diplomatic relations with Franco. As for the Soviet Union, it has never recognized the Fascist Spanish regime. It is true that occasional frictions developed between the western democracies, on the one hand, and the Caudillo, on the other, in July, 1941. Washington even went so far as to impose an embargo on oil shipments to Spain only to lift the embargo again a few weeks after Pearl Harbor. The general line, however, adhered to by both London and Washington was to accept Franco's neutrality at its face value. No doubt, this conciliatory attitude on the part of the Allies was due mostly to considerations of military expediency.

THE usefulness of this policy was particularly obvious at the time of the Allied invasion of North Africa. It was then that the Allied Combined Chiefs of Staff insisted that every step possible be taken to keep Spain neutral and to prevent the Germans from entering the Iberian Peninsula. Years afterwards, in 1944, Churchill appeared in Commons to speak kind words about Spain which, as the former Prime Minister put it, had done the Allies a great service by overlooking the concentration of air and sea power at Gibraltar for the North African invasion.

At that point, however, this kind of leniency toward the Spanish brand of Nazi-Fascism was no longer in keeping with the general mood and tendency of democratic world public opinion. Mr. Churchill's pro-Franco statement was widely criticized. President Roosevelt himself, at a press conference on May 30, 1944, indicated that he disagreed with his British colleague, suggesting that Spain's conduct as a neutral had been less than satisfactory.



... and Spanish living standards

TWO things had become clear by now: First, that the military situation no longer necessitated or justified a policy of appeasement toward Franco Spain; second, that the Spanish dictatorship remained essentially adverse to the interests and ideals of the United Nations no matter what kind of conciliatory gestures the generalissimo might make to curry favor. When Allied victory appeared to be just over the horizon, Franco began to take steps obviously calculated to improve his position with the winning side. The Madrid government forbade German commercial planes to land in Spain and set up an inspection system to prevent German war criminals from entering the country. Some Falangist — Fascist — ministers were removed from Franco's government and replaced with men of monarchist leanings. Last April, the generalissimo even went so far as to break diplomatic relations with Japan.

But it was too late to jump on the band wagon. Francisco Franco was politically doomed. The distrust with which his regime was regarded abroad was matched or exceeded by its unpopularity at home. Today, as many as 5,000,000 political prisoners are still held in Spanish jails and concentration camps. The regime has utterly failed in improving the low living standards of the Spanish masses. Even before the present crisis of Franco's international situations, an unbiased English observer, Vernon Bartlett of the *London News Chronicle*, wrote: "After a visit to Spain at the end of last year, it is astonishing to discover how many people who were passionately pro-Franco during the civil war now criticize him with a vehemence and openness which is almost staggering for a foreigner. The Falange Spanish Fascist party is hated by the Monarchists hated by the Catholics, hated by the people.

PRESIDENT Harry S. Truman, Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee and Generalissimo Josef Stalin, in their joint proclamation summing up the results of the Potsdam Conference, singled out the present Spanish government as unfit for membership in the United Nations with the explanation that the Franco regime is unqualified because of its origin, nature, record and close association with aggressor states.

Clearly the Caudillo has become an unbearable liability to his nation. He will have to go and he knows it. The question is only who is going to replace the generalissimo and his discredited clique. If it goes according to Franco's wishes, his successor will be a monarch of the House of Bourbon. Only a strong and flexible monarchy, as the Dictator put it in a recent speech, would be able to preserve the spirit of Falangism.

The trouble is that the pretender to the Spanish throne, Don Juan, 32, youngest surviving son of the late King Alfonso XIII, happens to be on bad terms with the generalissimo, whom he recently attacked in an open letter. Franco would prefer Prince Alfonso Jaime, nine-year-old, son of Don Juan's elder and deaf brother, Don Jaime, 37, who renounced his claim to the throne in 1933. At the same time there are rumors that the worried Dictator has approached an illegitimate son of Don Jaime, who is reported to be living in Guernica, which was destroyed by Nazi bombs during the civil war, under the name of Count Arana.

WHILE the generalissimo is desperately searching for a king to place on the throne of Spain, Spanish Republicans in exile insist that a restoration of the monarchy would be diametric to the wishes and interests of their nation. It is true that these refugee politicians have not yet quite suceeded in reaching a definite agreement among themselves. Rivalries continue between such groups as the anti-Communist Committee of Liberation represented by the former Republican Minister of National Defense, Indalecio Prieto and the followers of Dr. Juan Negrin, last Premier of the Republic. The exile Republican leaders recently took a far step towards advancing their cause when their Parliament in Mexico City elected a new President of the Republic in Exile. He is Martinez Barrio, former head of the Parliament in Exile. The future of the Republican cause may in large measure depend on the backing the exile leaders give the new cabinet. The new government will petition other governments for recognition and seek to bring about Franco's downfall by diplomatic pressure. Just how this may be accomplished is not clear. Britain's new Labor government has stated that it is not favorable toward forceful intervention in Spain. And as far as forceful opposition is concerned, it is to be remembered that Franco, as long as he has the army at his back, still controls the guns which keep his enemies at bay.

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The World...

FAR EAST

Nippon Tuck

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The main surrender began in Manila, where a planeload of Japs landed early in the week to discuss technical details. Gen. MacArthur made sure to keep out of the way, making plain the preliminary character of the parley. Although no details were released, MacArthur announced that he would land in Japan within ten days, with ground, sea and air forces on a war basis. Emphasis was added to this last point after Tokyo Radio warned that some hot-headed officers might forget themselves and fire at the landing party.

The Russian armies in Manchuria ignored Japan's outstretched hand and kept advancing until they occupied all of Manchuria, including the chief cities of Hsinking, Harbin, Mukden and Kirin. Only then did they begin to consider Japan's frantic plea for the Red Army to stop moving. Russia evidently had her own motives for wanting to have her troops over all of strategic Manchuria before the peace settlement was completed.

Complications in China

China's situation was complicated by rival claims of government troops and Chinese Communist forces for Japan's surrender. By the week's end, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had the upper edge. The Japanese high command in China accepted his arrangements for formal capitulation. Surrender was delayed when the American-trained Chinese First Army decided to march instead of fly to Canton for the surrender of south China. Chinese Communist armies, however, took little notice of these developments and themselves advanced into north China.

Burma was a few days behind Manila. With the Japs playing mum, Supreme Commander Lord Louis Mountbatten broadcast the same type of instructions to the Japs as in MacArthur's first announcement to Tokyo. Then he waited to see what the Burma Japs would do. Isolated garrisons also were falling into line. Japs in the Wewak area of New Guinea gave up to Australians. Luzon outposts talked turkey with Yanks. Jap radios in Singapore and Batavia announced that they knew of the cease-fire order.

The whole situation was made more fantastic by Japan's blithe announcement of a mysterious invasion and a non-existent version of the peace terms. One day, Tokyo Radio noted that "some Allied forces" had landed on Shimushu, in the Kuriles, off the northern tip of the Japanese homeland, and Japs "are obliged to resort to arms for self-defense." The next day, they forgot about it. Then they gave a curious version of the yet-to-be-decided-upon peace terms.

The Jap Version

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This was news to MacArthur, who hadn't yet seen the first Jap negotiator in Manila. This was followed by the even more fantastic assertion that unconditional surrender referred only to the military phase of the war and did not apply to the civilian economy of Japan. All this led uneasy America to wonder whether Japan was really sincere or had some diabolic trick in the offing. After all, it was the first time, as one commentator pointed out, that a large nation at war had surrendered with its land army for the main part intact and its homeland uninvaded.

Back to Corregidor

In the headquarters mess of the First Cavalry's First Brigade in the Philippines is a glass ash tray set apart from all the others on the table. "That's General Wainwright's," brigade officers tell visitors soberly. This week, they spoke those words with jubilation. The ash tray will be used again, because "Skinny Wainwright of the Philippines" was back.

The hero of Corregidor, whose fate until last week was a mystery, was found "safe and well" in a Jap PW camp at Sian, 100 miles northwest of Mukden, Manchuria. After telling his story to the world at Chungking, he was expected to return to Manila in triumph. The setting was far different from 62-year-old Wainwright's first arrival in the Philippines, when he took part in the punitive expedition against the Moros. That was in 1906, the same year he was graduated from West Point. Later, he shuttled between the staff school sessions in the States and routine cavalry posts. The last war found him in staff work with the 82nd Division at Toul, St. Mihiel and the Meuse-Argonne.

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Wainwright was only one of the many thousands of Allied prisoners rescued last week. Others included Lt. Gen. Percival, former British commander in Malaya; Sir Shenton Thomas, former Governor of Singapore, and the ex-Governor General of the Netherlands East Indies, Jonkheer von Sparkenborgh.

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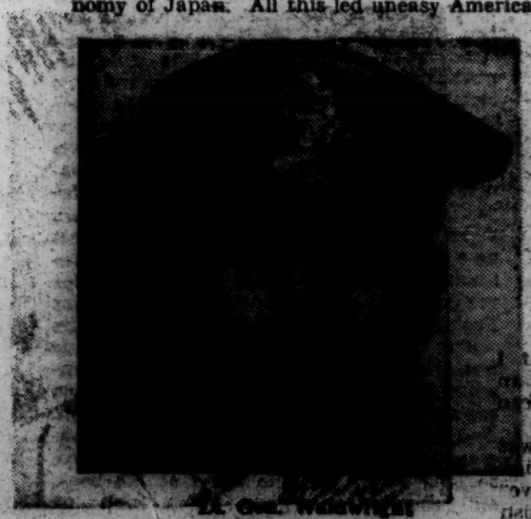
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Current black market prices, Reid said, tab gasoline at $125 a drum, canned milk at $20 a case, rice at $12.50 a bag, a case of C-rations at $17.50, soap at $12.50 a case, and cigarets at $250 a case. Blood plasma, he said, is a choice commodity because most Filipinos are undernourished and run-down.

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The Army whose own detective bureau of 54 men has done a land-office business in rounding up operators and recovering the illegally-sold goods, seems to favor a hand-picked, efficient law enforcement group to do the job, economic consideration aside. Reporting that fountain pens, clothing, fruit, spices, cheese, and coconuts were still bringing fabulous prices, Reid observed that the combined efforts thus far had been only a "partial success."



Lt. Gen. Wainwright
Rescued, at Last

AT HOME

Crime and Punishment

The *Christian Science Monitor*, pondering recent delays in agreement between the Allies on procedure to be followed in the trial of German war criminals, offered a suggestion to those who might some day ponder Japan's war guilt. Where the Japs are concerned, the *Monitor* observed, a course for such tribunals has long since been laid down "by a Mikado more famous than Hirohito":

My object all sublime
I shall achieve in time—
To let the punishment fit the crime—
The punishment fit the crime.

Tempest Ahead

The fresh winds of reconversion blew across the U.S last week. They were not gentle or soothing zephyrs. Rather, they were rough, irritable blasts, with the threat of full tempest always behind them. In Washington, men said "the next hundred days" would be the hardest, would determine the pace to peace-time living, and the methods of approach. The reconversion period promised to contain more friction than the war period, when the common struggle held people together. Already, in Chicago, this spirit of discontent had manifested itself at a big parade and rally staged by the CIO to draw attention to the worker made idle by reconversion.

The change over of industry from war to peace-time production would mean a lot of things to America, but far and away the most serious problem presented was unemployment. Reconversion Director John W. Snyder himself predicted that 5,000,000 men and women would be out of work by November. Others, more pessimistic, saw the unemployment figure reaching 8,000,000 by late winter. The national income, some observers forecast, would fall from 165 billions to 125.

The responsibility for curbing the growing unemployment was going to fall straight into the lap of Congress, scheduled to reconvene Sept. 5. A sample of the proposed measures was one sponsored by Sen. Elmer Thomas (D-Okla.) which would authorize the government to spend two billion on public works in the next three years—not only to provide jobs but to improve neglected roads, schools, and establish flood control and land reclamation. But with hundreds of thousands of discharged servicemen entering the labor market, some economists felt that such moves were only a partial solution at best.

On the bright side, reconversion would mean the return in an ever-growing flood of hard-to-get consumer goods. The OPA halted publication of 187,000,000 ration books, indicating that curtailments on food, tires and other commodities were nearing their end. Industrialists promised that new automobiles would be turned out swiftly. Post-war models would appear by next June, perhaps earlier, and would be produced at a faster rate than ever before—6,000,000 a year. Other things expected to be easy to get by next summer were radios, washing machines, baby carriages, razors, refrigerators and dozens of electric appliances.



Ernest Bevin



James F. Byr
Rap "undemocratic" election

'Chow Was Good'

U.S. troops disembarking in the States from the huge British liner Queen Mary generally were agreed on one thing about the trans-Atlantic voyage. As a GI from New Jersey put it succinctly: "Chow was good."

There were bound to be some slight irritations in the packing of 15,000 restless men into a single ship. Every inch of space had been converted into sleeping quarters, mess halls or recreation rooms. The lush furniture of bars and cocktail lounges had been replaced by tiers of bunks; even the liner's two swimming pools housed returning soldiers. Each man was given a colored button on boarding the ship, which was divided into three zones—red, white and blue. Troops were confined to their assigned zones, because wandering would cause confusion and possibly upset the equilibrium of the great vessel.

But when it came to food, all stops were pulled. Stored in the ship's hold for one voyage were such items as 50,000 cartons of ice cream, 200,000 eggs, 155,000 pounds of meat, 53,600 pounds of butter and 29,000 pounds of fresh fruit. The Queen Mary's chief chef thought nothing of boiling 30,000 eggs for one morning's breakfast, so that each soldier might have two. The slicing of 21,400 pounds of bacon and ham starts the minute the Queen leaves New York, because it takes nearly five days to slice enough for the return trip.

Only two meals were served a day, because of the time element—there were six seatings for each meal. But soldiers could take away cold meat and sandwiches when they left the dining room they could eat as much as they wanted while they were there, and they and a *choice* of entrees. This was one menu:

Cream of tomato
Codfish, poché with lo
Braised veal jard
Roast Vermont turkey with
Cauliflower Hollandaise or
Roast or boiled
Assorted cold
Sans Souci pud
Ice cream *Cheese*

The Queen further endeare
when it was learned that enl
eat in what used to be the
room, while officers sweate
tourist-class dining room.

Fontana Powwow

California last week was b
to its second United Nation
as many months—this time
powwow of nearly 2,000 re
102 different American India
camping in the shadow of
steel mills at Fontana.

Traveling vast distances i
able means of conveyance—
the delegates and their
their tepees and provisions
families during the month-lo
come from as far south as
far north as the Canadian
a single purpose: to improv
of the American Indian.

SOUTH AM

Down Argenti

Soon after Japan quit,
soldiers strolling down Buen
Street were surprised to con
happy surging Argentines.

Chiang, China Reds at

AT the end of 14 years of fighting with the Japanese, troubled China last week was on the brink of civil war. Clashes between government troops and Chinese Communist forces were followed by Communist denunciations of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for ordering Japanese armies to surrender only to Chungking. Bitterly attacking Chiang as a Fascist, the Communists demanded their inclusion in a broadened Chinese regime. Furthermore, they advised the United States not to meddle in internal affairs by supporting Chiang. The breach between the two opposing factions was growing wider than ever. Unless they came to agreement, there was a chance that Chinese unity would be a victory casualty.

The roots of the controversy go back to the revolution of 1927, when the nationalist Kuomintang came into power. At that time they worked in close alliance with the Communists. A split soon occurred and Chiang Kai-shek turned the Kuomintang against his former Allies. The Communists at first set up an independent regime in the east but after many bloody campaigns they were ousted from this region by Nationalist troops and made their legendary "Long March" to Shensi in the northwest. Chiang continued to launch periodic campaigns to wipe them out, but never succeeded.

Finally, in December, 1936, occurred the dramatic kidnaping of Chiang by the "Young Marshal," Chang Hsuen-liang, who was sympathetic to the then widespread demand for a united front against the growing menace of Japan. Shortly before the Japanese attack in 1937 the Chungking government agreed to stop fighting the Communists and the Communists agreed to place themselves under Chiang's leadership.

Relations between the two groups were never satisfactory. The Communist 8th Army commanders charged Chiang has not paid them nor sent them any armament for the past five years. Everything they have in the way of munitions has been captured from the Japanese. No munitions have ever been shipped to them from Russia. Even if Russia wished to do so, which is doubtful, Russia couldn't, because the Communist areas have been blockaded by half a million Chungking troops.

LAST year the Communist area for the first time was opened to visits by American military observers and newspapermen. Their observations, as reported by such men as Brooks Atkinson, *N.Y. Times;* Richard Watts, jr., *N.Y. Herald Tribune*, differed on certain details, but agreed on the following points. Kuomintang claims to the contrary, the Chinese Communists were effectively fighting the Japanese, perhaps more effectively than Chungking government troops, even though they received no outside help. These so-called Communists, far from being concerned with communizing
intent on building a progre
tic non-feudal China, with
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Labor party's during the 20
with admiration for Russia
ments, the Chinese Commu
independently of Russia an
to make friends with the U

During the past year a
has existed between both
United States played an
attempting to bring them t
by pleas from former Vice-P
Wallace and Republican p
didate Wendell Willkie. W
Patrick Hurley replaced Cla
Ambassador, that was one o
Last winter it looked as if



Chinese Communist leaders, Mao Tse-tung

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Current black market prices, Reid said, tab gasoline at $125 a drum, canned milk at $20 a case, rice at $12.50 a bag, a case of C-rations at $17.50 soap at $12.50 a case, and cigarets at $250 a case. Blood plasma, he said, is a choice commodity because most Filipinos are undernourished and rundown.

The Manila black market, Reid said, is not a well-organized group, but is made up mostly of individuals or disorganized small combines. Ora De Castro, the new chief of the Emergency Control Commission (the old chief had been misappropriating supplies and showing favoritism) sees the smashing of the black market as a purely economic one. He plans to double the daily wage, put a ceiling on food prices in the islands.

The Army whose own detective bureau of 54 men has done a land-office business in rounding up operators and recovering the illegally-sold goods, seems to favor a hand-picked, efficient law enforcement group to do the job, economic consideration aside. Reporting that fountain pens, clothing, fruit, spices, cheese, and coconuts were still bringing fabulous prices, Reid observed that the combined efforts thus far had been only a "partial success."

AT HOME

Crime and Punishment

The *Christian Science Monitor*, pondering recent delays in agreement between the Allies on procedure to be followed in the trial of German war criminals, offered a suggestion to those who might some day ponder Japan's war guilty. Where the Japs are concerned, the *Monitor* observed, a course for such tribunals has long since been laid down "by a Mikado more famous than Hirohito":

My object all sublime
I shall achieve in time—
To let the punishment fit the crime—
The punishment fit the crime.

Tempest Ahead

The fresh winds of reconversion blew across the U.S last week. They were not gentle or soothing zephyrs. Rather, they were rough, irritable blasts, with the threat of full tempest always behind them In Washington, men said "the next hundred days" would be the hardest, would determine the pace to peace-time living, and the methods of approach. The reconversion period promised to contain more friction than the war period, when the common struggle held people together. Already, in Chicago, this spirit of discontent had manifested itself at a big parade and rally staged by the CIO to draw attention to the worker made idle by reconversion

The change over of industry from war to peace-time production would mean a lot of things to America, but far and away the most serious problem presented was unemployment. Reconversion Director John W. Snyder himself predicted that 5,000,000 men and women would be out of work by November. Others, more pessimistic, saw the unemployment figure reaching 8,000,000 by late winter. The national income, some observers forecast, would fall from 165 billions to 125.

The responsibility for curbing the growing unemployment was going to fall straight into the lap of Congress, scheduled to reconvene Sept. 5. A sample of the proposed measures was one sponsored by Sen. Elmer Thomas (D-Okla.) which would authorize the government to spend two billion on public works in the next three years—not only to provide jobs but to improve neglected roads, schools, and establish flood control and land reclamation. But with hundreds of thousands of discharged servicemen entering the labor market, some economists felt that such moves were only a partial solution at best.

On the bright side, reconversion would mean the return in an ever-growing flood of hard-to-get consumer goods. The OPA halted publication of 187,000,000 ration books, indicating that curtailments on food, tires and other commodities were nearing their end. Industrialists promised that new automobiles would be turned out swiftly. Post-war models would appear by next June, perhaps earlier, and would be produced at a faster rate than ever before—6,000,000 a year. Other things expected to be easy to get by next summer were radios, washing machines, baby carriages, razors, refrigerators and dozens of electric appliances.



Ernest Bevin



James F. Byrn

Rap "undemocratic" election

'Chow Was Good'

U.S. troops disembarking in the States from the huge British liner Queen Mary generally were agreed on one thing about the trans-Atlantic voyage. As a GI from New Jersey put it succinctly: "Chow was good."

There were bound to be some slight irritations in the packing of 15,000 restless men into a single ship. Every inch of space had been converted into sleeping quarters, mess halls or recreation rooms. The lush furniture of bars and cocktail lounges had been replaced by tiers of bunks; even the liner's two swimming pools noused returning soldiers. Eacn man was given a colored button on boarding the ship, which was divided into three zones—red, white and blue. Troops were confined to their assigned zones, because wandering would cause confusion and possibly upset the equilibrium of the great vessel.

But when it came to food, all stops were pulled. Stored in the ship's hold for one voyage were such items as 50,000 cartons of ice cream, 200,000 eggs, 155,000 pounds of meat, 53,600 pounds of butter and 29,000 pounds of fresh fruit. The Queen Mary's chief chef thought nothing of boiling 30,000 eggs for one morning's breakfast, so that each soldier might have two. The slicing of 21,400 pounds of bacon and ham starts the minute the Queen leaves New York, because it takes nearly five days to slice enough for the return trip.

Only two meals were served a day, because of the time element—there were six seatings for each meal. But soldiers could take away cold meat and sandwhiches when they left the dining room they could eat as much as they wanted while they were there, and they and a *choice* of entrées. This was one menu:

Cream of tomato
Codfish, poché with lo
Braised veal jard
Roast Vermont turkey with
Cauliflower Hollandaise or f
Roast or boiled p
Assorted cold c
Sans Souci pud
Ice cream Cheese

The Queen further endeare when it was learned that enl eat in what used to be the room, while officers sweate tourist-class dining room.

Fontana Powwow

California last week was b to its second United Nation as many months—this time a powwow of nearly 2,000 re 102 different American India camping in the shadow of steel mills at Fontana.

Traveling vast distances i able means of conveyance— the delegates and their f their tepees and provisions families during the month-lo come from as far south as far north as the Canadian a single purpose: to improv of the American Indian.

SOUTH AM

Down Argentin

Soon after Japan quit, soldiers strolling down Buen Street were surprised to con happy surging Argentines

Chiang, China Reds at

AT the end of 14 years of fighting with the Japanese, troubled China last week was on the brink of civil war. Clashes between government troops and Chinese Communist forces were followed by Communist denunciations of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for ordering Japanese armies to surrender only to Chungking Bitterly attacking Chiang as a Fascist, the Communists demanded their inclusion in a broadened Chinese regime Furthermore, they advised the United States not to meddle in internal affairs by supporting Chiang. The breach between the two opposing factions was growing wider than ever. Unless they came to agreement, there was a chance that Chinese unity would be a victory casualty.

The roots of the controversy go back to the revolution of 1927, when the nationalist Kuomintang came into power. At that time they worked in close alliance with the Communists. A split soon occurred and Chiang Kai-shek turned the Kuomintang against his former Allies. The Communists at first set up an independent regime in the east but after many bloody campaigns they were ousted from this region by Nationalist troops and made their legendary "Long March" to Shensi in the northwest. Chiang continued to launch periodic campaigns to wipe them out, but never succeeded.

Finally, in December, 1936, occurred the dramatic kidnaping of Chiang by the "Young Marshal," Chang Hsuen-liang who was sympathetic to the then widespread demand for a united front against the growing menace of Japan. Shortly before the Japanese attack in 1937 the Chungking government agreed to stop fighting the Communists and the Communists agreed to place themselves under Chiang's leadership.

Relations between the two groups were never satisfactory. The Communist Red Army commanders charged Chiang has not paid them nor sent them any armament for the past five years. Everything they have in the way of munitions has been captured from the Japanese. No munitions have ever been shipped to them from Russia Even if Russia wished to do so, which is doubtful, Russia couldn't, because the Communist areas have been blockaded by half a million Chungking troops.

LAST year the Communist area for the first time was opened to visits by American military observers and newspapermen. Their observations, as reported by such men as Brooks Atkinson, *N.Y. Times;* Richard Watts, jr., *N.Y. Herald Tribune,* differed on certain details, but agreed on the following points Kuomintang claims to the contrary, the Chinese Communists were effectively fighting the Japanese, perhaps more effectively than Chungking government troops, even though they received no outside help. These so-called Communists, far from being concerned with communizing intent on building a progre tic non-feudal, China, with gram roughly paralleling th Labor party's during the 2u with admiration for Russia ments, the Chinese Commu independently of Russia and to make friends with the U

During the past year an has existed between both United States played an attempting to bring them t by pleas from former Vice-P Wallace and Republican pr didate Wendell Willkie. W Patrick Hurley replaced Cla Ambassador, that was one o Last winter it looked as if



Chinese Communist leaders, Mao Tse-Tung (left) and Chu-Teh (ri lunch with U.S. reporter, R. W. Reef and Yeh Fin-Ku



vin



James F. Byrnes

Rap "undemocratic" election

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Cream of tomato soup
Codfish, poché with lobster sauce
Braised veal jardinière
Roast Vermont turkey with cranberry sauce
Cauliflower Hollandaise or fresh Lima beans
Roast or boiled potatoes
Assorted cold cuts
Sans Souci pudding
Ice cream Cheese Coffee

The Queen further endeared herself to GIs when it was learned that enlisted men would eat in what used to be the first-class dining room, while officers sweated it out in the tourist-class dining room.

Fontana Powwow

California last week was busy playing host to its second United Nations Conference in as many months—this time a colorful Indian powwow of nearly 2,000 representatives of 102 different American Indian tribal nations, camping in the shadow of the huge Kaiser steel mills at Fontana.

Traveling vast distances in every imaginable means of conveyance—many on foot—the delegates and their families brought their tepees and provisions to house their families during the month-long confab They come from as far south as Mexico and as far north as the Canadian border and with a single purpose: to improve the lot of the of the American Indian.

SOUTH AMERICA

Down Argentine Way

Soon after Japan quit, three American soldiers strolling down Buenos Aires' Florida Street were surprised to confront a crowd of happy surging Argentines. The Yanks were swept off their feet, raised to the shoulders of the crowd and carried along in an impromptu victory parade to shouts of "Viva los Estados Unidos." The incident was one of many in which progressive Argentinians coupled their armistice celebrations in defiance of their government's anti-American and anti-democratic actions.

Colonel Juan Peron's régime answered the demonstrators with tear gas, sabers and guns. His troops sallied forth daily to disperse paraders, who used the occasion to demand that the people elect their own government. Late last week, casualties reached four dead and several hundred injured.

Argentina's high schools and colleges were emptied for 48 hours as students and teachers held the biggest school strike in the country's history as a protest against the terrorism. The strikers threatened to stay out for seven days after Peron fired 24 high-school teachers for backing the walkout. The four major political parties just legalized, made plans to hold mass demonstrations against the government.

These groups were heartened after a speech by U.S. Ambassador Spruille Braden denouncing Fascist-inspired dictatorships in rank undiplomatic language. In what was undoubtedly a slap at the Peron regime, Braden lashed out at "petty tyrants" who assumed "the disguise of a spurious democracy."

INTERNATIONAL

In Darkest Europe

Little news has come out of the countries of eastern Europe since their liberation by the Red Army and what has slipped through has run the gauntlet of tight censorship. The Allied governments have been unsuccessful in practically all their efforts to obtain permission for newspaper correspondents to enter these areas.

The initial encouraging step to open up the region was taken at the Potsdam conference, where Moscow agreed to let Allied newspaper men operate freely in Finland, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. One of the first correspondents to take advantage of this new arrangement was a Herald Tribune reporter who had no trouble going from Stockholm to Helsinki to get relatively uncensored news material.

The news blackout, however, last week still existed over the rest of Eastern Europe, keeping the Allied peoples in ignorance of what is happening there. As one result officia, voices in both Britain and America were raised in criticism of Russia's occupation policies.

Ex-Premier Winston Churchill, no longer one of the Big Three, lashed out at Moscow's political policy in the occupied areas. He decried the expulsion of millions of Germans from Poland and spoke of what he called the "terror" existing in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. His inclusion of Czechoslovakia in this list came as a surprise since all reports from Prague had indicated peace and tranquillity under the independent Czech government. "Almost everywhere in Eastern Europe Communist forces have obtained or are in the process of obtaining dictatorial powers," Churchill exclaimed. Observers recalled that during his election campaign Churchill warned that a Labor victory in Britain would encourage the Russians to "communize" eastern Europe.

The leader of the Tory party was supported by none other than the foreign secretary of the new Labor government, Ernest Bevin, who spoke sharply about the "totalitarian" governments of Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. "One kind of totalitarianism is being replaced by another," he declared. He said the electoral laws of Bulgaria were so undemocratic that Britain would not recognize any government resulting from today's scheduled election.

His statement on Bulgaria echoed a previously-issued warning by the U.S. State Department on the same question. Secretary of State James Byrnes, in an undiplomatically-frank pronouncement, charged that the existing provisional government of Bulgaria was not truly representative of all shades of democratic opinion, and declared that the U.S. was not satisfied that the elections would be free.

Bulgaria reacted quickly and was quoted by Moscow as insisting that the election would be democratic. Moscow itself was silent.

EUROPE

Crowded Courtroom?

Nuremberg, next to Munich, is the most Nazi of the Reich's cities. Nuremberg gave its name to the notorious racial statutes of Hitler, and it was there that the greatest Nazi pageants were held. For that reason the four-power War Crimes Commission picked Nuremberg as the site for the trials of big-wig Nazi war criminals. But the start of the trials, postponed again and again, last week seemed as far off as mid-October, with the possibility of being put off even longer.

Delays have been the theme of war criminal prosecution since the Big Three brought up the subject during the last year of the war. Russia could not see eye to eye with the Allies, and insisted on a separate trial procedure. Finally Russia, Britain and America, together with France, got together in a War Crimes Commission to try Nazi chiefs jointly. Late in June representatives met in London for negotiations on setting up a military tribunal to lay down legal principles for the trials. With U.S. Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson insisting on speed, meetings dragged along until the beginning of August when a formal agreement was signed creating a new international law on war crimes.

Goering May Be First

No announcement has been made of the German and Italian war criminals to be tried. The Potsdam declaration promised to make such a list public by Sept. 1. But it seemed fairly evident that the first defendants would be pudgy Hermann Goering, Luftwaffe chief, and Joachim von Ribbentrop, oily Nazi foreign minister. Others who were awaiting their turn were Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy before his sensational flight to England in May, 1941; Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz, who supplanted Hitler after the Fuehrer's reported death; Robert Ley, leader of the German Labor Front, and Julius Streicher, notorious Jew-baiter.

No difficulty was found in housing the defendants—they will be put up in Nuremberg's municipal jail. But housing conditions were highly unsatisfactory in the rest of the city. Nuremberg, one of the worst bombed cities of the Reich, must be rebuilt to accommodate the many officials and observers due to arrive. The German Palace of Justice, where the proceedings will unfold, was criticized as being much too small for such a grand spectacle. War crimes officials on the other hand, pointed out that the palace would comfortably seat the court, newspapermen and special observers, and that this should be adequate for all.

The 'Scholar'

It showed a feeble irresponsibility, if I may venture a personal word, to paint an inoffensive scholar like myself as the head of the Socialist Gestapo.

The "scholar" who spoke these words was not quite as "inoffensive" as he styled himself. In fact, he had been quite "offensive" to Winston Churchill in the recent British electoral campaign. Churchill had made Harold J. Laski, chairman of the Labor Party's executive committee, one of the chief issues of the campaign.

In his first election speech, Churchill painted a lurid picture of a British Gestapo coming into power in the event of a Labor victory, with Laski as its head. Turning again and again to Laski, Churchill accused him of being the real formulator of Labor Party policy and charged that Clement Attlee and other party leaders took their orders from him.

Churchill was touching on one of the peculiar features of Labor Party organization, in which little distinction is made between the parliamentary party and the national party. Laborites in and out of Parliament are bound by the somewhat rigid discipline of the party's constitution. For that reason, statements by men like Laski, even though they are not in the government, carry some weight in parliamentary circles.

However, Premier Attlee has been taking particular pains to point out that Laski's utterances have no influence on the government. That might be true in another sense, due to the well-known hostility between Laski and Attlee. Laski has made no secret of his opposition to Attlee's leadership of the Labor Party.

Last week, Laski, in Paris for the Socialist convention, wrote an article for a French paper in which he called on Britain to back an exiled Spanish government as a means of ousting Generalissimo Francisco Franco. He was promptly taken to task for this and similar statements in Winston Churchill's first speech as leader of the opposition in the House. As if the election had not taken place, Churchill again demanded that Laski's relation to the government be clarified. Wearily, Attlee answered, as before, that policy would be formulated only by his ministers.

New Heidelberg

The German students applauded by pounding their desks with their fists. When the noise died down, the new acting rector, Dr. Karl Heinrich Bauer, made the dedicatory address. Old Heidelberg, Germany's No. 1 university, was, on a limited scale, performing its historic function again.

First branch to re-open was the medical school. The initial course was a ten-weeks' refresher for 500 discharged Wehrmacht doctors who had received hurried wartime training. Heidelberg's medical school was much less perverted by Nazism than other studies, such as the economics, sociology, and psychology, but there was some tampering. Example: the introduction of the notorious "race hygiene" course. Dr. E. Y. Hartshorne, an instructor on leave from Harvard's department of sociology, has supervised the de-Nazification and reorganization of the medical school faculty in collaboration with the Seventh Army's surgeon's office and MG officials.

Chief speaker at the opening ceremonies was Dr. Karl Jaspers, Heidelberg philosophy professor dismissed by the Nazis in 1937. "Thousands of persons in Germany sought or met death through their resistance against the Nazi regime, most of them anonymously," said the professor, whose thin face and white hair testified to his own sufferings.

"We survivors did not choose to die in resistance. We preferred to survive in the weak, though perhaps justified, belief that even our deaths would not have changed anything. Our guilt consists in our being alive.

After the loss of our dignity, all that remains to us is truthfulness. We want to earn the lives that have been saved to us."

Student-doctors interviewed by *The Stars and Stripes* artist Al Lichtenberger condemned, for the most part, the old race hygiene course. But one cocky six-footer, still in Wehrmacht boots and uniform, was cynical. "Don't you in the U.S.A. believe in the superiority of the white race?" he asked.



Dr. Karl Bauer
Heidelberg rector

...We Live In

a Reds at Odds Again

d to them from Rus- sned to do so, which ouldn't, because the e been blockaded by ting troops.

munist area for the pened to visits by bservers and news- rvations, as reported ooks Atkinson, *N.Y.* ts, jr., *N.Y. Herald* certain details, but ng points. Kuomin- ontrary, the Chinese fectively fighting the ore effectively than r troops, even though side help. These so- far from being con-

cerned with communizing China, were intent on building a progressive democratic non-feudal China, with a social program roughly paralleling the U.S. Farmer-Labor party's during the '20s. While deep with admiration for Russia's accomplishments, the Chinese Communists operated independently of Russia and were anxious to make friends with the United States.

During the past year an uneasy truce has existed between both forces. The United States played an active role in attempting to bring them together, mainly by pleas from former Vice-President Henry Wallace and Republican presidential candidate Wendell Willkie. When Maj. Gen. Patrick Hurley replaced Clarence Gauss as Ambassador, that was one of his main jobs. Last winter it looked as if he was succeeding. The Kuomintang blockade against Yenan relaxed somewhat. Communist representatives were permitted in Chungking, and this spring the Chungking delegation to the San Francisco conference included a Communist.

The past few weeks, however, have seen an alarming deterioration. Last month large-scale fighting broke out between troops of both armies. Yenan charged Chungking was using lend-lease armaments against the Chinese Reds, a charge that American military chiefs were ready to substantiate. With the sudden Japanese surrender, the Communist armies prepared to seize control of nearby key cities in north China before government troops could reach there. They ordered Japanese troops to surrender to them. This alarmed Chungking, which feared the Communists would not only entrench themselves in important regions but would be immensely strengthened by huge supplies of Japanese armaments. United States authorities made diplomatic efforts to heal the schism although they followed Ambassador Hurley's lead in backing the Kuomintang position.

The only hopeful sign in the entire picture was the accord signed by Moscow and Chungking. The mere fact that Premier Stalin initialed an agreement with Chiang Kai-shek at a time when Chungking was at odds with the Communists was encouraging, although the terms of the accord were not known.

Russia's role was a big question mark. Russian troops had seized a great slice of Manchuria while waiting for a formal Japanese surrender, thus getting closer to North China and an inevitable junction with the Chinese Reds. What will happen when they meet was a subject for conjecture. But the Chungking-Moscow accord lent hope that Russia, with the United States, would try to induce both parties to make a peaceful settlement. If the U.S. persisted in favoring the Kuomintang over the Communists, and if Russia threw her weight on the side of the Communists, the result might be more than civil war.



...e leaders, Mao Tse-Tung (left) and Chu-Teh (third from left), with U.S. reporter, E. W. Reed and Yeh Chien-Ying.

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What About Army Courts Martial?



Defenders of court martial procedure deny the allegation that a soldier is automatically convicted.

By George Dorsey
Stars and Stripes Staff Writer

IT all started with Private McGee.

Sentenced to two years for slapping some Nazi prisoners, Pvt. Joseph McGee, of Worcester, Mass., focused the attention of the nation on the Army's court-martial system. McGee was not a very good choice for the martyr's role. Soon after his release on the slapping charge he was picked up for being AWOL, drunk and wearing the Purple Heart and Silver Star without authority. And it turned out that he had had 12 previous court-martial convictions—but his case caused:

1) Deep rumbings in Congress with promises of investigation of all heavy court-martial sentences;

2) And—more important—re-examination of its punitive machinery by the Army itself and the creation of a clemency board to help Under-Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson review court-martial convictions.

Although formation of the clemency board followed close by the furor over McGee, the War Department made it clear that plans for the board had been under way for some months. Whatever the reasons for the clemency board's creations, reporters who gauged the reaction of U.S. troops in Germany, found that soldiers generally favored the idea.

One recurring complaint was that a soldier who comes before a court martial is automatically convicted. This frequently-heard allegation brings defenders of Army court-martial procedure to their feet in hot rebuttal. They insist that the nature of the Army's pre-trial investigations is such as to make it almost impossible for a man to be brought before a court martial unless he is guilty. In its conduct of preliminary proceedings against an accused, the Army claims a fairness which transcends civilian practices.

THESE are the prescribed steps in bringing a soldier to trial: First, charges must be proffered by a member of the military service. Then the accused soldier is called in, advised of his rights and asked if he has anything to say in his defense. If the case still stands up after this procedure, it is referred to an officer considered capable of conducting an impartial investigation. This officer [illegible] witness at a time into a room with the accused for interrogation. The accused at this time has the right to [illegible] witness thoroughly. He may [illegible] his own witnesses in an effort to convince the investigating officer of his innocence.

Supporters of the present Army court-martial procedure point out that the case against the accused may be dropped anywhere along the route of this investigation if it is found that the evidence does not hold up. Furthermore, the investigator's final report must go before a reviewing authority who may decide against trying the case. Thus, it is Army policy never to put a man on trial unless prima facie evidence of his guilt is established.

An important consideration in evaluating the fairness of Army jurisprudence is the fact that the accused is thoroughly familiarized with the government's case against him before he comes to trial. This is not the case in U.S. civil courts. The defendant in civilian life is not allowed to examine government witnesses beforehand and may be surprised and taken off-guard by evidence of which he has no foreknowledge.

IF his case does come to trial, the accused is provided by the Army with defense counsel. But he has the privilege of augmenting or entirely replacing this counsel with a defender of his own choice. One other way the Army protects a soldier's rights: He may not be convicted on the strength of his own confession, if it can be shown that any pressure was used to obtain the confession. In one case where it was found that MPs had wrung an admission of guilt out of a soldier by threatening to denounce his Belgian girl friend as a Nazi agent, his conviction on a charge of currency exchange dealings was set aside and he was given a new trial. In another trial, where MPs had threatened to have the accused's family investigated by the FBI, the confession obtained under such duress was thrown out.

In theory, the Army takes every precaution to see that justice is done. Even the Trial Judge Advocate, who prosecutes the case, is duty-bound to bring out evidence in favor of the accused, if the defense should overlook something. Unlike the district attorney of civil courts, the TJA is not supposed necessarily to obtain conviction.

There are those, however, who point out that in actual practice the Army system sometimes misfires. The great weakness, they claim, of the Army scheme of justice is the lack of legal training and judicial [illegible] on the part of many of the [illegible] loyalty to the basic principles of Army jurisprudence and spoke warmly in its defense, but they were willing also to offer constructive comment on its failings.

ONE of the big troubles, they declare, is that many of the officers who serve as cogs in the Army's judicial machinery must do so in time taken from their normal duties. This may be particularly harmful to the defendant's interest when it is the defense counselor who must prepare his client's case in spare time. There was the case in England where the counsel for the defense, a Special Services officer, never had seen the accused until they met in court. The accused, an enlisted man charged with assaulting a captain, was sentenced to ten years. Fortunately, a chaplain discovered the negligence with which the defense had been prepared. The soldier was given a new trial, new facts were brought out and he was acquitted.

The Special Services officer said later that he had been ordered to carry out a mission 300 miles from the place where the accused was being held and pleaded that he simply wasn't able to be in two places at the same time. Of course, he should have asked for a postponement of the trial until a satisfactory defense was prepared—but that's how theory and practice sometimes differ. If not well versed in Army law, the officer may not even have known that he was allowed to request a postponement.

In another case, again in England, a soldier charged with statutory rape was defended by an officer who was conscientious but who knew nothing about legal procedure. After an incompetent defense, the man received ten years. Later, the case was reopened with evidence that the defendant had been framed and he was freed. The fact that such cases are reopened is certainly a credit to the Army, although it may not mitigate initial decisions.

All too often, the officers conducting a trial, from the president of the court to the defense counsel, not only perform their roles without interest but unwillingly, according to those who have constant contact with courts martial. It is common knowledge, they say, that most officers shun court-martial duty.

FURTHERMORE, as close observers point out, the members of a court-martial board may be totally unprepared by temperament and background competently to render the serious judgment necessary to pass on the soldier who stands accused before them. The Army does not ask a shoemaker to pull a tooth, yet it may ask an ex-shoemaker to assume a judicial role to which, in civilian life, a man may aspire only after years of preparation.

THE solution offered by some ex-lawyers in the Army is the establishment of permanent courts employing only trained officers, who would be required to devote all their time and talents to the operation of the judicial machinery. In this manner it is felt that the Army would get speedy, uniform justice handed down by men who are experienced and interested in the functions of the law.

Many former lawyers now in uniform also feel strongly that such courts, if established, should be immune from pressure from above. What is meant by this was set forth in a recent dispatch from Germany by Kenneth Dixon, well-known Associated Press correspondent.

IN an article on courts martial, Mr. Dixon declared that "the biggest gripe of the average GI" is that "he is never, according to Army regulations, tried by a jury of equals. That is, no enlisted man ever is permitted to sit on a court-martial case . . . To say that GIs feel the cards are stacked against them on this score is putting it mildly."

Here, indeed, Mr. Dixon has touched on a sore point. I found few officers regularly engaged in court-martial work who cared to speak in defense of the all-officer court and quite a few expressed the belief that inclusion of enlisted men would prove to be an important morale factor. The idea is not without precedent. When an enlisted man is on trial for a major offense in the French Army, for instance, one of the members of the court must be a non-com.

However, it is certain that the uninitiated often get a biased and confused picture of Army justice, one which is grossly unfair to the many efficient officers who labor wholeheartedly to protect the rights of the soldier. It is the exceptional case which generally catches the public eye. Under-Secretary of War Patterson recently went to some pains to point out to Washington newspapermen that the Army system is in most respects more lenient than civilian justice.

The Army is primarily interested in [illegible] ing over offenders into good [illegible] approximately 24,000 men [illegible] rehabilitation centers since Dec. 1[illegible] infractions of all types, more than [illegible] have been restored to duty, according to War Department figures. Many have distinguished themselves.

"The guiding principle in all [illegible] before courts martial and in the imposition of sentences," said Mr. Patterson, "is [illegible] to rehabilitate the defendant so that he may be returned to service, and, second, to make the penalty severe enough to deter others from breaking the law."

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1) Deep rumbings in Congress with promises of investigation of all heavy court-martial sentences;

2) And—more important—re-examination of its punitive machinery by the Army itself and the creation of a clemency board to help Under-Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson review court-martial convictions.

Although formation of the clemency board followed close by the furor over McGee, the War Department made it clear that plans for the board had been under way for some months. Whatever the reasons for the clemency board's creations, reporters who gauged the reaction of U.S. troops in Germany, found that soldiers generally favored the idea.

One recurring complaint was that a soldier who comes before a court martial is automatically convicted. This frequently-heard allegation brings defenders of Army court-martial procedure to their feet in hot rebuttal. They insist that the nature of the Army's pre-trial investigations is such as to make it almost impossible for a man to be brought before a court martial unless he is guilty. In its conduct of preliminary proceedings against an accused, the Army claims a fairness which transcends civilian practices.

THESE are the prescribed steps in bringing a soldier to trial: First, charges must be proffered by a member of the military service. Then the accused soldier is called in, advised of his rights and asked if he has anything to say in his defense. If the case still stands up after this procedure, it is referred to an officer considered capable of conducting an impartial investigation. This officer brings one witness at a time into a room with the defendant, for interrogation. The defendant at this time has the right to question each witness thoroughly. He may also bring in his own witnesses in an effort to convince the investigating officer of his innocence.

Supporters of the present Army court-martial procedure point out that the case against the accused may be dropped anywhere along the route of this investigation if it is found that the evidence does not hold up. Furthermore, the investigator's final report must go before a reviewing authority who may decide against trying the case. Thus, it is Army policy never to put a man on trial unless prima facie evidence of his guilt is established.

An important consideration in evaluating the fairness of Army jurisprudence is the fact that the accused is thoroughly familiarized with the government's case against him before he comes to trial. This is not the case in U.S. civil courts. The defendant in civilian life is not allowed to examine government witnesses beforehand and may be surprised and taken off-guard by evidence of which he has no foreknowledge.

IF his case does come to trial, the accused is provided by the Army with defense counsel. But he has the privilege of augmenting or entirely replacing this counsel with a defender of his own choice. One other way the Army protects a soldier's rights: He may not be convicted on the strength of his own confession, if it can be shown that any pressure was used to obtain the confession. In one case where it was found that MPs had wrung an admission of guilt out of a soldier by threatening to denounce his Belgian girl friend as a Nazi agent, his conviction on a charge of currency exchange dealings was set aside and he was given a new trial. In another trial, where MPs had threatened to have the accused's family investigated by the FBI, the confession obtained under such duress was thrown out.

In theory, the Army takes every precaution to see that justice is done. Even the Trial Judge Advocate, who prosecutes the case, is duty-bound to bring out evidence in favor of the accused, if the defense should overlook something. Unlike the district attorney of civil courts, the TJA is not supposed necessarily to obtain conviction.

There are those, however, who point out that in actual practice the Army system sometimes misfires. The great weakness, they claim, of the Army scheme of justice is the lack of legal training and judicial experience on the part of many of the men who sit on the courts, conduct preliminary investigations, serve as defense counselors, as trial Judge Advocates, review convictions and sentences. [illegible] men, with years of [illegible] and judges in civilian life and who now serve in the Judge Advocate's branch of the Army. Without exception, these officers expressed earnest loyalty to the basic principles of Army jurisprudence and spoke warmly in its defense, but they were willing also to offer constructive comment on its failings.

ONE of the big troubles, they declare, is that many of the officers who serve as cogs in the Army's judicial machinery must do so in time taken from their normal duties. This may be particularly harmful to the defendant's interest when it is the defense counselor who must prepare his client's case in spare time. There was the case in England where the counsel for the defense, a Special Services officer, never had seen the accused until they met in court. The accused, an enlisted man charged with assaulting a captain, was sentenced to ten years. Fortunately, a chaplain discovered the negligence with which the defense had been prepared. The soldier was given a new trial, new facts were brought out and he was acquitted.

The Special Services officer said later that he had been ordered to carry out a mission 300 miles from the place where the accused was being held and pleaded that he simply wasn't able to be in two places at the same time. Of course, he should have asked for a postponement of the trial until a satisfactory defense was prepared—but that's how theory and practice sometimes differ. If not well versed in Army law, the officer may not even have known that he was allowed to request a postponement.

In another case, again in England, a soldier charged with statutory rape was defended by an officer who was conscientious but who knew nothing about legal procedure. After an incompetent defense, the man received ten years. Later, the case was reopened with evidence that the defendant had been framed and he was freed. The fact that such cases are reopened is certainly a credit to the Army, although it may not mitigate initial decisions.

All too often, the officers conducting a trial, from the president of the court to the defense counsel, not only perform their roles without interest but unwillingly, according to those who have constant contact with courts martial. It is common knowledge, they say, that most officers shun court-martial duty.

FURTHERMORE, as close observers point out, the members of a court-martial board may be totally unprepared by temperament and background competently to render the serious judgment necessary to pass on the soldier who stands accused before them. The Army does not "ask a shoemaker to pull a tooth, yet it may ask an ex-shoemaker to assume a judicial role to which, in civilian life, a man may aspire only after years of preparation."

THE solution offered by some ex-lawyers in the Army is the establishment of permanent courts employing only trained officers, who would be required to devote all their time and talents to the operation of the judicial machinery. In this manner it is felt that the Army would get speedy, uniform justice handed down by men who are experienced and interested in the functions of the law.

Many former lawyers now in uniform also feel strongly that such courts, if established, should be immune from pressure from above. What is meant by this was set forth in a recent dispatch from Germany by Kenneth Dixon, well-known Associated Press correspondent.

IN an article on courts martial, Mr. Dixon declared that "the biggest gripe of the average GI" is that "he is never, according to Army regulations, tried by a jury of equals. That is, no enlisted man ever is permitted to sit on a court-martial case . . . To say that GIs feel the cards are stacked against them on this score is putting it mildly."

Here, indeed, Mr. Dixon has touched on a sore point. I found few officers regularly engaged in court-martial work who cared to speak in defense of the all-officer court and quite a few expressed the belief that inclusion of enlisted men would prove to be an important morale factor. The idea is not without precedent. When an enlisted man is on trial for a major offense in the French Army, for instance, one of the members of the court must be a non-com.

However, it is certain that the uninitiated often get a biased and confused picture of Army justice, one which is grossly unfair to the many efficient officers who labor wholeheartedly to protect the rights of the soldier. It is the exceptional case which generally catches the public eye. Under-Secretary of War Patterson recently went to some pains to point out to Washington newspapermen that the Army system is in most respects more lenient than civilian justice.

The Army is primarily interested in making over offenders into good soldiers. Of approximately 24,000 men sentenced to rehabilitation centers since Dec. 1942, for infractions of all types, more than half have been restored to duty, according to War Department figures. Many have since distinguished themselves.

"The guiding principle in all procedures before courts martial and in the imposition of sentences," said Mr. Patterson, "is, first, to rehabilitate the defendant, so that he may be returned to service; and, second, to make the penalty severe enough to deter others from breaking the law."

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 10716

17 SEP 1945

97

Registry Number } Z 10716/233/41

FROM Sir V. Mallet, San Sebastian.

No. 23

Dated 9th Sept., 1945.

Received in Registry } 17th Sept., 1945.

Z: Spain

Spanish Affairs: conversation between press Attaché and Señor Ortega y. Gasset.

Transmits account of conversation as above. Señor O.y. Gasset, renowned philosopher and man of letters has just returned to Spain for first time since outbreak of Civil War. Copied to Lisbon, Governor of Gibraltar and Ministry of Information.

Last Paper.

21054

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.) 12/11

(Index.) 8/11/7.

Next Paper.

21050.

(Minutes.)

It is a curious way on Anglo-Spanish relations or current affairs, his despatch would deserve to have been a rapid glance. But it contains the sketch of which four great realities are made — truth, knowledge, history. It leaves me with the impression of a man who, in visionary power, could take Elijah and, in analytical skill, Aristotle. I submit that the least tribute with which we can honour him is to print this glimpse of his mind and serve it ahead — ambrosia to revive

pebbles

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Palaces used by the Ministry of Political Economy.

98

P.L.H. Sloan.

19/9.

Nearly any opinion by Senor Ortega y Gasset would normally be worth printing in my opinion(based merely uopn reading "The revolt of the Masses" and his recently published smaller work "The Mission of the University".) As H.M.Ambassador points out, the record of the talk we now have is not particularly impressive although one detects in his reference to the talk of the true Liberal to decide what should be ruled and what was above rule (Page 2), and his generous references to this country (on Page 3) ~~implying~~ an implication that he proposes to vindicate in Spain that rule of law which he realises, I believe, that we are prepared to defend to the last.

I would venture the suggestion that some acknowledgement should be sent to the Ambassador indicative of our appreciation of the initiative taken by the Press Attaché in making contact with Señor Ortega y Gasset and suggesting perhaps, if only by implication, that it is a contact which we should like to see maintained. I regret delaying this Ftr.

L.R. Cowell

11th October, 1945.

16/10

Reconstruction Dept may wish to see?

This is an interesting despatch, but I cannot wax so enthusiastic about it as does Mr. Sloan. Senor Ortega y Gasset is a philosopher, andiin his conversation with Mr. Burns he has said a lot of true things fairly clearly and incisively. But a lot of what he says is pure unpractical philosophy. It is pointless to complain that people have become infected with the "adaptive" spirit. Only philosophers can afford not to adapt themselves to circumstances.

As for his complaint that the Spanish civil war had been wholly misjudged, that was inevitable. The Spaniards always will be misjudged by the rest of the world because they are an extraordinary people with an historical tradition, living in a country with extraordinary geographical charasterics. But it is useless to pretend that the Spanish problem can for that reason be regarded in vacuo and not in relation to world affairs.

These are certainly quite extraordinary.

If Senor Ortega y Gasset were is likely to play an active part in Spain in the future, his views might be of some value, but his criticisms seem to me to be purely destructive, and he seems cast for the rôle of a philosopher-cynic living in retirement. I see no point, therefore, in giving effect to the suggestion in paragraph 2 of Mr. Cowell's minute. in printing this despatch or

Research Dept. 23/10/45

I'm not a Millan on either.

R.G. Sloan

October 23rd 1945.

Z 10716
17 SEP 1945

99
2.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

SAN SEBASTIAN.

No. 23

9th September, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit the accompanying account of a conversation between the Press Attaché to this Embassy and Señor Ortega y Gasset, the renowned philosopher and man of letters, who has just returned to this country for the first time since the outbreak of the Civil War. Both the circumstances and the subject-matter of the conversation have very considerable political interest, although current Spanish politics are not directly involved.

2. Señor Ortega y Gasset was the idol of Madrid University in the last years of the Monarchy and the first flush of the Republic. With Dr. Marañon and Señor Perez de Ayala, he formed the Friends of the Republic group which gave the movement both impetus and intellectual prestige. His phrase "Delenda est Monarchia" sounded as the death knell of the old order and his books The Revolt of the Masses and Invertebrate Spain may still be read in every country for their profound analysis and interpretation of social revolution and change. He is one of the few outstanding Spaniards with a truly European outlook and is generally accepted as representative of liberal culture at its finest. His protests at the immediate signs of weakness of Republican rule, when confronted with the burning of churches and other excesses, came with special strength as from one who proclaimed himself to be a non-Catholic. Like other prominent intellectuals he could do nothing to arrest the general decline in political and public order which presaged the Civil War and when it came he was in fear of his life from the uncontrollable elements in the capital. He might have fared no better in Franco Spain but did not put the matter to the test and went into exile. He returned to this country a couple of weeks ago and the press made some capital of the event by announcing it prominently. Journalists' efforts to interveiw him were, however, fruitless; he has avoided publicity and indeed contact with anyone except his old friends. His talk with Mr. Burns took place quite casually after a luncheon with his family in the little fishing village where he is spending the summer.

3. There /

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office.

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3. There is nothing surprising or specially new in the conversation itself but it serves as a pointer to aspects of the Spanish question which tend to become obscured by strident political controversy and the succession of events. On the one hand, Franco and the Falange of the war years, Axis influence and totalitarian rule; on the other, clandestine movements at home and the grouping of the exiles and their supporters abroad, necessarily concentrate attention on themselves and distract it from abiding characteristics. Señor Ortega y Gasset may be a solitary genius but the genius has a way of representing the common man more faithfully than does the proverbial "man in the street". The Spaniards' shrewdness, cynicism and suspicion of all temporal authority have been remarked by all English travellers in Spain from Borrow and Ford onwards and the briefest acquaintance with the Spain of to-day confirms their view. The Falangist years have only scratched the surface of the Spanish character and Spain is mostly inhabited by men who defy all political labels and will always be more or less discontented with any political régime. The Spaniards have much in common with an excellent sherry brought to my table the other day. The bottle had three labels superimposed; the first had "Viva Franco, Arriba España"; peeling it off I found "Republica Española", which, on being removed, revealed the original label which bore the phrase "By appointment to His Majesty the King"!

4. With his return to this country, Señor Ortega y Gasset becomes merged with that great mass of the people which just contrives to be tolerated and to be tolerant vis à vis the powers that be, which is firmly convinced that there can be no return to the powers that were, and reserves judgment about the future - and will continue to do so whatever the future may bring. It would be for the lasting good of Spain if his return could serve as a portent and as an example to other exiles.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon, to the Governor of Gibraltar and to the Minister of Information.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

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Memorandum of a conversation held by the
Press Attaché with Señor Ortega y Gasset
September 5th, 1945.

Talking with Señor Ortega y Gasset, I discovered not so much a point of view as an area and atmosphere of thought which he has made peculiarly his own.

He spoke of the difficulties of thinking freely and freely expressing thought in the world today; of the suspicion and hostility generally extended to any thinking that did not serve a party or political interest. The war, he said, had not only left no corner of the world neutral, but no corner of the mind. There was no mental area left quite free of suspicion. Philosophy, the arts and the sciences were judged now simply on their usefulness. Few stopped to ask the question - Use for what?

People had become infected by what he called the "adaptive" spirit. They adapted themselves, they claimed, to circumstances, to the times, to current opinion. But this vast and partly unconscious conspiracy had no finite or infinite end or object, no standards beyond pragmatic ones; no cohesion beyond a half-acknowledged fear of an anonymous and aimless substitute for a Deity which people called the future.

The individual, if he chose and strove to remain one, was in great danger from the zealotry of this substitute-religion. It had become more or less dangerous for a man to say what he thought: he ran a risk which varied from that of ostracism to that of the firing-squad or the concentration camp, according to the political climate in which he happened to be living.

Democracy /

Democracy alone was no safeguard against this. And it was too often confused with Liberty or Liberalism. The worldwide struggle for democracy was to decide who should rule. But the true liberal had another battle in front of him: to decide what should be ruled and what was above rule. If we had won the first there was every danger r| of the second being lost, as the world was going today. Political divisions, he said, were no longer on a common ground, two-dimensional, but cut deep downwards into the third dimension of man's own life and beliefs. So elections and party-triumphs were literally matters of life and death in many parts of the world.

This led him to Spanish affairs, to the Civil War. It had, he said, been under-estimated and wholly misjudged. The Spanish people themselves had not all realised the tragedy they were enacting and had been unworthy of it. Propagandists of both sides had presented it falsely to the world, and the world had been readier for the falsehood than for the truth. The truth, the deep and serious death-struggle, merited silence; silence during and after was the only fit commentary and the only healer. He was as bitter about the republican politicians in exile as the falangists at home. p| Personal gain and political propaganda on both sides had clouded judgment. So the verdict, on false premises, through political passion, had gone to the loudest and strongest.

He thought the Potsdam declaration about Spain a natural consequence; an insult to Spain and to historical thinking, grossly misconceiving and mistaking the realities which produced General Franco - concentrating on the appearances which Franco and his friends and enemies produced. He thought the Spanish speakers of the B.B.C. had been most harmful in this respect: he could understand how a country at war had to use propaganda as well as any other weapon it had

but /

but the Spanish commentators had forgotten they were Spaniards and had succeeded only in injecting hate into their country, or perpetuating it. He spoke very bitterly of Spanish personalities. He had avoided the political exiles as much as possible and had been avoided by Franco's officialdom abroad. He hadlived for years in Lisbon without any contact with Gil Robles and the others there, and also quite isolated from the Spanish Embassy. He had no opinion of Gil Robles as a Statesman : "a politidal fighter - brave as a lion before a hostile crowd, terrified of ideas." He avoided any question related to possible future regimes, remarking that Sanchez Roman had found British officials in London very cold about a monarchist restoration and nobody could see how a democratic republic could be installed. He seemed to have a particular respect for Sanchez Roman whom he described as the wisest and most serious Spanish diplomat of today. It was evident that he was not out of touch with him.

His general pessimism was relieved somewhat by his references to England. He spoke of her grand and timeless legal tradition and its defence of personal rights. He is apparently an assiduous reader of "The Times" (which, incidentally, he thought suffered from the "adaptive" spirit as much as anyone!). He thought that the vindication of Mr. Voigt in a recent libel case, in which the "Nineteenth Century" was involved, was proof of our sound traditions. He had been reading E.H.Carr's books. It seemed to him that in England at least there was an awareness of difficulties - other countries simply obliterated them. But England has terribly and tragically misunderstood Spain and too easily

assumed /

assumed that her own temper and tradition existed everywhere. They existed nowhere except among a few people in London!

About his own plans for the future, he said that he had come back to Spain as he thought she was coming to a serious phase. He did not want to run away from it nor provoke it, but he wanted to be with his people. He had lectures to give in Lisbon late in the Autumn. One day he hoped to find a really neutral territory and launch once again his "Revista de Occidente" which he would try and make into a sort of forum for detached thinking from all countries - as long as he was not suspected of political intent. He said he thought of Tangier as the most suitable place;(with the knowledge of recent Foreign Office telegrams in my head it was hard to refrain from comment!)

This record inevitably leaves out the most memorable features of the talk; Señor Ortega's own serene and deeply impressive personality, his sincere and kindly way of talking and his generous sense of humour. He has a tremendous zest for all that is characteristic of Spanish life but is at the same time an authentic European.

8/9/45

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120

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 10750

18 SEP 1945

106

Registry Number	Z 10750/233/41
FROM	Sir V. Mallet, San Sebastian.
No.	22
Dated	8th Sept. 1945.
Received in Registry	18th Sept. 1945.
	Z : Spain

Law for re-organization of primary education in Spain.

Text of law was published 18th July in Spanish official Bulletin. Encloses summary of translation of principle features of the new law, and memorandum assessing its significance in relation to previously existing system of education compiled by Mr. Malley. Comments on New Law.

Last Paper.

210716

References.

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to / Education
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2.) Chancery Madrid
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Oct 3

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210867

(Z 11971)

(Minutes.)

The power assigned by this new Law of Primary Education to the Catholic Church is only to be expected; and Sir V. Mallet is no doubt right in marking the collateral Falangist influence as sinister. But the intention appears to be to inculcate, above all, a spirit of patriotism. In so far as this may temper sinister individualism or obstinate independence, and promote some sense of unity and common purpose, it can only, I think, work to the good of Spain.

The despatch and Annex I should, I think, be copied to the British

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British Council
RECEIVED
Cultural Relations

also will be particularly interested in Article 28: as, subject to views of Cultural Relations Dept, also to Min. of Education who, I believe, have a general interest in foreign systems of education.

The despatch itself should, I think, be printed.

Cultural Relations Dept: JNA. Recd. in CR. Dept. 5/10 5/10 after action had been taken. Dio.

Research Dept WHC 15/11

R.L.H. Sloan 25/9.

I agree that it it was good to let the Min. of Education have a copy. I look forward to seeing Mr. Malley's memorandum.

JA = A'Stern

received in Dio. 5/10
10/10.

The object of the law is clearly to provide a primary education for all based on Catholic principles and, on the physical side, on Falangist doctrine. But Church and Party are both somewhat discredited in Spain, though the Church is still very powerful.

RG
13/x

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SPAIN. September 18, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

ARCHIVES

[Z 10750/233/41] Copy No. 8

Sir V. Mallet to Mr. Bevin.—(Received 18th September.)

(No. 22.)

Sir, *San Sebastian, 8th September*, 1945.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 18th July, in the same issue of the Spanish Official Bulletin which contained the texts of the Bill of Rights (Fuero de los Españoles) and the new law governing local administration, the text was also published of a comprehensive law for the reorganisation of primary education in Spain. The new law was referred to in the official communiqué issued by the Spanish Government on the 22nd July (of which a translation was enclosed in Mr. Bowker's despatch No. 409 of the 23rd July) as the means for the intensification of their cultural policy.

2. A summary translation of the principal features of the new law is enclosed as Annex I.(1) The significance of the new law in relation to the previously existing system of education is assessed in the memorandum enclosed as Annex II(1) and compiled by Mr. Malley, Assistant Press Attaché. It will be seen from this memorandum that, while the new law should, like the Bill of Rights and the local government law, be regarded as part of General Franco's policy of a progressive programme for the régime, it suffers from the same defect as the other laws of being so far-reaching in its scope that many of its provisions may never be put into effect.

3. The special influence and authority allowed to the Church under the new law is a sad commentary on the principles of toleration which are meant to be enshrined in the Fuero de los Españoles. Against the formidable engine of religious propaganda which is provided for under articles 5, 37, 57, 63, 65 and 72 among others, the child of a non-Catholic family can have little hope of retaining his parents' beliefs during his six years of compulsory education. Yet no recourse can be had to non-Catholic schools since there is no reason to suppose that such institutions, even if they were allowed to exist at all, would ever be empowered to issue their pupils with the certificates without which, according to article 42, they cannot obtain employment. This is, indeed, a swing of the pendulum from the position under the republic when schools conducted by religious bodies were suppressed altogether.

4. If the new law bestows predominant influence on the Church in primary education, the Falange party is not left far behind. At every stage provision is made to ensure that pupils will have instilled into them the doctrines of the Movimiento. Such a purpose is, indeed, explicitly included among the five great aims of primary education enunciated in article 2 of the law. According to article 38 examination papers relating to the "formation of the national spirit, physical education and initiation into home life," &c., will be drawn up by the "competent departments," who again, in article 48, are to approve text-books for the formation of the national spirit. There is no reason to believe that the "competent departments" are anything other than some branch of the Falange. The teacher is required in article 57 "to co-operate . . . . with the institutions of the State and the Movement," and in article 45 it is laid down that recreational activities, indoor and outdoor, must be carried out "under the control of the Youth Front and the Feminine Section." Among the professors teaching in the training colleges for teachers are included "professors for subjects relating to the formation of the national spirit," and if only in order to emphasise more explicitly the connexion which Falange is to have with the whole question of primary education article 72 prescribes that two out of the six members of the examination tribunal for entrants into the teaching profession are to be nominated by "the Organs of the Movement." Again, in article 63, José Antonio's famous phrase "la unidad del destino de España" (the unity of the destiny of Spain), which is, as it were, the mystic core of the unintelligible Falange faith, is included among the items of which the teacher must obtain a "clear idea" in the course

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of his studies at the training college. Finally, even the body of school inspectors, we are told in article 84, will include members nominated by the institutions of the Movement.

5. It may well be argued in defence of this close interlocking between the educational authorities and the Falange that it would have been a pity to forgo the wide experience in recreational and social training accumulated in the last nine years by the Falange Youth organisations by having nothing to do with them. The fact remains, however, that many branches of the Falange Youth Movement are led by young toughs who have hitherto adhered more closely to Nazi principles, have retained a more consistently Germanophil and Anglophobe outlook and have shown less virtuosity in adjusting themselves to General Franco's new policy of organic evolution than the more sophisticated leaders of the party. In any case, the wording of several articles of the law indicates that close attention was paid to Falange ideas in drafting it. The recent incorporation of the Vicesecretaría de Educación Popular into the Ministry of Education, moreover, will certainly not make the Ministry less careful than it would have been to administer the law in a manner acceptable to the party.

6. General Franco is presumably fully aware of what the new law contains. If so, it can only be concluded, from the prominence which the law assigns to the Falange and the teaching of its principles to future generations, that he has no intention whatsoever of dissolving it, at least in its less militant and political branches. Nevertheless, seen against the dreary background of centuries of illiteracy and ignorance the law stands out as a formidable piece of architecture which subsequent hands can embellish and adapt to modern usage if they can be restrained from the old Spanish custom of using dynamite when expressing disagreement.

I have, &c.
V. A. L. MALLET.

[Z 10750/233/41] September 18th 1945
Section 1
No 2

Sir V. Wallet to Mr Bevin
(Cut.)

Please see below

Z 10750
18 SEP 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
(Western Spain)
SAN SEBASTIAN.
(without encl.)
No. 22
8th September, 1945
(Received 18th September)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that on July 18th, in the same issue of the Spanish Official Bulletin which contained the texts of the Bill of Rights (Fuero de los Españoles) and the new law governing local administration, the text was also published of a comprehensive law for the re-organisation of primary education in Spain. The new law was referred to in the official communiqué issued by the Spanish Government on July 22nd (of which a translation was enclosed in Mr. Bowker's despatch No. 409 of July 23rd) as the means for the intensification of their cultural policy.

Z 10749/162/41

2. A summary translation of the principle features of the new Law is enclosed as Annex I. (1) The significance of the new Law in relation to the previously existing system of education is assessed in the memorandum enclosed as Annex II (2) and compiled by Mr. Malley, Assistant Press Attaché. It will be seen from this memorandum that while the new Law should, like the Bill of Rights and the local government law, be regarded as part of General Franco's policy of a progressive programme for the régime, it suffers from the same defect as the other laws of being so far-reaching in its scope that many of its provisions may never be put into effect.

3. The special influence and authority allowed to the Church under the new Law is a sad commentary on the principles of toleration which are meant to be enshrined in the Fuero de los Españoles. Against the formidable engine of religious propaganda which is provided for under Articles 5, 37, 57, 63, 65 and 72 among others the child of a non-Catholic family can have little hope of retaining his parents' beliefs during his six years of compulsory education. Yet no recourse can be had to non-Catholic schools since there is no reason to suppose that such institutions, even if they were allowed to exist at all, would ever be empowered to issue their pupils with the certificates without which, according to Article 42, they cannot obtain employment. This is, indeed, a swing of the pendulum from the position under the Republic when schools conducted by religious bodies were suppressed altogether.

4. If the new Law bestows predominant influence on the Church in primary education, the Falange Party is not left far behind. At every stage provision is made to ensure that pupils will have instilled into them the doctrines of the Movimiento. Such a purpose is indeed explicitly included among the five great aims of primary education enunciated in Article 2 of the Law. According to Article 38 examination papers relating to the "formation of the national spirit, physical education and initiation into home life", etc., will be drawn up by the "competent departments", who again, in Article 48, are to approve text books for the formation of the national spirit. There is no reason to believe that the "competent departments" are anything other than some branch of the Falange. The teacher is required in Article 57 "to co-operate... with the institutions of the State and the Movement", and in Article 45 it is laid down that recreational activities /

The Right Honourable Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office.

(1) Not printed.

activities, indoor and outdoor, must be carried out "under the control of the Youth Front and the Feminine Section." Among the professors teaching in the training colleges for teachers are included "professors for subjects relating to the formation of the national spirit", and if only in order to emphasise more explicitly the connection which Falange is to have with the whole question of primary education Article 72 prescribes that two out of the six members of the examination tribunal for entrants into the teaching profession are to be nominated by "the Organs of the Movement." Again, in Article 63, José Antonio's famous phrase "la unidad del destino de España" (the unity of the destiny of Spain), which is as it were, the mystic core of the unintelligible Falange faith, is included among the items of which the teacher must obtain a "clear idea" in the course of his studies at the training college. Finally, even the body of school inspectors, we are told in Article 84, will include members nominated by the institutions of the Movement.

5. It may well be argued in defence of this close interlocking between the educational authorities and the Falange that it would have been a pity to forego the wide experience in recreational and social training accumulated in the last nine years by the Falange Youth organisations by having nothing to do with them. The fact remains, however, that many branches of the Falange Youth Movement are led by young toughs who have hitherto adhered more closely to Nazi principles, have retained a more consistently Germanophil and Anglophobe outlook and have shown less virtuosity in adjusting themselves to General Franco's new policy of organic evolution than the more sophisticated leaders of the Party. In any case the wording of several Articles of the Law indicates that close attention was paid to Falange ideas in drafting it. The recent incorporation of the Vice Secretaria de Educacion Popular into the Ministry of Education, moreover, will certainly not make the Ministry less careful than it would have been to administer the Law in a manner acceptable to the Party.

6. General Franco is presumably fully aware of what the new Law contains. If so, it can only be concluded, from the prominence which the Law assigns to the Falange, and the teaching of its principles to future generations, that he has no intention whatsoever of dissolving it at least in its less militant and political branches. Nevertheless, seen against the dreary background of centuries of illiteracy and ignorance the law stands out as a formidable piece of architecture which subsequent hands can embellish and adapt to modern usage if they can be restrained from the old Spanish custom of using Dynamite when expressing disagreement.

I have the honour to be, ~~with the highest respect,~~

~~Sir,~~

~~Your most humble, obedient Servant.~~

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ANNEX I

LAW OF JULY 17TH, 1945, REGARDING ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Section 1 Statement of Principles

Chapter I.

Article 1: "Elementary education is the first stage in the formation or rational development of the specific faculties of man. It has as its object:

(a) To provide all Spaniards obligatorily with general education.

(b) To form the will, the conscience and the character of the child with a view to the fulfilment of duty and his eternal destiny.

(c) To instil into the spirit of the pupil the love of and the idea of service to his country in accordance with the guiding principles of the Movement.

(d) To prepare in childhood capacity for further studies and cultural activities.

(e) To contribute within its own sphere to professional education and formation for the life of agricultural, industrial and commercial work.

As a fundamental social task it is one for the Family, the Church and the State and by delegation to the Teacher whose noble mission is recognised and proclaimed."

Article 2: "It is the prime and inalienable right of the Family and its inescapable duty to educate its children and consequently to choose the persons or centres where they are to receive elementary education..."

Article 3: "The Church is recognised as enjoying the right to set up primary schools and training colleges for teachers, with the faculty of issuing the corresponding certificates in the form determined in this Law.

The Church is also recognised as enjoying the right to the supervision and inspection of all teaching in public and private establishments in this grade, in so far as it relates to the faith and customs".

Article 4: "It is for the State to protect and promote primary education in the national territory, to create and maintain schools which, apart from private initiative and that of the Church, may be necessary for the education of all Spaniards, and to issue the teachers with the

corresponding /

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corresponding professional diplomas.

The inspection from above of elementary education, public and private, will be carried out by the State through its own organs."

Chapter II.

Article 5: "Primary education, inspired in a Catholic sense and consubstantial with Spanish educational tradition, will conform to the principles of the Catholic Dogma and Faith and to the prescriptions of Canon Law in force."

Article 6: "It is the mission of primary education, by means of rigorous discipline, to achieve a strong and united national spirit and to establish in the mind of future generations happiness and pride in their country, in accordance with the principles of the Movement and its Organs."

Articles 7 to 11: Primary education must also cultivate the Spanish language, good social habits, intelligence, memory, will, physical training and give preparation for the professions, including domestic science for girls.

Chapter III.

Article 12: "The State, in accordance with its duties in the interests of the common good, declares obligatory a minimum of elementary education for all Spaniards. Obligatory teaching will carry with it appropriate protection for those pupils who because of their poverty would not be able to attend at the schools without assistance in food and clothing and it will render impossible for the children of school age any activity other than elementary education itself."

Sanctions for ensuring compliance with the above will be provided for in separate legislation.

Article 13: "Official primary education will be free." Payment will be made by those who can afford it.

Article 14: For reasons of moral character and "for pedagogic efficiency", the sexes will be separated.

Section 2 The School.

Chapter I.

Article 17: "The State will stimulate the creation of schools and will create them itself if necessary until in every locality a number has been reached of not less than one for every 250 inhabitants."

Article 18: "Primary education will include the following periods:

1) /

1) Period of initiation which will include

(a) creches up to 4 years;
(b) kindergarten from 4 to 6 years.

2) Period of elementary education from 6 to 10 years.

3) Period for completing elementary education, from 10 to 12 years.

4) Period of professional initiation, from 12 to 15 years. This period will link up with proper professional teaching which is regarded as a prolongation of this initiation and will be regulated by special decrees.

Of these periods the second and the third are strictly obligatory in all schools...."

Chapter II.

Article 19: The creation of a sufficient number of creches and kindergartens will be obligatory in industrial or agricultural centres where the conditions of work of the mother require that children under 6 years of age should be looked after with intelligence and care.

Article 20: Mixed education allowed in kindergartens and schools where the population is too small to allow of more than 30 pupils between 6 and 12. Kindergartens and mixed schools to be run by mistresses.

Article 21: Only schools in populated areas providing more than 30 pupils in a maximum radius of 1 kilometre will have more than one class. Transport must be provided for children resident more than 1 kilometre from their school.

Article 22: Special preparatory schools will be provided for pupils who because of their intellectual qualities will have to pass on to secondary education or other education requiring special preparation.

Article 23: Provides for special agricultural, industrial or commercial technical schools according to local requirements for pupils of from 12 to 15 years.

Article 25: "Church schools are those organised, maintained and controlled by the Church or its canonically approved teaching institutions.

These schools will have full freedom of organisation in their internal, teaching, financial and administrative régimes within the general lines of Section 1 of this Law, and will be subject to State inspection in so far as the latter is entitled....."

Church /

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Church schools providing free education will receive financial assistance from the State.

Article 26: Detailed definitions of the 4 categories of schools described as falling under State patronage, and including:

(a) special State schools established by decree;

(b) schools organised by the State with the co-operation of provincial "diputaciones" or provincial councils;

(c) obligatory schools set up in accordance with social laws by agricultural, mining or industrial concerns;

(d) private schools or foundations.

Article 27: Private schools may be set up by anyone subject to conditions which include the following:

1) The teachers must be of irreproachable religious and moral conduct.

2) They must have favourable politico-social antecedents.

3) The school must be subject to the educative principles outlined in Section 1 of this Law.

4) The school must be subject to official inspection in accordance with what is laid down in this Law.

Article 28: "Foreign schools established in Spain exclusively for foreign children will be authorized on the basis of the most rigorous reciprocity in the country to which they belong.

The establishments devoted in Spain for educational reasons to elementary education in foreign languages, at which Spanish children attend, will be submitted to the general provisions for private schools. Religious formation, formation of the national spirit and the teaching of the Spanish tongue and the geography and history of Spain will conform, in so far as the curriculum and hours of those schools are concerned, to the general provisions of State schools. The personnel in charge of these classes must be Spanish."

Article 29: "The Spanish State in those countries where there are colonies of Spaniards will create schools to conserve the national spirit of its children on a basis of reciprocity. It will also create in the same conditions and for educational reasons schools for the Spanish language for foreign pupils."

Chapter III /

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Chapter III.

Articles 30 to 36: Special arrangements for boarding schools in the case of scattered populations, adult education for backward persons not holding elementary school certificates, circulating libraries, exhibitions, etc., deaf, dumb and blind schools, open-air schools for tubercular patients and Borstals.

Chapter IV.

Article 37: Syllabus. The following branches of knowledge will be studied:

"(a) Instrumental, i.e. those notions and customs indispensable for the study of the various subjects of teaching and in order to carry out educative exercises. Included in this category is interpretative reading, graphic expression (writing, orthography, essay writing and drawing) and arithmetic.

(b) Formative, referring to the branches of knowledge which constitute the basis of moral and intellectual education. Four classes of knowledge are included in this section:

(1) That of religious formation.

(2) That of the formation of the national character, in which is also included geography and history, particularly of Spain.

(3) That of intellectual formation which includes the national language and mathematics.

(4) Physical education, including physical training, sports and supervised games.

The teaching referred to under numbers (2) and (4) will be given in accordance with the existing arrangements.

(c) Complementary, that is to say, knowledge which completes minimum elementary education, by initiation into the natural sciences or those of an artistic character (music, singing and drawing) or those which are useful (handiwork, the workshop and feminine tasks)...."

Article 38: Periodical questionnaires will be issued by the Ministry of Education. Questionnaires relating to "the formation of the national spirit, physical education and preparation for the home, singing and music, will be drawn up by the competent department....."

Article 41: The length of the school year is 240 days and the school day 5 hours, disposed through the year and the day as may be most convenient in view of local conditions.

Article 42 /

Article 42: "Every pupil of a public or private school will be in possession of the education card on which will be marked down the details of his person and the results of his education..... The certificate of general studies will be required for the exercise of public rights and for admission into work-shops and enterprises, and that of special studies for entry into official establishments in which no higher diploma is required....."

Article 43: "The mission of the school in the formation of the cultural background of the locality will be completed by the employment of practices which will make of the teacher the moving spirit among the local population in so far as concerns culture in all aspects of life. To this end he will organise lectures and readings on historical and social subjects and those relating to folklore and especially on subjects designated by the Inspector."

Chapter V.

Article 45: Authorised school libraries and other recreational facilities. These will include recitals, concerts, camps, excursions etc. to be organised under the control of the Youth Front and the Feminine Section (i.e. of the Falange). Pupils will themselves take part in organising these activities.

Article 46: Covers arrangements for encouraging cleanliness and co-operative habits, etc., through e.g. school baths and savings groups, and for professional training camps or work-shops for technical schools established in accordance with Article 23.

Chapter VI.

Article 48: School books used must be approved by the Ministry of Education. "In so far as religious doctrine is concerned they must have been previously approved by the Church to which, moreover, belongs the right of approving the school books used in its own churches. Those tending to the formation of the national spirit must be approved by the competent departments."

Article 51: "All school buildings must be situated so far as possible in the geographical centre of the area having the greatest density of pupils, in a healthy place without danger from accidents and in a healthy and decent neighbourhood." The teacher is provided with lodgings or a lodging allowance, as he may wish. The building of new schools is essentially a function of the municipality. Municipalities of less than 1,000 inhabitants need not contribute to the cost. The municipality must provide playing grounds.

Section 3. The Child and the Family.

Chapter I.

Article 53: "The child, as a perfectible human being

with /

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with definite aims to achieve, is the principal object of education and enjoys full rights to instruction and assistance, protected until the normal development of his physical, intellectual and moral qualities by the duties of the Family, the Church and the State."

Article 54: "The Spanish child has under the educative and Christian régime the following rights:

1) To spiritual, moral, social and physical education.

2) To a parental home where he will be affectionately protected in all aspects of human life, and in its absence, because it is lacking or because of negligence, incapacity, abandonment or lack of means on the part of the parents, to public or private care of the kind most similar to a Christian home.

3) To hygienic and sanitary protection for the full and vigorous development of his physique.

4) To a local community which recognises his needs, protects him against physical and moral dangers, provides him with healthy and safe places for his games and recreations and protects the social and educational institutions where he is educated.

5) To a healthy, happy children's educational institution where from the tenderest age, where necessary, the care of the home will be supplemented and general attention given to his education under the guidance and protection of the teacher.

6) To the provision during school life, should he lack sufficient financial means, of food and clothing.

7) To intelligent and reformative treatment if he should do wrong.

8) To a minimum culture covering the instrumental, formative and complementary branches of knowledge and in the event of intellectual capacity, to effective assistance for higher studies.

9) To a general education which prepares him for human life, initiating him into the tasks useful for the practice of his social vocation.

10) /

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10) To exemption during school years from all work which might prevent his normal physical or mental growth, keep him from due attendance at school as prescribed and deprive him of his right to companionship, play and healthy happiness."

Chapter II.

Article 55: Describes in detail 10 complementary duties of the Family.

Section 4. The Teacher.

Chapter I.

Article 57: The duties of the teacher among others are "to co-operate with the Family, the Church, the institutions of the State and the Movement in elementary education..... With the Church by means of filial respect towards it, by taking the children to the parish Mass on the prescribed days and by a complete understanding with the priest, permitting of effective apostolic activity on his part among the religiously-minded pupils, and, among other means, by allowing him to visit the schools, both public and private, and to explain there some point of Christian doctrine... With the Youth Front and Feminine Section, collaborating effectively in the task carried out by those institutions."

The rest of the Article deals with the rights enjoyed by the teacher to promotion by examination, leave periods, pension, pay (not specified) exemptions from certain local taxes, sickness insurance, etc.

Article 58: The minimum qualifications for a teacher are the certificate obtained in the first courses of secondary education.

Chapter II.

Articles 59 to 66: Detailed provision for training colleges for teachers, of which there are to be at least one per province.

Article 62: Provides for separate training colleges for men and women and allows of three categories, State, Church and private colleges. Separate legislation will cover the organisation of Church and private colleges. "Church training colleges will have the faculty of granting professional diplomas for the practice of teaching in the Church elementary schools and in those of a religious character under Patronage."

Article 63: Would-be teachers can be accepted in training colleges at the age of 14. Among the subjects of study are included as Nos. 2 and 3 respectively, "Intensified study of the doctrine, the religious practices and the methods to be used theoretically and

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in practice in the teaching of religion", and "Authentic education in the principles underlying the history of the nation, such as to instil into the future teacher the clear concept of the unity of destiny of Spain and the knowledge of how to act in the service of those ideals."

Article 64: Pupils will be boarded in colleges where possible.

Article 65: Rights and duties of and qualifications required by teachers in the training colleges. Among the core of teachers will be included "those of religion and those of subjects relating to the formation of the national spirit...."

Article 68: Provision of special courses for the advanced education of teachers.

Article 69: Provision of a special department for educational research.

Chapter III.

Article 72: Recognition as a qualified teacher is acquired by competitive examination. The examining tribunals consist of six members, one of whom is a priest chosen by the Church and two of whom are nominated by the "organs of the Movement."

Article 73: ..... "Boys' schools in places having less than 501 inhabitants can be run by local persons who have completed studies of a civil or ecclesiastical character....."

Chapter IV.

Articles 80 to 85: Arrangements for inspection of schools. Each school to be inspected at least once a year. Inspectors to produce annual reports. The inspectors will include among their number "persons appointed by the institutions of the Movement as regards the formation of the national spirit."

Article 85: "The Spanish Teachers' Department, which represents the primary teaching personnel within the National Movement, will co-operate in perfecting the work of the teachers in accordance with the principles of this Law and the regulations which may be passed in connection with it."

Section 5. Administrative, Economic, Disciplinary and Protective Régimes.

Chapters I and II.

Articles 86 to 99: Details of administration: promotion, arrangements for approval by examination as a qualified teacher, special leave arrangements in case of sickness,

appointment /

appointment of subordinate school staff, pensions, etc., etc. (No indication is given of the rates of pay which will be received by teachers.)

Chapter III.

Articles 100 to 102: Detailed provisions for punishment of offences on the part of the pupils and the teachers.

Chapter IV.

Articles 103 and 104: Benevolent and Mutual Aid Society for teachers. Special colleges for orphans of teachers.

Section 6. The Movement and Primary Education.

Chapter I.

Article 105: "A special decree will determine the relations of the separate Delegations and Departments of the Movement with primary education."

Section 7. Education Councils.

Chapter I.

Article 106: "The education councils and the municipal boards for primary education are the genuine representation of the collaboration of society in the encouragement and development of local and provincial teaching...."

Chapter II.

Article 108: The municipal educational board dealing with primary education is composed of the local authorities, the genuine representatives of the educational institutions and "those persons who for their position and social influence can collaborate in the development and functioning of school life", in accordance with the Law of April 10th, 1942.

Article 109: The functions of the municipal boards are to supervise the implementation of the Education Law in a number of specified aspects, e.g. protection of children's rights, pushing forward the building of new schools, fixing of special holidays, etc.

Article 110: Provides for a permanent committee for primary education to supervise the appointment and retirement of teachers, collect and refer to

higher /

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higher authorities any statistics required, etc., etc.

Chapter III.

Articles 111 and 112: Provide for provincial primary education councils comprising representatives of the provincial, civil, Church and academic authorities, educational representatives and persons of outstanding social and professional influence. Among the councils' functions are included the appointment of members of the municipal boards, supervision of the application of the Elementary Education Law generally throughout the province, co-operation with the municipal boards in the establishment within the province of farms, work-shops and handicrafts embracing and developing the traditions typical of the district, encouragement of educational building, encouragement of study and investigation of the historical, geographical and folk-lore characteristic of the province, etc., etc.

Article 113: Provides for a permanent provincial educational committee, of which the functions are analegous on a provincial scale to those of the municipal committee referred to in Article 110.

Among a number of final and transitory regulations are included, as number:-

(4) "The established régime of elementary education will be maintained in force in the province of Navarre."

(13) Existing public municipal or provincial centres will be converted into national schools under municipal or provincial Patronage as laid down in this Law, and Patronage will for the time being be exercised by the municipal education boards, or where appropriate the provincial councils.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Registry No.

Z 10750/233/41

R.K.W.S.

Dept.

Madrid.

123.

OUT FILE 3rd Oct.

Dear Chancery,

Your despatch No. 22 of 8th September from San Sebastian, about the new law for ~~the~~ re-organisation of primary education in Spain, refers, in the second paragraph, to a Memorandum compiled by Mr. Malley, and ~~adopted~~ styled as Annex II. We do not seem to have received this Memorandum, and would welcome copies as soon as possible.

Yours ever,

Western Dept.

R.K.W.S.

22/9.

OUT FILE 124

(Z 10[redacted]/233/41)

Foreign Office,
S.W.1.
3rd October 1945

Dear Chancery,

Your despatch No. 22 of the 8th September from San Sebastian, about the new law for re-organisation of primary education in Spain, refers in the second paragraph to a Memorandum compiled by Mr. Malley, and styled as Annex II. We do not seem to have received this Memorandum, and would welcome copies as soon as possible.

Yours ever,

WESTERN DEPARTMENT.

The Chancery,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

121

Z

1945

SPAIN

125

Z 10867

21 SEP 1945

Registry Number Z 10867/233/41.

TELEGRAM FROM
Sir. V. Mallet.
San Sebastian.
No. , 10 Saving.

Dated 17th September, 1945.
Received in Registry 21st September 1945.

Z: Spain½

Suppression of Falangist Salute publication of announcement in official State Bulletin.

Refers to San Sebastian telegram 89 (Z 10684/233/41). Press of September 16th publishes extract from official State Bulletin giving reasons for suppression of Falangist Salute (Decree 265 of April 24th 1937).

Last Paper.

210756

References.

ZPP

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Mr Ellis Rees Tay
Miss Harris Mof 9.
Sept. 22

(Minutes.)

Copies Mr. Ellis Rees (Tay.)
Miss Harris (M. of I.)

Exceptionally forthright for a Spanish decree.

R.H.H. Sloan
21/9.

P.G. Jarman
21/9

M.
21.9.

(Action completed.)

Echo Chart 22/9

(Index.)

Next Paper.

210932.

22175 2 41 F.O.P.

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Z 10867

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[EN CLAIR]

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet.
No.10. SAVING.

17th September 1945. R. 1.40 p.m. 20th September 1945.

2 2 2 Z 10684.

My telegram No.89, paragraph 2 D. [Decisions of Council of Ministers: suppression of Falangist Salute].

Press of the 16th September published the following extract from the official State Bulletin:-

"Decree of the 11th September 1945, annulling Decree No.263 of the 24th April, 1937, complementary dispositions and various articles of the text amended by the decree of the 17th July 1942.

On the 18th July 1936 when the National Movement began, as the spiritual uprising of our country against the communist materialism which threatened to destroy it, amongst the ways of showing fervent enthusiasm there came (to oppose that communistic symbol of hate and violence, the clenched fist) the salute of the upraised arm and open palm, sprung from Iberian roots and spontaneously adopted by other peoples and places, the salute which in the beginnings of the history of our native land was a symbol of peace and friendship amongst men.

But circumstances derived from the great conflict have resulted in giving a false interpretation to what was a sign of friendship and cordiality; imputing to it a character and a value quite different from what it actually represents. This fact makes it advisable as a patriotic duty to abandon those forms of salute which through being misinterpreted have often resulted in depriving themselves of their own authentic expression of amiability and courtesy.

As a consequence, and after deliberation by the Council of Ministers, I decree

The Decree No.263 of the 24th April, 1937 regulating the national salute is annulled as well as the complementary orders issued for its application and articles 3, 4, 6, 8, 9 and 10 of the text amended by Decree on the 17th July 1942".

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Z

Z 10932

24 SEP 1945

137

1945

SPAIN

27

Registry Number: Z 10932/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM
Sir V. Mallet,
San Sebastian.
105

Dated 22nd Sept, 1945.

Received in Registry 24th Sept, 1945.

Z: Spain

Political situation in Spain: conversation between Sir V. Mallet and Senor Artajo.

Refers to Foreign Office telegram 27 (Z 9886/233/41). Ministry of Foreign Affairs was well satisfied with development of political situation and next few months will see municipal elections and putting into force of Bill of Rights. He was convinced France would restore monarchy soon, that is, within next two years. Sir V. Mallet REACTED strongly ~~to~~ and left Minister a little shaken!

Last Paper.

21086

References.

Z 10886/53/41
Sept
Spain Attached

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Sir Ellis Rees.
Thy
Sept 24

Tel) Madrid 163 Saw. Sept 24.
Repeated Lisbon 13 Saw.
" Washington 1004.
" Moscow. 299.
" Paris. 2313.
San Sebastian 105
Repeated Paris 2266 ~~Sept 24~~ Sept 22

(Action completed.)
Sdelwtr
1/10.

(Index.)

Next Paper.

211072/6

(Minutes.)

Repeated Paris. (Saving)

Sr. Artajo's two year programme lends further support to the conclusion that any recent exchanges between Gen. Franco and Don Juan have proved abortive.

There is, of course, one danger in precipitating a change in Spain especially if the change is to mass a Monarchist régime which will be difficult enough to consolidate in the early stages. But a two year programme suggests that Franco is either - with Spanish obstinacy - determined to display his independence of foreign influence

29082 F.O.P.

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influence or simply remains resolved to
resist pressure.

Sir V. Mallet took the right line-
but will, I think, have to pursue
it this and again before the
requirements are met.

P.L.G. Sloan
24/9.

General Franco is playing for time,
giving way only so far as he feels he must,
in the hope (the confident hope, for he is
very complacent and self satisfied) that
he will be able to hold on to power.

Sir V. Mallet spoke well, but as M-
Sloan says, the peace lesson will have to be
repeated many times before we see the full
results of what the B.B.C. has called our
"Walls of Jericho policy."

Copy Mr Ellis Rees (Tsg) R. Garran
24/9

Two years is much too
long. We shall have to keep
the pressure up.

H Hoyer Miller
26.9.

Mr Garran
Compare.

1) D.O. 116 Low. Sept 25th
27/9

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129

Registry No. Z 10932/233/41

OUT FILE

Despatched 4-45 M. 29/9

Draft.

~~Code.~~
Telegram.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Madrid
No. 163 Saving
Sept. 28.

Repeat to
Lisbon
No. 131 Saving

Washington
No 1004. Saving

Moscow 1299 Saving
Paris 2313 Saving

Cabinet Distribution

Your tel. from San Sebastian
No. 105 [Conversation with M.F.A.]

I approve your language.

Z 10932
24 SEP 1945

130

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[CYPHER] CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet
No. 105
22nd September, 1945

D. 4.30 p.m. 22nd September, 1945
R. 2.00 a.m. 23rd September, 1945

Repeated to Lisbon Saving
Washington Saving
Moscow Saving

ddddddd

Z9886/233/41 - in dept but copy available

Your telegram No. 27 and paragraph 1 of my telegram No. 8 Saving. Z10866/537/41

I asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday how the political situation here was developing. He replied he was well satisfied after his recent conversations with Franco. There had already been immense progress in the last two months and the next few months would see the putting into force of the Bill of Rights and municipal elections. The Falange would soon have faded out of the picture except possibly for the activities of charitable organisations (Auxilio Social) which it sponsors. Already its outward trappings had disappeared (the Minister did not mention the rumours which are now current that three remaining Falange Ministers are likely to disappear from the Government very shortly).

2. The Minister for Foreign Affairs then drew his chair close [?grp. omtd.] speaking most earnestly assured me that he was now absolutely convinced of Franco's intention to arrange at the proper time for the restoration of the monarchy under Don Juan. None of the other pretenders could be envisaged. When I asked him how soon this change was coming His Excellency replied "within the next two years". I reacted strongly against this long delay and he then modified his statement to the extent of saying that the time might well be shorter (earlier in the day he had told my United States colleague a year and a half to a year). I then said that I could scarcely conceive what a state our relations with Spain would be in if nothing happened for the next two years. He answered that things were happening all the time and that long before the final transfer of authority the whole Spanish State would have been transformed. On the other hand it was foolish to attempt to move too fast in such a delicate matter. There could be no greater disaster than to bring back the monarchy before everything was ready and thus risk its failure. His Excellency added that he relied upon your statement in

Parliament/

24 SEP 1945
F.O. REGISTRY

Z 10932

131

Parliament on 20th August deprecating foreign intervention in Spain's internal affairs. He applauded its wisdom and he said that any appearance of an attempt by foreign countries to dictate to Spain on this subject of her future régime could only have the effect of retarding rather than accelerating the change over. Already this effect had been apparent in the attitude of some of the generals. I answered that public opinion in Great Britain regarded Franco with such detestation that I dreaded the prospect of another two years of his régime. From Spain's point of view it seemed most short-sighted because during the next two years international questions of vital importance to the world would be decided and Spain would be entirely excluded from any part in them. United Nations World Organisation would shortly be set up and, desirable though it was that Spain should play her part, there could be no question of her insertion in any international conference as long as Franco remained. On a lower scale this also applied to the future Tangier Conference.

3. Minister for Foreign Affairs whose attitude was that of a family doctor attempting to soothe a nervous patient kept on repeating that all would be well but I think he was a little shaken.

4. Earlier in the day my United States colleague had an interview with him and the conversation followed very similar lines. My United States colleague tells me that he spoke with the same sense of urgency as I did.

O.T.P.

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OUT FILE

132

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Z.10932/233/41.

[En clair] CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO MADRID

No. 165 SAVING. 28th September, 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon No. 151.
Washington No. 1004.
Moscow No. 299.
Paris No. 2313.
} SAVING.

" " " " " "

Your telegram from San Sebastian No. 105 [Conversation with Minister for Foreign Affairs].

I approve your language.

With the Compliments of the
Under Secretary of State for Dominion
Affairs.

133
Put with

25 SEP 1945

OUTWARD TELEGRAM

2

INDEXED

O.D.

EN CLAIR

FROM: D.O.

TO: CANADA (GOVT.)
AUSTRALIA "
NEW ZEALAND "
SOUTH AFRICA "

Sent 25th Sept., 1945.

26 SEP 1945
Z 10952/23/41

D No. 116 SAVING SECRET

My telegram 21st September D No. 1772. Spain.

His Majesty's Ambassador Madrid has seen Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs who was well satisfied after his recent conversations with General Franco. Minister for Foreign Affairs said that there had been immense progress in last two months and next few months would see putting into force of Bill of Rights and municipal elections. Falange would soon have faded out of picture, and already its outward trappings had disappeared.

2. Minister for Foreign Affairs assured Ambassador that he was now absolutely convinced of General Franco's intention to arrange at proper time for restoration of monarchy under Don Juan. Minister for Foreign Affairs said that this change was coming "within next two years" and Ambassador replied that he could scarcely conceive what state our relations with Spain would be in if nothing happened before two years. Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that things were happening all the time but that it would be foolish to move too fast in such delicate matter and risk its failure. Minister for Foreign Affairs applauded wisdom of Foreign Secretary's statement in Parliament deprecating foreign intervention in Spain's internal affairs. Ambassador replied that he dreaded the prospect of another two years of Franco's régime, which from Spain's point of view would seem to be short-sighted since she would be excluded from playing her part in settling important international questions which would be decided during the next two years.

3. Minister for Foreign Affairs also saw United States Ambassador and conversation followed very similar lines.

Copy to:-

Foreign Office — Sir B. Newton
" " — Mr. C.B.B. Heathcote-Smith
" " — Mr. I.P. Garran

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1945

14

WESTERN

Z11072 /G

26 SEP 1945

153

Z11072/233/9.41

Sir V. Wellesley
Madrid
to Mr Harvey
Dated 27 Aug
Received 26 Sept.

Situation in Spain

134

Refers to F.O. letter (Z9612/9)
States that it looks as though Franco himself has been pushed into ~~believing~~ accepting inevitability of a Monarchy.

Last Paper.

Z9612

References.

(Minutes.)

R.L.B.?
1/10.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

D.F. 2/10

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z

Sir A. Cadogan Aug. 31/45. 135

Z 11072

BRITISH EMBASSY,
SAN SEBASTIAN.

26 SEP 1945

PERSONAL 27th August, 1945.

Hahn 31.8

Z 9612/233/72

My dear Oliver,

Many thanks for your letter of August 15th. Since then, the Debates in Parliament have made the position quite clear.

From all that I hear it really looks as if even Franco himself has now been pushed into accepting the inevitability of a Monarchy but the question of timing is admittedly a delicate one and I would not like to prophesy how soon the change-over is likely to occur. A good deal depends on whether Don Juan can find a formula which would enable him to return without appearing to do so at Franco's bidding. I suppose some sort of transitional Régime managed by the Generals will have to provide the stepping stone. Nothing less than a revolutionary outbreak would put the Republicans into power and nobody in their senses wants to see a fresh Civil War. It looks therefore as though some form of Monarchy were inevitable and the more sensible Spaniards hope to rally round it many of the Left Wing intellectuals who were former Republicans but who, like Madariaga, were disgusted at the events of 1934.

How tiresome the Russians are being at Tangier and how unhelpful the Americans! Fortunately here Norman Armour and I see eye to eye on

Oliver Harvey, Esq., C.B., C.M.G.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

Tangier /

Tangier and indeed all other matters of importance and it is a great comfort to have such a sensible American to work with.

Yours ever
Victor Mallet

123 | 68T 122A

Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 11093

28 SEP 1945

Registry Number Z 11093/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM

Sir V. Mallet,
(San Sebastian).
11 Saving

Dated

Received in Registry 20th Sept., 1945.
28th Sept., 1945.

Z: Spain.

Unveiling of memorial to Francisco Vitoria: Franco's speech.

Franco defended Nationalist Movement and stated Spain stood for "A just and brotherly peace." Ceremony included dissertation on work of Vitoria.

United States Ambassador refused invitation. There was a military parade in the Generalissimo's honour.

Last Paper.

211072

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8.) Miss Harris Ltr 19.
to Ellis Rees Treasy.
Sept 29

(Minutes.)

Copies Miss Harris (Mr. L.
Mr. Ellis Rees (Treasury).

L.1.65
28/9.

(Action completed.)

Letter 13/10

(Index.)

Next Paper.

211207

29082 F.O.P.

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Z 11093
27 SEP 1945

[En clair] DEPARTMENTAL NO.2.

FROM SAN SEBASTIAN TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Sir V. Mallet.
No.11, Saving. R. 4.45 p.m. 27th September, 1945.

20th September, 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon No.9.

- - - - -

The unveiling of a memorial at Vitoria to the Spanish theologian and writer on International Law, Francisco Vitoria, on his fourth centenary, gave General Franco the opportunity of a speech. With a passing reference to the main object of the ceremony he plunged into a defence of the Nationalist Movement which he said people abroad "could not or would not understand".

2. In his familiar rhetorical manner he insisted that it had resulted in the victory not of a person nor of a party but of ordinary people in town and country factory and workshop, poor and rich: "the triumph of all and the defeat only of anti-Spain". Thanks to the victory, he said, Spain had been saved from the material ruin and still greater moral ruin of other countries.

3. As he was speaking in a Basque province which has always been jealous of its own rights and privileges, he presently went on to say that the government had not come to substitute Republican disorder by arbitrary domination, but to restore order, rights, privileges and liberties as these were understood in each province. The personality and peculiarities of each served the harmony and indestructable unity of the whole country.

4. The ceremony included a dissertation on the work of Vitoria by the Minister for Foreign Affairs which was read in his absence owing to illness. It was largely an academic treatise recalling the views of the 16th century thinker on international solidarity. Spain to-day, he concluded, associated herself with Vitoria's principles: (1) That the community of Nations was not an artificial creation but a real fact, based on the Natural Law and as such to be accepted and recognised by all countries; (2) This community had as a consequence the power to make general dispositions and apply them in concrete form to all; (3) It should include all peaceful and peace-loving states: (4) It should be based on respect for the personality, integrity, independence and sovereignty of all nations - which were values which no one had authority to take away; (5) It should have as its end and object a lasting peace, creating spiritual and material conditions for friendship between peoples and the moral and economic betterment of the world. The Minister ended by saying that any state forgetful of these principles was faced with the dilemma of absolutism or demagogy and that any attempt at world organisation without a christian spirit would be in vain.

/Spain

F.O. REGISTRY

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Spain, he said, stood for "A just and brotherly peace".

5. The Nuncio, the Portuguese, United States and Brazilian Ambassadors and the Venezuelan Minister were invited to attend the Ceremony - as representatives presumably of Europe and North and South America. My American colleague, however, refused the invitation with a somewhat flimsy excuse, in spite of the bait held out to him of the unveiling of a plaque to Professor James Scott Brown, an admirer it appears of Vitoria. Mr. Armour told me that this had been arranged months before and the Spanish Government might well have given him more than 2 days' notice. The Portuguese Ambassador tells me that he reluctantly attended the luncheon and subsequent ceremony but then managed to escape with his Brazilian colleague before the military parade in the Generalissimo's honour. He did not think the crowds at Vitoria showed any great enthusiasm but many individuals gave the Falangigist salute in spite of its abolition having been just proclaimed in the press.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 11247

2 OCT. 1945

z Registry Number Z 11247/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM Sir V. Mallet, Madrid.

No. 663.

Dated 1st Oct.,

Received in Registry 2nd Oct., 1945.

Z: Spain.

Celebrations on occasion of General Franco's assumption of leadership

On 9th anniversary as above, a Te Deum followed by a levée at the palace was held for all heads of official bodies. All Heads of Missions were invited. Mr. Armour and Sir Victor Mallet did not attend. Mr. Hankey reported Protocol Department were dismayed that only Peruvian and Argentinian Ambassadors were present. Levée took form of procession lasting 1¼ hours nobody gave Falange salute.

Last Paper.

(Minutes.)

Govn Cabinet Distribution

1944 References.
Z 14373/26/41

Research Dept.

W.H.C. 8/10/45

F.O.P.

3/10.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed)
Sdeclwtt 9/6

(Index.)

Next Paper.

21 330

29082 F.O.P.

141

[CYPHER]

Z 11247
DEPARTMENTAL NO.2.
2 OCT 1945

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet
No. 663
1st October, 1945.

D. 8.45 p.m. GMT 1st October, 1945.
R. 11.05 p.m. BST 1st October, 1945.

[ ][ ][ ]

On occasion of 9th anniversary of General Franco assuming leadership of Spanish State a Te Deum followed by a levée at the palace for all heads of official bodies in Spain was held to-day. All heads of Missions were invited but in accordance with precedent established last year my United States colleague and I decided to make flimsy excuses for not attending and Italian Ambassador, French and Belgian Chargé d'Affaires followed our lead. While I was quite prepared that Embassy should not be represented at all my United States colleague felt it desirable to follow last year's precedent and send a secretary to represent him so I eventually sent my second secretary, Mr. Hankey, making excuse of being myself slightly indisposed.

2. Mr. Hankey reports Protocol Department were obviously dismayed that apart from the former only two Ambassadors (Peru and Argentina) were present. It so happens that Portuguese and Brazilian Ambassadors were both out of the country.

3. Mr. Hankey reports that levée took the form of a procession lasting 1¼ hours and that although several Falangist uniforms were in evidence nobody gave Falange salute.

Repeated to Lisbon, Washington Saving.

O.T.P.

OCT 1945
F.O. REGISTRY

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 11309 142

1 OCT 1945

Registry Number Z 11309/233/41

FROM Sir V.Mallet
San Sebastian.

No. 33

Dated 19th September, 1945.

Received in Registry 4th October 1945.

Z : Spain.

Comments on decrees passed by Council of Ministers.

Refers to San Sebastian telegram 89 (Z 10684/233/41). Curious wording of decree suppressing Falange salute has caused amusement and uncertainty among populous. Decree which provides for formation of ministerial committee to consider application of Bill of Rights does not encourage expectation of early results. Delay which will accompany these decrees will render some entirely sterile.

Last Paper.

Z11330.

(Minutes.)

"Evolution" in bottom gear, if it is in gear at all.

Research Dept:
WHC 12/10/45

Lt.C. Sloan
7/10.

R.G.
8/x

Holm
W.W

References.

at - Dept - Spoken attached

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)
Locket 27/10

(Index.)
11/7.

Next Paper.

Z11432

29082 F.O.P.

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L43

BRITISH EMBASSY
SAN SEBASTIAN.

Z 11309
4 OCT 1945

No. 33

19th September, 1945.

Z 10684

Sir,

In my telegram No. 89 of the 15th September I reported that the Council of Ministers had passed a number of decrees of varying importance and my Saving telegram No. 10 of the 17th September contained a translation of the decree suppressing the Falange salute.

2. The curious wording of this decree has caused some amusement and uncertainty among the populace, and it was noticeable that at the celebrations which the Generalisimo has attended since his arrival in San Sebastian the crowds seemed uncertain what form of salute to adopt, and that either from ignorance or defiance the majority continued to raise their arms in the accustomed Falange salute.

3. Examination of the text of the decree which provides for the formation of a ministerial committee to consider the application of the Bill of Rights does not encourage me to think that any early or concrete results may be expected from it. Nothing is yet known about this committee of ministers, although it is expected that the Ministers of Justice and of the Interior will be the chief artificers. What is certain, however, is that after several months' delay since the Bill of Rights was approved by the Spanish Government, the latter are now only beginning to consider the general lines of the decrees which will be needed before it can be put into force. Many more months may, therefore, elapse before any of the proposed decrees are passed or put into effect.

4. It is always difficult to assess the importance of Spanish decrees of this sort which may mean so much or so little and are entirely dependent on the way in which they are put into effect. At first sight these latest measures would appear to constitute a considerable step in the evolutionary development of which we hear so much. But the usual Spanish delay, accompanied, maybe, by a certain amount of purposeful obstruction, may render some of them entirely sterile.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.,

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1945

Z

SPAIN

144

Z 11330

1 OCT 1945

Registry Number: Z 11330/233/41

FROM Sir V. Mallet (Madrid) to Mr. Harvey.

No:

Dated 17th Sept, 1945.

Received in Registry 1st Oct. 1945.

Z: Spain.

Political background in Spain.

Gives impressions of political background in Spain at the moment. ~~this~~ discusses Tangier and the Spanish reply, the results of the Cabinet Meeting, whcih decision, if put into practice will be a step in the evolutionary direction about which Artajo is always talking. The Mexico Shadow Government has strengthened Franco's position, who at this time has been making series of ridiculous speeches. Reports rumours about new appointments in Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Refers to problem of removal of German agents.

Last Paper.

Z 11242.

References.

Also refer to:
Z 10654/233/41
Z 10932/233/41
Z 11093/233/41
Z 10572/234/41 inaction

(Print.) Spare attached

(How disposed of.)

Sir V. Mallet informed Harvey

(Minutes.)

cc written

RG 12/X

(Action completed.)

Foreign Office

(Index.)

11/7

Next Paper.

Z 11309

37437 F.O.P.

A good letter -
Mr. Norman Hillary & Sec
Mr. Lascelles

Enter 45
Z 11330
1 OCT 1945

BRITISH EMBASSY,
SAN SEBASTIAN.
17th September, 1945.

My dear Oliver,

I have really nothing quite concrete enough to put in a form of an official despatch by this bag but I think it may be useful for you to have this letter giving my impressions of the political background in Spain at the moment.

2. There has been a good deal of coming and going of Ministers, Generals and public men between Corunna where Franco has been and the other parts of Spain where these people have been combining holiday-making with political gossip and intrigue. Artajo himself had to spend a long weekend with Franco and he was here only for one day before dashing off to Madrid last week for a Cabinet Meeting which took four days. The Tangier question was of course one of the most important which had to be settled at that meeting and on the whole I think that the answer we got, though very long-winded, is in its essence quite satisfactory. The Spanish Government obviously do not wish to allow any points to go by default because not having been present at Paris (a matter regarding which they feel extremely sore) they do not wish to commit themselves for the future. Moreover, they will no doubt wish to publish their note if and when we publish ours and the Spanish Note of course contains a lot of window dressing for internal consumption. Artajo himself was not at all in an argumentative mood when he handed us the reply but on the contrary evidently wished to be most conciliatory. He made not the slightest difficulty about continuing to provision the Zone and even swallowed the pill of having a Russian on the Control Commission with a certain dry humour. Castillo, whom I have never met as he has been on leave ever since I got to Spain, saw Armour in Madrid two days ago and indicated that in his opinion the possibility of his making contact with a Russian official at Tangier might be a useful first stage towards the eventual re-establishment of relations between Spain and the Soviet Union. It is strange how the Spaniards refuse to face the fact that as long as Franco remains in power Spain must remain isolated!

3. The other results of the Cabinet Meeting have been the publication of a long series of decisions, the more important of which I have telegraphed to you. They may amount to a good deal if they are put into practice. They certainly are a step in the evolutionary direction about which Artajo is always talking. The abolition of the Falange salute and the disappearance of Falange flags from the streets is certainly a step towards the dissolution of Falange which many people confidently anticipate for this Autumn. The amnesty will probably not bring in many deserters but in theory it is a proper move. The laws to implement the Bill of Rights may be of some importance; and the municipal elections, which now seem likely not to take place before the New Year, seem to be designed to test

Oliver Harvey, Esq., C.B., C.M.G.,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

public /

public opinion in the least risky way.

4. Oriol is back from Lausanne but we have not yet any news of his mission and I have the impression that there is still a very wide gap between Don Juan's and Franco's points of view. The Nuncio, whom I saw yesterday, was quite interesting on the subject. He said that the dominating motive everywhere at present was fear lest a new civil war might break out. He confirmed the view which I had already formed that the formation of the Mexico Shadow Government and the inordinate amount of publicity given to it in the British and American press and radio has done more than anything else to strengthen Franco's position in Spain. At the same time the Nuncio remarked very shrewdly that there was no real danger of civil war because nobody had any real arms except the army and as long as the army remained loyal no revolutionary outbreak would stand a dog's chance. The army is therefore in a position to kick out Franco and instal any new régime it likes. The army leaders are however evidently in two minds. General Kindelán was reported by the Nuncio to have written a very strong letter to Franco but the only result has been his dismissal from the military school he commanded. Franco seems more convinced than ever that he is sent by God to save Spain and has been making a series of ridiculous speeches in high falutin' language including one in which he violently attacked the freemasons in a style somewhat reminiscent of Hitler. I was glad to find that the Nuncio professed to be as shocked as I was by this outburst. There has been much speculation about new appointments in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and no Under-Secretary has yet been appointed to succeed Castillo who goes back to Tangier. Pan de Soriluce was due to return to his old post, but his wife tells me that although Artajo wanted him Franco has vetoed the appointment. There is talk of Cárdenas returning from Washington to be Under-Secretary, but Armour thinks that Cárdenas would not accept as long as Franco is here. There is also some talk of Pepe Mamblas going to the Ministry as Political Director in place of the shifty and ambitious Doussinague but I fear this is too good to be true.

As we always said.

5. It may be that in the next few days I shall pick up a little more definite news, as Franco arrived in San Sebastian yesterday for a long weekend and the place is sure to be humming with gossip. I think I have headed him off any idea of attempting to entertain me. There is to be a ridiculous ceremony of some sort at Vitoria today in connection with one of the founders of international law 300 years ago and Artajo made an attempt to get certain of the diplomats (but luckily not me) to go to it. The Nuncio and I think a few others will go, but Armour has refused upon a flimsy excuse.

6. To sum up, I am afraid that Franco has improved his position lately, thanks to events in Mexico, and that there is little prospect of a change within the next few months. When I write this I am of course merely stating the position as I see it at the moment. Many unforeseen developments could occur and the whole picture might completely change. There is going to be a very bad winter owing to the appalling drought which shows no sign of abating. The land round Madrid is parched to the colour of the lion's skin and there has not been a drop of rain for very many months. Any new régime coming in at such a moment would be faced with a very difficult task and might well get off to a bad start. In any case it would probably be most necessary for the United Nations, if they wished to assist in giving stability to such a new régime, to be ready to send × substantial quantities of wheat and possibly other supplies in case of famine. Meanwhile, I confess that I cannot see that Franco is much of a danger even to his own country at present and certainly not to the rest of the world. The Allied Victory has left us on the crest of the wave here and Axis intrigues now amount to nothing. In a way it is unfortunate for Spain that the Soviet Government should still have the excuse of complaining that Spain is still full of German agents because this is true; and simply for the reason that the Allies have never yet provided transport for the removal of one single German or Japanese from Spain! I have telegraphed constantly on the subject but no progress seems to be made.

× such as fertilizers.

Can we do anything about this?

Forgive such a long and rambling letter.

Yours ever
Victor Mallet

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Registry
No.

I.P.G.

Draft.

Sir V. Mallet,

Madrid.

(from Mr. Harvey)

3a.

5th October. ~~September~~, 1945. 178.

Thank you very much for your letter of the 17th September giving your impressions of the political background in Spain, which we found very interesting. As you ~~are already~~ know the situation in Spain is being watched with great interest here and we look forward to your further reports on the development of the situation. Count Albiz called at the Foreign Office on September 26th and confirmed that the realisation was growing in Spain that there must be a change soon. The difficulty was, however, that the ~~Army~~ Generals, the only people who could remove Franco, were far too interested, personally and financially, in his remaining in power to risk a change. Consequently the only possibility Albiz saw was the restoration of the monarchy brought about through Franco. This, of course, would not satisfy us, ~~especially~~ if Franco retains his position in the restored monarchy - even if the Falange is suppressed.

As.....

As to the question of the removal of the German agents, we are doing what we can to find transport for them, but the problem is a difficult one as all the available transport is at present required more urgently elsewhere.

I am writing to you separately about the B.B.C. and the Mexico Shadow Cabinet.

WSC

25/iv

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OUT FILE

150.

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

5th October, 1945.

(Z 11330/233/41)

My dear Victor.

Thank you very much for your letter of the 17th September, giving your impressions of the political background in Spain, which we found very interesting. As you know the situation in Spain is being watched with great interest here and we look forward to your further reports on the development of the situation. Count Albiz called at the Foreign Office on September 26th and confirmed that the realisation was growing in Spain that there must be a change soon. The difficulty was, however, that the Generals, the only people who could remove Franco, were far too interested, personally and financially, in his remaining in power to risk a change. Consequently the only possibility Albiz saw was the restoration of the monarchy brought about through Franco. This, of course, would not satisfy us, if it meant that Franco retained his position in a restored monarchy - even if the Fallange is suppressed.

As to the question of the removal of the German agents, we are doing what we can to find transport for them, but the problem is a difficult one as all the available transport is at present required more urgently elsewhere.

I am writing to you separately about the British Broadcasting Corporation and the Mexico Shadow Cabinet.

Yours ever,
Rpd. O'Brien Mayhew.

Sir Victor Mallet, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., Madrid.

128

1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 11432

7 OCT 1945

1510

Registry Number Z11432/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM

Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 674

Dated

Received in Registry 6th Oct.1945. 7th Oct.

Situation in Spain.

Gives detailed account of political situation in Spain, commenting on conditions there, the serious effect of the drought, and His Majesty's Government's policy of non-intervention.

Last Paper.

Z11309

References.

(Print.)

PRINTED Vol

(How disposed of.)

Mr Ellis Rees Thy
Mr Turner B/I Emp.
Mr Goodchild E.W.D.

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Amended Copy = Distributed
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Moscow 320 (Sav.)
Rome 434 (Sav.)
Mexico City 136 (Sav.)
Cdd 8

(Action completed.) Secret 20/12

(Index.) 6/11/7

Next Paper.

Z11500

(Minutes.)

Given General Distribution.

Repeated Paris
Washington
Moscow (Savoy.)
Rome
Mexico City

R.H.B. Sloan
8/10.

This is an exceedingly interesting telegram which gives a very clear picture of the political situation in Spain and of the difficulties of clearly understanding [illegible] without very accurate knowledge of local conditions and circumstances.

In paragraph 5 Sir Victor Mallet explains very clearly the crux of the whole problem, - the growing general realisation that Spain must remain internationally isolated until General Franco goes, but on the other hand the fear which holds in check the forces of change and so prolongs Franco's rule, - the fear of what may follow after Franco goes, fear of civil war and fear of Russian intrigue.

In paragraphs 7 and 8 Sir Victor Mallet deals with two courses which are urged as the means of getting rid of Franco, namely an economic [illegible] and a rupture of diplomatic relations, and expresses the opinion

(which)

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(which is in accordance with the views of this Department) that either of these courses would be likely to defeat their own ends.

I am sure the conclusions which Sir Victor Mallet reaches in paragraphs 9 and 10 are right, and in the light of these conclusions I think we should continue to pursue the policy which we have pursued to date, - no direct interference in Spanish internal affairs, but steady pressure on the Spanish Government and encouragement to the Spanish people to find their own solution to their own problem, - and above all, no action on our part which might provoke another civil war.

P. Garran

8th October, 1945.

Copy Mr Ellis Rees (FSU)
Mr Farmer (BDIC)
Mr Goodchild (EWD).

I think that we would certainly agree with everything in his excellent telegram — though I hope Sir V. Mallet does not really think that it may be "years" before Franco goes — see last para.

[illegible]
11-10

[illegible]
12/x

[illegible]
Oct 12

Z 11432/233/41 ARCHIVE

THIS DOCUMENT IS THE PROPERTY OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

SPAIN. October 6, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

STOCK COPY

Copy No. 118

Sir V. Mallet to Mr. Bevin.—(Received 6th October.)

(No. 674.)

(Telegraphic.) *Madrid, 6th October*, 1945.

EVEN the few weeks I have been in Spain have sufficed to destroy many preconceptions and convinced me that it is almost impossible for foreigners living outside Spain to form an unprejudiced view of the present situation. Spanish internal politics have become a battleground for ideologies to such an extent that both sides quite unscrupulously distort the truth in order to strengthen their arguments. I am still in the stage of trying to obtain a fair picture of the present situation.

2. There is no doubt that, materially, Spain is better off than neighbouring parts of France which I visited from San Sebastian. The people are better fed and clothed, although the cost of living is much too high. There is also no doubt that the Spanish Government has made, and is still making, great efforts to rebuild villages, bridges, and other public works ruined during the civil war. Great progress is being made in this direction but difficulties of foreign trade during recent years have naturally hampered the supply of certain necessary materials.

3. On the other hand, Spain has been afflicted for the last three years with the most severe drought in human memory and food shortage this winter is likely to be serious, especially as agriculture lacks the necessary fertilisers from abroad. Industry is likewise severely hampered by shortage of electric current, partly due to lack of water power and partly to the impossibility of importing new machinery.

4. It is most misleading to attempt to judge Spain by British or even European standards. This country was dominated for 800 years by the Moors and still has many characteristics approximating more nearly to the Middle East countries than Europe. This in itself renders it a sterile ground for the growth of healthy democratic institutions of an Anglo-Saxon type. All past experiments have ended in failure. One need only study Madariaga's *History of Spain* to be convinced that one reason for the failure of the last republic, in which he himself was a Minister, was because it abandoned democratic methods in 1934 when the principle of majority Government was flouted by Largo Caballero. One difficulty has always been that political parties cannot learn to act in combination and individual groups quarrel passionately amongst each other. The most recent example is the complete failure of Communists and Negrin's Left Socialists to agree with the other exiled politicians in Mexico. I sometimes wonder whether it is sufficiently realised abroad that we are still only six years from the end of a civil war so violent and horrible that the hatreds engendered by it are just as strong as those engendered between Britain and Germany during the recent major war. It is expecting too much to ask the Spaniards to forgive and forget so quickly. For this reason, the winning side, knowing the extent of the hatred still latent amongst many Republicans, and particularly Communists, are not prepared to take any risk which could produce a new flare-up of latent passions ending in bloodshed. It is primarily the fear of this which is making the evolution towards greater constitutional liberty so exasperatingly slow. Thus Communists and other Republicans are all too easily suspected of political agitation and imprisoned. It is also for this reason that free assembly, except for the dominant political party (Falange) is still not allowed and that press freedom is practically non-existent. The Spanish press is strictly controlled and slavishly follows the line laid down by the Government. *Arriba* echoes Falangist master's voice, just as *Pravda* is the voice of the Kremlin. Organised political parties except Falange are forbidden, though political meetings are held. There has, however, been some let-up as regards individual criticism. Whereas in 1939–42 anyone rash enough to air his views about the régime in a restaurant or bar would run the risk of immediate imprisonment; this is not now the case. Trades union do not exist as known in Great Britain. Workmen's syndicates were

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proclaimed by decree in 1937 to be State bodies and are, therefore, under the control of the Government. This, I believe, is also a close parallel with the system in force in U.S.S.R. I have tried to explain why it is useless to judge Spain by British standards. It must be remembered moreover that although present hindrances are admittedly much stricter than before the civil war, the freedoms in question have for the last twenty-five years suffered periodical suspension. This was a rare occurrence under the monarchy before 1917 when military juntas began to undermine civil authority. Under the republic, however, guarantees were in abeyance for longer periods. As regards freedom of speech, the difference between the monarchy and the republic on the one hand, and Franco régime on the other hand, is that under the former suspension of guarantee placed authority in the hands of the Ministry of the Interior, whereas under the latter it is in the hands of the army (*i.e.*, captains generally in their respective "regions"). Although political association is rigorously forbidden, there is to-day probably more latitude in regard to associations of religious or recreational character than four years ago.

5. Sufficient influential Spaniards are now fully convinced that Spain must remain internationally isolated until General Franco goes, but even they hesitate to accelerate his departure as long as criticism from abroad is mainly directed from quarters outspokenly favouring the so-called exiled "Government" in Mexico. Much as the Spaniards dislike any type of foreign interference in their affairs, they detest most of all the idea, which is firmly rooted, that Russia is behind most of the present agitation and has been the prime mover in the Potsdam declaration. Even moderate Republicans feel most strongly against Russia because they consider the Soviet régime just as dictatorial and repressive as Franco's, and because they view with alarm the idea that Russia should spread into the western Mediterranean those tentacles which have already reached the Adriatic. Thus the effect of the Potsdam declaration has been to strengthen General Franco's position, at least temporarily, and speeches like Professor Laski's, reported in *The Times* of 25th September, merely frighten the lukewarm to Franco's side. Against this background it is easy to understand why many sincere opponents of General Franco's régime prefer to move by gradual stages and not to upset him before they are certain that his fall will be survived by some framework of law and order into which a new constitutional monarchy can be fitted rapidly, and with the army holding the ring. They see as the only alternative a fresh civil war which would spell final ruin for Spain and would revive the most dangerous idealogical antagonisms throughout Europe and America.

6. We could possibly accelerate Franco's fall, if the principal United Nations decided on a strict economic boycott including oil [group undecypherable ? seed] grain and fertilisers. This would rapidly cause complete starvation of the working-class population but the Falange party men would be the last to suffer. Starvation is a seed bed for the most poisonous weeds, and Franco's disappearance in such circumstances might well be followed by Red revolution. Spaniards are, however, so unpredictable that they might on the contrary rally to Franco as the Italians did to Mussolini over sanctions. On the other hand, Franco might under the first impact of sanctions, resign quickly, but we should then have to reverse our sanctions policy in a great hurry in order to recreate sufficient stability for any new régime to have a chance of surviving long enough to establish itself in authority.

7. Rupture of diplomatic relations either with or without imposition of economic sanctions would, in my opinion, result in our stopping our own eyes and ears. Moreover, we should at once lose all the results of the important work now being done by our Safehaven experts towards extirpating all former German political and financial influence in Spain. We should also presumably have to cease our purchasing programme which amounts to £20 million for the next twelve months of which about 80 per cent. represents food-stuffs most urgently required for supplying the British population.

8. In general, I believe the nation now in gradual progress towards a somewhat more liberal system, and eventual change of the régime will take place quicker if left to itself for a while. Spain is suffering from being too much in the news, whereas compared with the vastly greater problems of the rest of Europe and Asia this comparatively prosperous country surely presents less urgent problems and can safely be left over for later. It is not as if we were having any real difficulties with the Spanish Government over immediate questions. For instance, over Tangier and Safehaven they are proving quite amenable.

9. In other words the policy of non-intervention in Spanish affairs which has been proclaimed both in Washington and London appears fully justified. This, of course, does not mean that I should fail to avail myself of any opportunity of rubbing in the extreme distaste felt in Great Britain for Franco's régime, but it does mean avoidance of nagging over minor matters in order not to antagonise friendly officials whose assistance is useful to us. Franco's downfall is only a matter of time, whether weeks, months or years, but what is essential is that when it comes there should be a peaceful transition to the future régime, and that His Majesty's Government should not incur the odium of having so forced the issue that bloodshed occurs.

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Z 156

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[CYPHER]

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet.
No. 674.
6th October, 1945.

D. 1.29. p.m. GMT. 6th October, 1945.
R. 5.15. p.m. BST. 6th October, 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon Saving.
Gibraltar Saving.

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IMPORTANT.

Even the few weeks I have been in Spain have sufficed to destroy many preconceptions and convinced me that it is almost impossible for foreigners living outside Spain to form an unprejudiced view of the present situation. Spanish internal politics have become a battleground for ideologies to such an extent that both sides quite unscrupulously distort the truth in order to strengthen their arguments. I am still in the stage of trying to obtain a fair picture of the present situation.

2. There is no doubt that materially, Spain is better off than neighbouring parts of France which I visited from San Sebastian. The people are better fed and clothed, although cost of living is much too high. There is also no doubt that the Spanish Government has made, and is still making, great efforts to rebuild villages, bridges and other public works ruined during the civil war. Great progress is being made in this direction but difficulties of foreign trade during recent years have naturally hampered the supply of certain necessary materials.

3. On the other hand, Spain has been afflicted for the last three years with the most severe drought in human memory and food shortage this winter is likely to be serious, especially as agriculture lacks the necessary fertilizers from abroad. Industry is likewise severely hampered by shortage of electric current, partly due to lack of water power and partly impossibility of importing new machinery.

4. It is most misleading to attempt to judge Spain by British or even European standards. This country was dominated for 800 years by the Moors and still has many characteristics approximating more nearly to the Middle East countries than Europe. This in itself renders it a sterile ground for the growth of healthy democratic institutions of an Anglo-Saxon type. All past experiments have ended in failure. One need only study Madariaga's "History of Spain" to be convinced that one reason for the failure of the *last* republic, in which he himself was a Minister, was because it abandoned democratic methods in 1934 when the principle of majority Government was flouted by Largo Caballero. One difficulty has always been that political parties cannot learn to act in combination and individual groups quarrel passionately amongst each other. Most recent example is the complete failure of * Communists* and Negrin's Left socialists

F.O. REGISTRY 8 OCT 1945

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to agree with the other exiled politicians in Mexico. I sometimes wonder whether it is sufficiently realised abroad that we are still only six years from the end of a civil war so violent and horrible that the hatreds engendered by it are just as strong as those engendered between Britain and Germany during the recent major war. It is expecting too much to ask the Spaniards to forgive and forget so quickly. For this reason, the winning side, knowing the extent of the hatred still latent amongst many republicans and particularly communists, are not prepared to take any risk which could produce a new flare up of latent passions ending in bloodshed. It is primarily the fear of this which is making the evolution towards greater constitutional liberty so exasperatingly slow. Thus communists and other republicans are all too easily suspected of political agitation and imprisoned. It is also for this reason that free assembly except for the dominant political party (Falange) is still not allowed and that press freedom is practically non existent. The Spanish press is strictly controlled and slavishly follows the line laid down by the Government. "Arriba" echoes Falangist master's voice just as "Pravda" is the voice of the Kremlin. Organised political parties except Falange are forbidden, though political meetings are held. There has however been some let-up as regards individual criticism. Whereas in 1939-1942 anyone rash enough to air his views about the régime in a restaurant or bar would run the risk of [grp.undec. ? immediate] imprisonment, this is not now the case. Trades Unions do not exist as known in Great Britain. Workmen's syndicates were proclaimed by decree in 1937 to be state bodies and are therefore under the control of the Government. This, I believe, is also a close parallel with the systems in force in U.S.S.R. I have tried to explain why it is useless to judge Spain by British standards. It must be remembered moreover that although present hindrances are admittedly much stricter than before the civil war, the *[grp.undec. ?* freedoms] in question have for the last 25 years suffered periodical suspension. This was a rare occurrence under the monarchy before 1917 when military juntas began to undermine civil authority. Under the Republic however, guarantees were in abeyance for longer periods. As regards freedom of speech, the difference between the monarchy and the republic on the one hand and Franco régime on the other hand, is that under the former suspension of guarantee placed authority in the hands of the Ministry of the Interior, whereas under the latter it is in the hands of the army (i.e. *Captains General* in their * respective "regions"*). Although political association is rigorously forbidden, there is to-day probably more latitude in regard to associations of religious or recreational character than four years ago.

5. Sufficient influential Spaniards are now [grp.undec.] fully convinced that Spain must remain internationally isolated until General Franco goes, but even they hesitate to accelerate his departure [grp undec. ? as long as] criticism from abroad is mainly directed from quarters outspokenly favouring so called exiled "Government" in Mexico. Much as the Spaniards dislike any type of foreign interference in their affairs, they detest most of all the idea, which is firmly rooted, that Russia is behind most of the present agitation and has been the prime mover in the Potsdam declaration. Even moderate republicans feel most strongly against Russia because they consider Soviet Régime just as dictatorial and repressive as Franco's and because they view with alarm the idea that Russia should spread into the western Mediterranean those tentacles which have already reached the Adriatic. Thus the effect of the Potsdam declaration has been to strengthen General Franco's position at least temporarily and speeches like Professor Laski's reported in the "Times" of September 25th

merely

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merely frighten the lukewarm to Franco's side.

6. Against this background it is easy to understand why many sincere opponents of General Franco's régime prefer to move by gradual stages and not to upset him before they are certain that his fall will be survived by some framework of law and order into which a new constitutional monarchy can be fitted rapidly and with the army holding the ring. They see as the only alternative a fresh civil war which would spell final ruin for Spain and would revive the most dangerous idealogical antagonism throughout Europe and America.

7. We could possible accelerate Franco's fall, if the principal United Nations decided on strict economic boycott including oil, grain and fertilisers. This would rapidly cause complete starvation of working class population but Falange party men would be the last to suffer. Starvation is a seed bed for the most poisonous weeds and Franco's disappearance in such circumstances might well be followed by Red revolution. Spaniards are, however, so unpredictable that they might on the contrary rally to Franco as the Italians did to Mussolini over sanctions. On the other hand, Franco might under the first impact of sanctions, resign quickly, but we should then have to reverse our sanctions policy in a great hurry in order to recreate sufficient stability for any new régime to have a chance of surviving long enough to establish itself in authority.

8. Rupture of diplomatic relations either with or without imposition of economic sanctions would in my opinion result in our stopping our own eyes and ears. Moreover we should at once lose all results of important work now being done by our Safehaven experts towards extirpating all former German political and financial influence in Spain. We should also presumably have to cease our purchasing programme which amounts to £20,000,000 for the next 12 months of which about 80% represents food stuffs most urgently required for supplying British population.

9. In general, I believe the nation now in gradual progress towards somewhat more liberal system and eventual change of régime will take place quicker if left to itself for a while. Spain is suffering from being too much in the news, whereas compared with the vastly greater problems of the rest of Europe and Asia this comparatively prosperous country surely presents less urgent problems and can safely be left over for later. It is not as if we were having any real difficulties with the Spanish Government over immediate questions. For instance over Tangier and Safehaven they are proving quite amenable.

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O.T.P.

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[CYPHER] DEPARTMENTAL NO.2.

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FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet. D. 1.29 p.m. GMT. 6th October, 1945.
No.674

6th October, 1945. R. 3.15 p.m. BST. 6th October, 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon Saving.
Gibraltar Saving.

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Z 11432
7 OCT 1945

IMPORTANT

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OCT 1945
REGISTRY

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violent and horrible that the hatreds engendered by it are just as strong as those engendered between Britain and Germany during the recent major war. It is expecting too much to ask the Spaniards to forgive and forget so quickly. For this reason, the winning side, knowing the extent of the hatred still latent amongst many republicans and particularly communists, are not prepared to take any risk which could produce a new flare up of latent passions ending in blood-shed. It is primarily the fear of this which is making the evolution towards greater constitutional liberty so exasperatingly slow. Thus communists and other republicans are all too easily suspected of political agitation and imprisoned. It is also for this reason that free assembly except for the dominant political party (Falange) is still not allowed and that press freedom is practically non existent. The Spanish press is strictly controlled and slavishly follows the line laid down by the Government. "Arriba" echoes Falangist master's voice just as "Pravda" is the voice of the Kremlin. Organised political parties except Falange are forbidden, though political meetings are held. There has however been some let-up as regards individual criticism. Whereas in 1939-1942 anyone rash enough to air his views about the régime in a restaurant or bar would run the risk of [grp. undec ? immediate] imprisonment, this is not now the case. Trades Unions do not exist as known in Great Britain. Workmen's syndicates were proclaimed by decree in 1937 to be state bodies and are therefore under the control of the Government. This, I believe, is also a close parallel with the system in force in U.S.S.R. I have tried to explain why it is useless to judge Spain by British standards. It must be remembered moreover that although present hindrances are admittedly much stricter than before the civil war, the freedoms in question have for the last 25 years suffered periodical suspension. This was a rare occurrence under the monarchy before 1917 when military juntas began to undermine civil authority. Under the Republic however, guarantees were in abeyance for longer periods. As regards freedom of speech, the difference between the monarchy and the republic on the one hand and Franco régime on the other hand, is that under the former suspension of guarantee placed authority in the hands of the Ministry of the Interior, whereas under the latter it is in the hands of the army (i.e. captains generally in their respectives "region"). Although political association is rigorously forbidden, there is today probably more latitude in regard to associations of religious or recreational character than four years ago.

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merely frighten the lukewarm to Franco's side. Against this background it is easy to understand why many sincere opponents of General Franco's régime prefer to move by gradual stages and not to upset him before they are certain that his fall will be survived by some framework of law and order into which a new constitutional monarchy can be fitted rapidly and with the army holding the ring. They see as the only alternative a fresh civil war which would spell final ruin for Spain and would revive the most dangerous idealogical antagonisms throughout Europe and America.

7. [sic] We could possibly accelerate Franco's fall, if the principal United Nations decided on strict economic boycott including oil [grp. undec ? seed] grain and fertilisers. This would rapidly cause complete starvation of working class population but Falange party men would be the last to suffer. Starvation is a seed bed for the most poisonous weeds and Franco's disappearance in such circumstances might well be followed by Red revolution. Spaniards are, however, so unpredictable that they might on the contrary rally to Franco as the Italians did to Mussolini over sanctions. On the other hand, Franco might under the first impact of sanctions, resign quickly, but we should then have to reverse our sanctions policy in a great hurry in order to recreate sufficient stability for any new régime to have a chance of surviving long enough to establish itself in authority.

8. Rupture of diplomatic relations either with or without imposition of economic sanctions would in my opinion result in our stopping our own eyes and ears. Moreover we should at once lose all results of important work now being done by our Safehaven experts towards extirpating all former German political and financial influence in Spain. We should also presumably have to cease our purchasing programme which amounts to £20,000,000 for the next 12 months of which about 80% represents food stuffs most urgently required for supplying British population.

9. In general, I believe the nation now in gradual progress towards somewhat more liberal system and eventual change of régime will take place quicker if left to itself for a while. Spain is suffering from being too much in the news, whereas compared with the vastly greater problems of the rest of Europe and Asia this comparatively prosperous country surely presents less urgent problems and can safely be left over for later. It is not as if we were having any real difficulties with the Spanish Government over immediate questions. For instance over Tangier and Safehaven they are proving quite amenable.

10. In other words policy of non-intervention in Spanish Affairs which has been proclaimed both in Washington and London appears fully justified. This of course does not mean that I should fail to avail myself of any apportunity of rubbing in extreme distate felt in Great Britain for Franco's régime but it does mean avoidance of nagging over minor matters in order not to antagonise friendly officials whose assistance is useful to us. Franco's downfall is only a matter of time, whether weeks months or years, but what is essential is that when it comes there should be a peaceful transition to the future régime and that His Majesty's Government should not incur the odium of having so forced the issue that bloodshed occurs.

O.T.P.

129

1945

Z

SPAIN

162

Z 11500

9 OCT 1945

Registry Number Z 11500/233/41.

FROM Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 462 (1/337/45).

Dated 1st Oct.1945.

Received in Registry 9th Oct.1945.

Z: Spain.

Political unrest in the Vigo district: appointment of Mr. H.J. V. Genday to take charge of British and American interests in the "Minas del Rio".

Transmits copy of despatch 46 from Mr. Wildman, Consulate Vigo. Latter was appointed to above by British and American Embassies. He is stationed in Minas outside village of Caseyo. Gives report unrest which is increasing.

1

Last Paper.

21432

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

D(H) 4th Amb heard
60.308
Oct 5

(Action completed)

Sde Circ 26/X

(Index.)

11/7

Next Paper.

21593

(Minutes.)

It is difficult to know just how much importance to attach to this kind of report. There has always been a certain amount of lawlessness and brigandage in Spain and at any rate since the civil war there have been quite considerable bands of 'rojos' living in the hills. I think we might ask the Embassy for a general report on the internal situation with particular reference to the increase of unrest and lawlessness and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom.

? dft Madrid accordingly.

Research Dept WHC 24/10

P Garran 12/x

I agree.
12.10

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No. 462
(1[illegible]37/45).

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid, presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A., and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Madrid.

1st October, 194.5.

Reference to previous correspondence:

–

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of Despatch No. 46 from Mr.Wildman, H.M. Consulate,Vigo; dated 24.9.45.	Appointment of Mr. H.J.V. Glenday by British & American Embassies Joint Trusteeship to take charge of their interests in the "Minas del Eje"at Casayo - political unrest in district.

7.11500
2 OCT 1945

By bag 24/9

BRITISH CONSULATE 164

VIGO

No. 46
(Pol/45)

24th September, 1945.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that Mr. H.J.V. Glenday, a well-known British subject, resident in Vigo, has been appointed by the British and American Embassies Joint Trusteeship to take entire charge of their interests in the "Minas del Eje" at Casayo and Power plant at Sobradelo, Province of Orense, under direct supervision of Mr. Bennet of the United States Embassy in Madrid.

2. As you are aware the above mentioned mine is one of the group owned by Montes de Galicia S.A., previously a German controlled concern.

3. When Mr. Glenday took over his duties on the 11th instant and called on me yesterday when he paid a short visit to Vigo, he told me that he is now stationed in the Mines, inside the municipal boundary but outside the village of Caseyo.

4. He states that in this area, which as Your Excellency knows, is the centre for fugitives from the Ponferrada mining district, the prevalent unrest is increasing. He estimates that there are now some 300 men in the hills who are short of food and clothing, which is evident from the fact that there are raids from time to time to procure same. Some weeks ago a raid on Casayo took place and food and cattle were stolen.

5. It is believed that information as to the whereabouts and identity of the raiders was given to the Civil Guard by a woman and her son living in Casayo and on the night of the 21st instant armed men came down to the village, forced the door and shot both the informers. On the arrival of the mine lorry, which was sent by Mr. Glenday at the request of the detachment of the Civil Guard stationed at the mine, no trace of the intruders was found.

6. It is expected that, with the coming winter, food raids will increase.

7. Political unrest is evident from the recent acts of sabotage on railways in this area, e.g. the removal of nuts and bolts on the main line, about a fortnight ago, resulting in the derailing of the express from Madrid to Vigo.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect,
Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient,
humble servant,

(Signed) T. B. Wildman.

His Majesty's Ambassador,
British Embassy,
MADRID.

Registry
No. Z. 11500/233/41.

15 165

OUT FILE 15th October 1945.

I.P.G.

Draft.

H.M. Ambassador,

MADRID.

No. 708

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Sir,

Your despatch No. 462 of October 1st enclosed a copy of a despatch from H.M. Consul at Vigo, in which he reported an increase of unrest in the region of Casayo.

2. There have been a number of ~~indications~~ suggestions that unrest and ~~even~~ lawlessness have been increasing in Spain in recent months, and I should be glad if you will investigate the matter and submit a report to me in due course, giving your ~~conclusions~~ views as to whether unrest and lawlessness are in fact on the increase and if so to what causes in particular this development can be attributed, together with any conclusions which you would draw ~~from this deteriorating state of affairs.~~ therefrom.

Yours

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

15th October, 1945.

No. 308

(Z 11500/233/41)

OUT FILE

Sir,

Your Excellency's despatch No. 462 of 1st October enclosed a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Consul at Vigo, in which he reported an increase of unrest in the region of Casayo.

2. There have been a number of suggestions that unrest and lawlessness have been increasing in Spain in recent months, and I should be glad if you will investigate the matter and submit a report to me in due course, giving your views as to whether unrest and lawlessness are in fact on the increase and if so to what causes in particular this development can be attributed, together with any conclusions which you would draw therefrom.

I am with great truth and respect,
Sir,
Your Excellency's obedient Servant,
(For the Secretary of State)

(Sd.) F. R. HOYER MILLAR

His Excellency
Sir Victor Mallet, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Madrid.

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1945

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SPAIN

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Z 11593

11 OCT 1945

Registry Number Z 11593/233/41.

FROM Mr. Mossop (Addy) to Mr. Garran.

No. MID 7903/45.

Dated 9th Oct. 1945.

Received in Registry 11th Oct. 1945.

Z: Spain.

Situation in Spain: possibility of change of régime.

Encloses copy of report by Naval Attaché on Franco's present position. Emphasizes the shock which ~~the~~ FRANCO will receive regarding Tangier, and still more important the effect of Russian participation. Suggests that some radical change in the Government will be made at once.

Last Paper.

Z 11500

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

RG
V 13/x

(Action completed.)

Sdc Chief 15/10

(Index.)

11/7

Next Paper.

Z 11611

Enter

162

Admiralty,

S.W.1.

N.I.D.7903/45. 9th October, 1945.

With the compliments

of

Mr. J.C. Mossop.

7.11593

11 OCT 1945

Mr. P. Garron,
Foreign Office,
Downing Street,
S.W.1.

Naval Attaché, Madrid.

4th September, 5

Director of Naval Intelligence, Admiralty.
Copy to S.O.(I) Gibraltar.

R/216/45

Political.

The press has continued to dilate on the virtues of Spain and her unique régime and in particular on the logic of Spanish participation in the rebuilding of a peaceful world after having preserved her neutrality unspotted during two world wars. Every possible declaration by American journalists in favour of Spain or critical to Potsdam has been featured with suitable headlines so the present untenable position of Franco and his government has been completely hidden from the public.

Nevertheless it is apparent that Franco has become seriously worried and a cabinet meeting has been summoned in Madrid on 7th and meanwhile Sr. Artajo has been to Galicia to see Franco and to explain all the recent developments covering both his conversations with the allied diplomats and the Spanish envoy's talks with DON JUAN in Switzerland.

The rude shock which Franco and his régime are to receive regarding Tangier, though it must have been anticipated, will be even worse to bear when the significance of specific unacceptance of the Régime is realised.

It is extremely difficult to forecast the effect on Franco's policy which this Tangier bomb will have. I believe it is certain that Franco will be obliged to accept the Tangier situation, though he will no doubt try to boggle over the administration side, but the real pill which will stick in his throat, and unfortunately in a very considerable number of throats, is the participation of Russia.

At ...

At long last it does look as if the crisis of the Régime is at hand and that some radical change in the Government will be made at once. It is almost inconceivable that it will not but there is always the possibility that France may plead irremovable foreign interference, cede to overwhelming force in Tangier, and rally the army and party and forceful opinion to support the continuance of the Régime and its social programme in defiance of the Great Powers.

(sgd) M.H.SCOTT

Captain, R.N.
NAVAL ATTACHE.

N.A. Madrid.

D.N.I., Admiralty.
Copy to S.O.(I) Gibraltar.

14th September, 5.

R/229/45

Political.

The much heralded cabinet meeting has duly taken place in Madrid and the possibility outlined in the last paragraph of my R/216/45 of 4th September has in fact materialised. With the exception of the suppression of the Falange salute which has been effected with the least possible publicity by the simple cancellation of the original decree instituting it, no radical change of any kind was decided upon. There is now every indication that Franco is more firmly in the saddle than ever and has no intention whatsoever of letting anyone else bestride the horse of state.

General Franco has arrived here in San Sebastián and the whole town is beflagged. It is certainly interesting to note that all Falange and Requete flags were taken down and the Spanish flag remains supreme.

Franco went afloat to see the regatta and has been to all the local functions, including a gala at the opera and has everywhere been well received. Many have not yet learned of the doing away of the salute and there were still many upraised arms to be seen especially among the youth who know no other way of saluting.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has delivered the Spanish reply on Tangier to the British and

French ...

French representatives. The reply is an acceptance by the Spanish government of the allied terms. The Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed the hope that the Allied press would not ruin the start of the new régime by featuring the humiliation of the Spanish government since it was most desirable to make a friendly beginning.

The Spanish government's propaganda deals very effectively with the Great Powers' ostracism of Franco's Spain. It simply points out that it is far better for Spaniards to stay at home under an improving social system and enjoy certain comforts than to launch out into some new and ill-considered experiment in government for the sole honour of belonging to an international club whose membership is made up of many extremely dubious characters.

Social Reform is now the main plank of Franco's programme. The local party controlled press had a most interesting leading article on 8th, the gist of which was that Democracy was all right, but Spain needed its own type of democracy. Until the social revolution had been achieved there could be no change in the government since it was the government's policy to carry through this social revolution. The social revolution outlined is the attainment of a fair deal for the workers, the abolition of privileges and the duty of each citizen to work for the benefit of Spain.

The similarity of the ideas put forward to those so ably presented by Arthur Bryant in the Illustrated London News of August 4th and subsequent issues is remarkable.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has returned from Madrid and is of the opinion that Spain is set for another five years of Franco. M.F.A. is now quite satisfied that Franco will do all that he wants him to

do ...

do including the eventual restoration of the Monarchy and the retirement of Franco himself!

Once again the little Galician has sat tight through a difficult time, taken good stock of the situation in the meanwhile, and has now come out with a greatly fortified position.

Falange, its salute already sacrificed, will soon lose its shirt and in due course cease as a political party and revert purely to its social service pursuits.

Elections will be convened in stages Municipal, Provincial and lastly, in perhaps 2 or 3 years' time, general elections. In the interval a big drive will be made towards the social revolution, improvement in education and, in particular, education emphasising the need for citizenship.

If Franco can carry through such a programme, gradually restoring plitical liberties, there can be little doubt that no attempt from inside will be made to remove him and he knows this well enough.

Externally he has our pledge not to interfere in Spanish internal politics and our obvious commercial and strategic interests in Spain which must benefit by a stable and peaceful Spain. The formation of a Republican government in exile with such a notorious man as Señor Giral as Prime Minister has only strengthened Franco's hand. Giral it will be remembered was the Minister of Marine in 1936 who actually gave the orders to the ships' companies to murder their officers.

Thus, with the probability that the years will bring greater headaches than Franco, the

Generalissimo ..

17493

Generalissimo can look about him with a certain satisfaction and very considerable hope for a prolonged tenure of office as Chief of State.

(sgd) M.H.SCOTT

Captain, R.N.
NAVAL ATTACHE.

131

Z

1945

SPAIN

1775

Z 11611

11 OCT 19[illegible]

Registry Number: Z11611/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM
Mexican National Rite
Mexico City.

No.

Dated 8th Oct. 1945

Received in Registry 11th Oct.1945

Z: Spain

Protest at outrages against Spanish masons.

Fourth General Congress of Mexican National Rite request His Majesty's Government's intervention to prevent above. Telegram is signed by Lopez Guerra and Luis Ocampo.

Last Paper.

Z11593

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

PG
V 12/X

(Action completed)	(Index.)
Blue Wt. 12/10.	11/7

Next Paper.

Z11640

25595 7/43 F.O.P.

176.

2

Telegram addressed to the British Government, London, dated Mexico City, October 8, 1945.

Fourth General Congress of Mexican National Rite against outrages of which Spanish masons are victims request your Government to intervene with measures deemed appropriate to prevent Franco regime attacking liberties consecrated by sacrifice of lives offered for triumph of cause of democracies.

Lopez Guerra, Grand Luminary, Grand Master,
First Grand Deputy in office.
Luis Ocampo, Grand Secretary-General.

Z 11611

OCT 1945

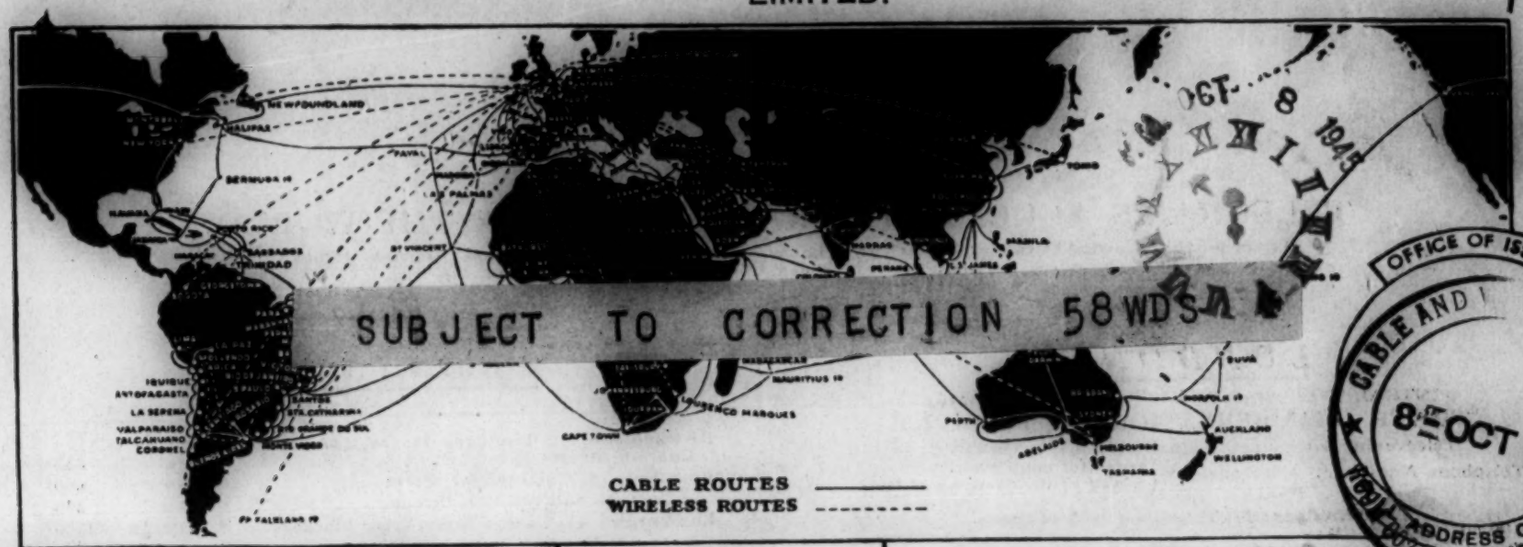
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OCT 8 1945

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CUARTO CONGRESO GENERAL RITO NACIONAL MEXICANO CONTRA ATROPELLOS SON VICTIMAS MASONES ESPANOLES READICADOS ESPANA ROGANDO GOBIERNO PRESIDE USTED INTERPONGA RECURSOS ESTIME CONVENIENTES EVITAR REGIMEN FRANQUISTA ATENTE LIBERTADES CONSAGRADAS CON SACRIFICIO VIDAS INMOLADAS POR TRIUNFO CAUSA DEMOCRACIAS GRAN LUNINAR GRAN MAESTRO PRIMER GRAN

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Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch, W.1	AMBassador 1234
20, Swallow Street, W.1	REGent 6244
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Hull: 76, Lowgate	Central	35811
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Leith: 64, Constitution Street	Leith	35787
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" The Cotton Exchange	Bank	5020
" The Fruit Exchange		
Manchester 2: 55, Spring Gardens	Central	3223
Newcastle: 31, Mosley Street	Newcastle	22321
" Princes Buildings, 1, Queen Street		
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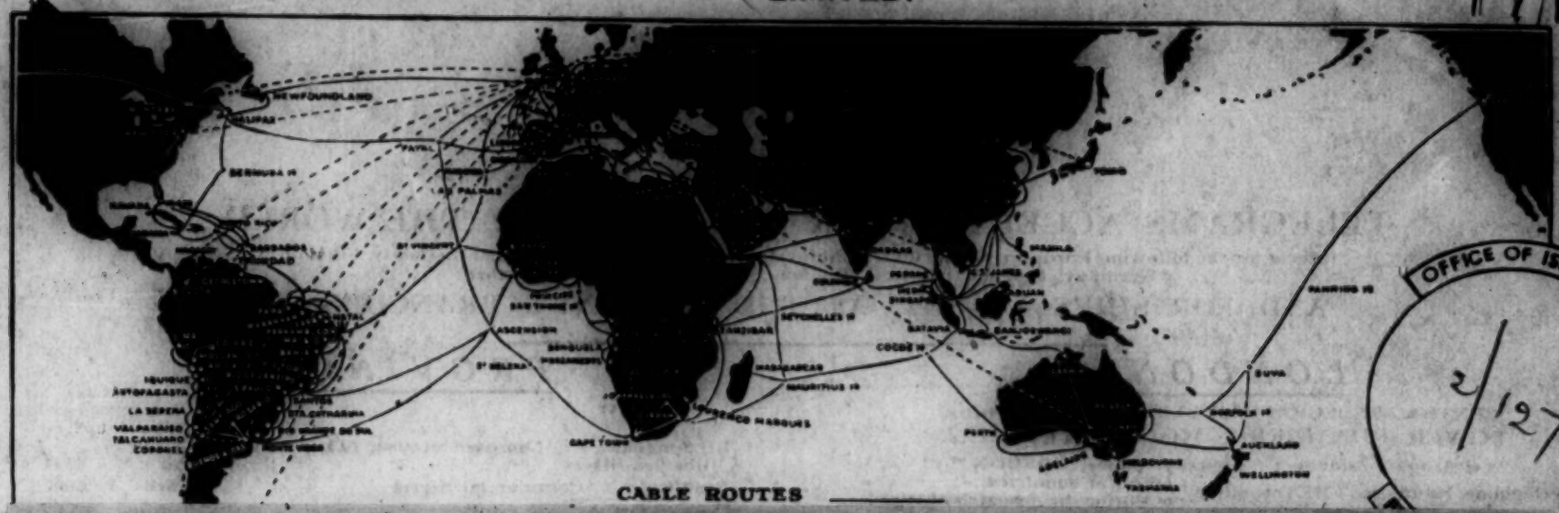
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Received.

GENERAL LUIS OCAMPO Z' ✠

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Z

1945

SPAIN

Z 11640

13 OCT 1945

80

Registry Number Z 11640/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM

Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 684

Dated 11th Oct,1945.

Received in Registry 13th Oct,1945.

Z.Spain.

Visit from Socialist Party delegation to Press Attaché: situation in Spain: attitude of His Majesty's Government. Refers to Madrid despatch 472 (Z 11644/233/41). Delegates requested intervention on behalf of 4 members of their Committee, who are in prison. Press Attaché emphasized that Spanish Government were aware of H.M.G's attitude and only stronger measure available could be breaking of relations and economic sanctions. Latter would hit ordinary people very hard and break of relations would lead to increased of oppression. Delegates stated Spanish socialism was by no means committed to republic ~~regions~~ régime.

Last Paper.

Z 11611

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Ede Clerk 29/x

(Index.)

11/7

Next Paper.

Z 11643

(Minutes.)

Para. 3. confirms our own views. Para 4 suggests that the Spanish people do not feel very strongly on the question of the régime — so long as it is free from oppression

See also Z 11644.

PG
Varian
15/x

I should be a bit more convinced by this telegram if I knew from whom the Delegates came. It sounds a little too much like special pleading for a good many leading Socialists have been asked.

PGH 15/x

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25695 7/43 F.O.P.

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2

[CYPHER]

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

Z 11640

13 OCT 1945

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet.
No.684 D. 1.10 p.m. 12th October, 1945.

11th October, 1945. R. 2.25 p.m. 12th October, 1945.

a a a a

SECRET

oct 6th
Z 11644

My despatch No. 472

Press Attaché was visited yesterday by delegates from Socialist workers party requesting Embassy to intervene on behalf of four members of their Executive Committee who have been in Prison since last May, and generally to make it clear to Spanish Government that we would not tolerate such cruelty and muzzling of opinion.

2. Press Attaché asked for full details which his visitors have promised to supply. He added that both officially and through personal contact the Spanish Government had been left in no doubt as to the attitude of His Majesty's Government which was that as long as Franco and the Falange remained in power there could be no question of cordial relations, and Spain would be excluded from world organisation. He suggested the only stronger measures available could be economic sanctions, breaking of relations and recognition of Mexican group. He asked his visitors whether they wanted any of these things.

3. The reply was emphatically: Economic sanctions would hit the ordinary people very hard and they were already suffering acutely from corruption and inefficiency of food distribution as well as disastrous drought; if we broke relations and went away, the oppression would only increase and inevitably lead to a desperate resolution; though they had personal respect for some members of Giral Government they realized that it could never be imposed in Spain except by force and through civil war.

4. They said that Spanish Socialism was by no means committed to a republic régime and they would be prepared to recognize a monarchy not proposed as a political party but accepting co-operation of all Spaniards in Government with genuine elections and so forth. Many of them thought this the only way to avoid a reversion to the enmities and ultimate fate of the last republic. These visitors estimated their present members as upwards of 1,000,000 but lacking in organisation

/ 5.

13 OCT 1945 F.O. REGISTRY

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5. Militarists with whom we have been in contact have been noted for their respect for British Constitution and their hostility towards communists.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 11643

13 OCT 1945

Registry Number Z 11643/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM Sir V.Mallet (Madrid)

No. 686.

Dated 12th Oct.1945.

Received in Registry 13th Oct.1945.

Z: Spain.

Communiqué issued by Council of Ministers: draft laws being sent to Cortes.

States results of meetings of Council of Ministers are draft laws which are being sent to Cortes regarding right of meeting association and personal guarantees in general. Municipal elections will be held in March - nation will be consulted by means of referendum. Confirms pardon granted to political agitators guilty of rebellion before April 1939. Calls upon Spaniards to assist government in maintaining firm unity.

Last Paper.

Z 11640

References.

FO in Dept

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

This communiqué is a curious mixture. The first five paragraphs hold out a prospect of a big step in the right direction by the Spanish Government, with promises of the immediate putting into force of the Bill of Rights, laws regarding right of meeting, association and personal guarantees, municipal elections, possible referenda, and a general amnesty. As is to be expected, however, the amnesty is qualified, for it is not to include "the authors of crimes connected "with the common law, which are repugnant to every "honest conscience", and the scope of the amnesty ~~would~~, must ~~indeed~~, depend on the way in which this qualification is interpreted. It would, however, appear that the Spanish Government, in the face of increasing pressure from the outside world, are taking a further step toward more liberal treatment of the Spanish people, though, as always, everything depends on hos these assurances are fulfilled.

In paragraph 6, however, the communiqué turns ideological. All outside criticism of the present Spanish régime is roundly denounced as a "vast communist plan of an international character" aimed at the very existence of the Spanish nation. In the succeeding paragraphs the communiqué goes on to announce the Government's intention to remain in power and to persist in the ideological and political policy begun on the outbreak of the Civil War ~~(which can only be interpretation of Spanish)~~, which would indicate no changed heart.

This communiqué would seem designed to indicate to the Spanish people that the Government, while introducing various reforms, is not "on the run", but is standing firm on its established principles. It may well be, as the "Observer's" diplomatic correspondent suggests, that the attitude expressed in this communiqué is the logical consequence of the failure to persuade Don Juan to accept the throne on his (Franco's) conditions. This would mean that General Franco is left with no alternative but to carry on with the present régime as best he can, in the face of growing realisation in Spain that a change is necessary.

(Action completed.) 12 Oct.

(Index.) 11/7

Next Paper.

21644.

Now see Z 11677.

25695 7/43 F.O.P.

R Garran

October 14th 1945.

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Z 11643
13 OCT 1945

[EN CLAIR]

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet
No. 686

D. 10.15 p.m. 12th October, 1945.

R. 2. 5 a.m. 13th October, 1945.

12th October, 1945

Repeated to Lisbon No. 39 Saving

7 7 7

This morning's press publishes the following official communiqué issued by the Council of Ministers following its recent meeting.

[Begins]

"The Government determined to continue the normal development of the principles underlying Spanish policy has for some days intensified its labours in order to extend popular participation in the tasks of the State and to put immediately into force those principles in Fuero de Los Espanoles to which effect has not yet been given because they require complementary legislation.

2. The results of careful preparation carried out at various meetings of Council of Ministers are the draft laws which are being sent to Cortes regarding right of meeting, association and personal guarantees in general.

3. In order to emphasise the increased popular participation in the task of Government it is announced in accordance with what is laid down in the existing law of local Government that municipal election will be celebrated in the second fortnight of March by which time the census will have been concluded. On the same grounds the offices of the Head of the State will establish the system of directly consulting the nation by means of a referendum in respect of those laws which after preparation by the Cortes seem adapted to such a measure on account of their exceptional importance, their interest to the public or the uncertainty of public opinion.

4. In continuation of the policy of generosity on the part of our régime towards those who committed offences impelled by political passion or led astray by their surroundings; and with the intention of accelerating the progress of fellowship among Spaniards and bearing in mind the repentance of the majority and good conduct observed by those already liberated it was considered advisable to grant a general pardon of the main offences for offenders guilty of rebellion or disturbance of the peace committed before April 1st 1939 and prisoners or those in exile who are not the authors of crimes connected with the common law which are repugnant to every honest conscience.

5. Further study was given to a broad plan of economic

recovery

13 OCT 1945
REGISTRY

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21643

recovery and development which increasing the wealth of the nation and the income derived from its exploitation would constitute a firm basis for the long programme of social improvements which although already in full swing have not reached the goal to which the policy of the Government aspires.

6. The Council of Ministers has also concerned itself with the persistent defamatory campaign directed against Spain and its régime in which on account of its extent and bitterness and of the methods of propaganda used can be recognised as a vast communist plan of an international character which deceitfully involves people of good faith in its operations.

7. Spain knows that a conspiracy of this kind although apparently an attack against certain institutions or persons goes against the very existence of the nation endeavouring to render sterile the immense sacrifices of the crusade.

8. In consequence Spain realises that the only method of responding adequately to such an offensive is once more to affirm her decision to persist in the ideological and political policy begun on July 18th 1936 on which date the true Spain triumphed against communism.

9. Finally the Government with the serenity with which it is inspired by its own stability and the conviction that it is rigorously fulfilling its duty regards the future of Spain with settled confidence and reiterates its tenacious resolve to consolidate spiritual unity within the country thanking Spaniards for their tokens of adhesion and the assistance which they are giving while at the same time stimulating them to maintain this firm unity in the best service of the country".

[Ends]

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SPAIN

Z 11644

13 OCT 1945

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Registry Number Z 11644/233/41.

FROM Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 472.(1/344/45).

Dated 6th Oct.1945.

Received in Registry 13th Oct.1945.

Z: Spain.

Situation in Spain: letter from the Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol.

Encloses translation of letter from Executive ~~Letter~~ of the above party which claims to represent all important left wing Groups with except of left Republicans. Letter requests support for re-establishment of Civil Liberty for which they will fight if it continues to be denied to them. Comments on political importance of these groups.

Last Paper.

21643

References.

20/10/45

(Print.)

~~PRINTED~~ Spain.

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Ede Chvt 29/x

(Index.)

11/7

Next Paper.

21677

(Minutes.)

2 Fabers.

This despatch is interesting, in that it shows the difficulty of plumbing the thoughts and feelings of the Spanish masses. So far as our present information goes, ~~the~~ Spanish people would not appear to have any clear views as to who their true leaders are or what form they would wish a new Spanish régime to take.

? print (without enc).

R. Garran 15/x

Research Dept. SD 9.26/x

Further evidence of disunion among the left wing parties.

H Seymour-Ure 15.10.

2908a F.O.P.

21/x

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SPAIN. October 13, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL. SECTION 1.

ARCHIVES

[Z 11644/233/41] Copy No. 8

Sir V. Mallet to Mr. Bevin.—(*Received* 13*th October*.)

(No. 472.)

Sir, *Madrid*, 6*th October*, 1945.

I HAVE the honour to enclose herein the translation(1) of a letter submitted to me through the press attaché from the Executive Committee of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español, a body which calls itself The Alliance of Democratic Forces. This body claims to represent all the important Left-wing groups with the exception of the Communists, namely, the Left Republicans, the C.N.T. (Workers' National Confederation) and the U.G.T. (General Workers' Union) as well, of course, as the Socialist party itself.

2. It is difficult to assess the strength or effective political importance of these clandestine groups. Views expressed by individuals belonging to one or other of these organisations often conflict with the opinions of other persons who belong nominally to the same group but who are virtually isolated from them owing to their own security measures. This is not surprising if one bears in mind the complete disruption of these parties and organisations during and since the Civil War and the oppressive measures to which they have been subjected. These groups would appear, therefore, to be for the most part unorganised, without programme or prospects, and scattered throughout the country. Their contact with fellow-members and leaders in exile seems to be of the slightest and the rank and file appear to be unaware of the names of the men who might ultimately appear as their leaders in overt action within the country.

(1) Not printed.

3. The press attaché reports that over a long period in the past he has found former Centre and Left-wing Republicans (excluding the Communists) prepared to co-operate within the framework of a State headed by a constitutional monarchy. It may well be, however, that this may only prove to be the hope of idealistic and disillusioned Republican leaders and that it does not represent the views of the masses. The Republic itself started as a coalition of these forces in a common endeavour, but was driven to extremes as much by its own partisans as by its opponents. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency to turn again to republicanism as the best solution to the present political impasse. This is by no means an unanimous view, and there is no sign of enthusiasm for the so-called Government in exile headed by Señor Giral. There is, in fact, as much difference and division of opinion in these Left-wing groups within the country as in those of the Centre and Right. An abyss exists between the two, bridged only by a few far-sighted men who until now have been effectively prevented by Franco's régime from riding common ground where their fellows may get together.

I have, &c.

V. A. L. MALLET.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

MADRID.

No.472
1/344/45

ZT1644

13 OCT

6th October, 1945.

Sir,

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I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

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TRANSLATION OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO

BRITISH EMBASSADOR MADRID.

Your Excellency,

The National Committee of the Socialist Spanish Workers' Party, met in plenary session on the 16th September in a certain part of Spain, unanimously adopted the following resolution "To send to the British and American Governments, as representatives of the United Nations, a message of congratulation on the final termination of the war and to ask them to give the Spanish people the means to express its desire, without difficulty or coercion, to re-establish the Republican régime overthrown by General Franco and his international accomplices".

In transmitting to Your Excellency the foregoing resolution this Executive Committee wishes to express the great hope that the Spanish people have in the support which the British Government and people can and should offer it for the re-establishment of civil liberty in their country. Fully indentified with the spirit of the conflict just terminated (Spain was the first country to rise up against Fascism), we believe that a totalitarian régime isolated in Europe is a grave danger to the peace now being sought.

Moreover, both the Atlantic Charter and the historic meetings held in various parts of the world have recognised and established the indisputable rights of people to enjoy régimes of Liberty and Justice. The Socialist Spanish Workers' Party trust that these resolutions are not empty words and that their effectiveness may be seen in the least possible space of time.

Spain to-day is a police state. An open conflict would mean a new massacre of free men but, if Liberty and Justice are not granted to us, if our future has to remain permanently joined to that of a régime of oppression and violence, then we shall have to break all the chains which bind us and we shall fight to reconquer that which a democratic world denies us or does not offer us with the warmth and necessary effectiveness which it would be both easy and possible to do.

We salute Your Excellency with every respect.

The Executive Committee of the Socialist Spanish Workers' Party.

24th September, 1945.

135

1945

Z

Z 11677

15 OCT 1945

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SPAIN

Registry Number Z 11677/233/41

TELEGRAM FROM

Sir V.Mallett, Madrid.

No. 689

Dated 13th Oct, 1945.

Received in Registry Z: 15th Oct, 1945.

Spain

Communiqué issued by Council of Foreign Ministers: situation in Spain.

Refers to Madrid telegram 686 (Z 11643/233/41). Comments on the communiqué which may amount to little. Discusses drafting of laws in respect of bill of rights, municipal elections, decision to hold referendum, amnesty for political prisoners and the appeal to Spanish people to support Government.

Last Paper.

Z11644

References.

Z12050/89/41

Z11643/233/41

Z11886/89/41

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Tel.) Madrid 798

Oct 17.

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z11725

(Minutes.)

Forward m/u

See also Z 11643.

NA Dept

I think this declaration is one more attempt by Franco to try, while gradually reforming his régime, to keep himself in office. It remains to be seen how far his promises of reform are in fact carried out. The important points would seem to be the following:

(a) Municipal elections are to be held in March.

(b) Provision is made for the holding of a referendum on important issues - such, perhaps, as the return of the monarchy.

(c) What purports to be a general amnesty for political offenders is proclaimed.

As regards the last question of the amnesty, Sir Victor Mallet's comments in paragraph 3 of his telegram are not altogether clear. He seems, however, to be inclined to accept the declaration as meaning that no more individuals will be imprisoned for purely political causes, and he says that he is inclined to believe Count Marsal's statement in his letter to "The Times" of October 5th (copy attached) that not more than 23,000 persons were now imprisoned in Spain. However, Count Marsal's letter has already been denied by a letter from another Spaniard to "The Times" and I should have thought that we ought to take this declaration of an amnesty with a good deal of salt - more particularly in view of what is said about Spanish police methods in Sir V. Mallet's despatch in Z.11207.

However, we can hardly assume straight away that Franco's remarks about the amnesty are meaningless, but must wait and see how things work out in practice. If it turns out that people are still being imprisoned for purely political reasons, then we ought, I think, to

/renew

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renew our representations to the Spanish authorities on the subject.

In this connexion there is a Parliamentary Question down for next Monday. It would, I think, be as well to consult Sir V. Mallet as to the terms of our answer, since while we want to call attention to the fact that H.M. Government are closely interested in the matter, we do not want to say anything which might defeat our object and make the lot of the prisoners worse. W e have therefore telegraphed to him on the subject, as will be seen by the attached draft.

H Hoyer Millar

October 17th 1945.

I am afraid this is nothing but eye-wash- Decrees & laws abhorrent, but individuals / torturing continue - I'm afraid I also believe it wd. be the same under the Spanish Republic. The Spaniards are like that. But we must lose no opportunity of showing our dislike & contempt for such methods, through fair means & by factual publicity -

CM
21/x

See within :-
1) "Times" extract Oct. 5th
2) "Times" extract Oct. 15th.

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Minutes.

in NA Dep 1931
(2 papers attached)

Refugee Dept. are interested in para. 3 of this tel: and in para. 4. of Madrid tel. No. 686 or Z 11643/233/41, because of the position of ~~many~~ a large number of Spanish Republican exiles who may end by becoming undesirable, and in particular of upwards of 500 refugees in Gibraltar, whom the Governor is most anxious to get rid of - if possible into Spain.

I fear that our problems are unlikely to be helped by the new Spanish communiqué.

Ian L. Henderson
24/10.

Yes. A.E. 25.10.

R.A.B.
31/10.

Nothing to be Written in this Margin.

2 194

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

[CYPHER]

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

Z 11677

15 OCT 1945

FROM MADRID TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Sir V. Mallet
No. 689

D.7.58 p.m. 13th October, 1945.

13th October, 1945.

R.9.5 p.m. 13th October, 1945.

Repeated to Lisbon Saving.

T T T T T

My telegram No. 686. Z 11643.

The prolonged meetings of the Council of Ministers and delay in publication of an official communiqué had aroused considerable curiosity and expectation. The communiqué which finally emerged is another of those which in principle may mean much but in fact may amount to little.

2. Drafting of laws in respect of bill of rights has been unexpectedly rapid but there may yet be much delay in getting them through Cortes. It is disappointing that municipal elections will not be till March but it is probably true that census cannot be concluded earlier. The most important innovation is undoubtedly decision to hold an occasional referendum and it may well be that the first to be held will be on the monarchy. But the importance of this as of questions of census and personal guarantees can only be judged by results.

3. Amnesty provided for in paragraph 4 of communiqué is on the face of it extensive and laudable. I was told however by Minister for Foreign Affairs on August 13th (see my telegram 35 from San Sebastian) that no purely political prisoners then remained in gaol. Either Minister for Foreign Affair's statement was incorrect or present amnesty is meaningless and merely confirms an existing state of affairs. I am inclined to give it the generous and last interpretation and that Marsal's letter to the "Times" on October 5th was substantially correct as regards the number of prisoners.

Z 9536/637/4

4. It is noticeable that there is no mention of a Regency or Monarchy in the communiqué. The general impression it gives in fact is one of determination on the part of the Government to remain firmly in the saddle and to continue present policy of development and evolution. The final outburst about foreign campaign against "Spain and its régime" was I expect calculated to compromise the Spanish people with the régime itself and thus

/prevent

15 OCT 1945 REGISTRY

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[redacted]

present any temptation the people might have to disown the regime. The reference to the decision to continue the political and ideological line started in July 1936 is not seemingly an endorsement of the Falangist doctrine. On the contrary chief slogan of 1936 was traditionalist "Dios Patria y Rey", only later submerged by Falangist "Dios Organa y La Revolucion Nacional Syndicalist".

O.T.P.

Registry
No. Z.1

OUT FILE

196.

F.R.H.M.

October 1945.

Despatched 5.40 p.M. 17/10

Draft.

H.M. Ambassador,

MADRID.

Telegram.

No. 798

Dated. 17.10.45

Cypher.

Departmental No. 2.

IMMEDIATE .

Your telegram No. 689, paragraph 3 [of October 13th: Spanish Government's declaration].

Following Parliamentary Question is down for non-oral answer on October 22nd:

"Mr. Foot. To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, following his recent successful intervention to prevent the execution of two political prisoners in Spain, he will consider diplomatic measures to assist in securing a general amnesty for political prisoners in Spain".

2. We were proposing to suggest following reply:

"For a considerable time past H.M.Representatives in Madrid have taken every suitable opportunity of impressing on the Spanish authorities the highly unfortunate effect on opinion in this country caused by the detention in prison for long periods of persons whose only offence had apparently been of a political nature. H.M. Representatives have frequently urged that this practice should be terminated.

H.M. Ambassador in Madrid was recently informed by the Spanish

/Minister

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

Minister for Foreign Affairs that executions for political reasons had now ceased and that no purely political prisoners remained in gaol. Furthermore, in the Spanish Government's official statement published on October 12th it was stated inter alia that 'it is considered advisable to grant a general pardon of the main offences for offenders guilty of rebellion or disturbances of the peace committed before April 1st 1939 and prisoners and those in exile who are not the authors of crimes connected with the common law, which are repugnant to every honest conscience'.

H.M.G. trust that this statement, which they have read with satisfaction, means that a general amnesty is to be extended to political prisoners in Spain. They will, however, continue to follow the matter and should it transpire that their hopes are not fulfilled, will not hesitate to renew their representations to the Spanish Government."

3. Please telegraph your comments urgently. While we are anxious to take this opportunity of emphasising H.M.G.'s views and the interest which they take in this matter, we naturally do not wish to say anything which might have the reverse effect to that desired ~~and~~ or might prejudice the chances of the amnesty proving effective.

OUT FILE

198.16

Z

[CYPHER]

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO MADRID

No. 798.
17th October 1945. D. 5.40 p.m. 17th October 1945.

999999

IMMEDIATE

Your telegram No. 689, paragraph 3 [of October 13th: Spanish Government's declaration].

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"For a considerable time past His Majesty's Representatives in Madrid have taken every suitable opportunity of impressing on the Spanish authorities the highly unfortunate effect on opinion in this country caused by the detention in prison for long periods of persons whose only offence had apparently been of a political nature. His Majesty's Representatives have frequently urged that this practice should be terminated.

His Majesty's Ambassador in Madrid was recently informed by the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs that executions for political reasons had now ceased and that no purely political prisoners remained in gaol. Furthermore, in the Spanish Government's official statement published on October 12th it was stated inter alia that 'it is considered advisable to grant a general pardon of the main offences for offenders guilty of rebellion or disturbances of the peace committed before April 1st 1939 and prisoners or those in exile who are not the authors of crimes connected with the common law, which are repugnant to every honest conscience.

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5.

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OTP.

TIMES.
Cutting dated 16 77/235/OCT 1945 INDEXED
.....194

SPANISH PRISONERS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Visiting England I have become aware of what appears to be a campaign of misrepresentation of the administration of justice in Spain. As president of the National Patronage of Prisoners and Convicts, I am cognizant of all that concerns Spanish prisons and prisoners, and I find that reports published at present distort the facts beyond recognition.

The present prison population is under 23,000. Immediately after the Civil War it was about 250,000 and was composed of those who had been found guilty of crimes which the common law of civilized nations forbids. I have studied many sentences and I have not found one for which the reason was political.

What is novel in the treatment of such offences by Spain is the permission to work off one's sentence by carrying out one's ordinary labour, either within or outside prison. Each day's work counts as a day's remission of sentence though it is paid for at the ordinary commercial rates and carries with it the ordinary sickness and health insurance. But those who, over and above the work, attend the professional classes or art schools, or form part of the musical or sports groups, &c., earn remission of further days of the sentence, up to three days for each day in prison. The greater number of those sentenced are living at liberty with their families. All of them, including the prison population, have free access to me and can communicate their grievances without any censorship of the prison governors.

As the Government accepts responsibility for these unfortunate people and, while allowing them to purge their offences by work, assists the cure by generosity, it falls to my duty to deal with every sort of trouble that may affect them. I am no politician and my correspondents know that I have neither the interest nor the desire to take advantage of any political divergence from the normal, past or present. The 200 letters I receive daily are mainly concerned with the offenders' families. The eldest son of a detainee, for instance, finishes his studies at a technical school and has not the examination fees. The father appeals to my organization. The fees are paid; and if the son should refund the amount later on, it is paid into a savings account in the father's name.

My organization has to deal with a family of about 1,500,000 persons and our sole endeavour is to help them in all their needs. The proof of the success of this unique experiment is that out of over 200,000 who are enjoying freedom either conditional or definite the liberty of only 42 has had to be revoked for bad behaviour.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

MARSAL, President of the National Patronage of Prisoners and Convicts.

Savoy Hotel, London.

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Entertainments

RECORDED MUSIC

THE CHOICE AVAILABLE

Will the Chancellor of the Exchequer modify the ferocity of the purchase tax upon recorded music? His predecessor saw the illogicality of simultaneously taxing and subsidizing live performances and modified the entertainment tax.

But it is still a prohibitively costly business for an amateur to make himself a library of recorded music, and the recording companies have to be induced by subsidy to make those excellent records of English music which the British Council require for export. These valuable and costly records are actually sold in the home market at less than the standard price for their rank and quality because the Treasury is behind them, but they still pay tax on the lower price.

It may be that the tax accentuates the natural tendency of commerce and conductors alike to be conservative in their choice of works for new recording. It is wasteful of shellac to make still another set of records of the " Unfinished " and the " Fifth " symphonies (as Decca has done with the new National Symphony Orchestra), but it may be safer financially than to pursue the other line of policy which has given us a delightful recording of a delightful work, Fauré's " Ballade " played by Miss Kathleen Long (piano) with the same orchestra under Mr. Boyd Neel. Tschaikovsky's " Casse-Noisette," played with plenty of sparkle under Mr. Stanford Robinson, is probably less redundant than the " Fingal's Cave " and *The Barber of Seville* overtures which are also in the same series of Decca's recordings of the National Symphony Orchestra.

To do them justice the recording companies have here and there shown enterprise, and among music recently recorded, whose choice is determined by a factor consisting of outstanding contracts with orchestras, conductors' personal predilections, and commercial prospects, they have slipped in a number of works ranging from oratorios to overtures and even smaller trifles that the collector may wish to acquire for his permanent library. Conspicuous among these gratitude-earning works

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15 OCT 1945
Cutting ... d 194

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SPANISH PRISONERS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—In a letter published in your issue of October 5 Count Marsal, president of the Spanish National Patronage of Prisoners and Convicts, attempts to justify the repressive measures which are the safeguard of General Franco's régime. His statement is so full of errors and omissions that I hope you will allow me to point out some of them.

Count Marsal affirms that the prison population immediately after the Civil War—he puts it at 250,000—" was composed of those who have been found guilty of crimes which the common law of civilized nations forbids." The Count must be ignorant of the common law of civilized nations, for in Spain, even to-day, special tribunals are passing sentences for acts that, at the time they were committed, were not illegal—for example, the special tribunals for the repression of Communism and Freemasonry. The Count next states: " I have studied many sentences and I have not found one for which the reason was political." The whole world knows that thousands of Spaniards have been executed, imprisoned, and exiled for purely political reasons. Apart from the anonymous mass of the Spanish workers, a few well known cases can be cited at random: Professor Besteiro, Speaker in the Republican Constituent Assembly; Señor Companys, President of the Catalan "Generalitat"; Professor Alas, Rector of Oviedo University; the well known Liberal journalist Javier Bueno; practically all the Republican Civil Governors and dozens of university professors, writers, doctors, &c. Even many Basque clergymen were imprisoned or driven into exile —Bishop Mugica included—for purely political reasons.

The Count describes as a " novelty " the remission of sentences by labour and refers to those who enjoy conditional liberty or, as they say in Spain, *libertad vigilada*—freedom under vigilance—but he fails to mention that many of those enjoying such " liberty " are not allowed to exercise their normal occupations, nor does he explain why also many architects, doctors, lawyers, writers, &c., are forbidden to practise their professions solely for political reasons. As statistics are not a very exact science under the Caudillo's régime there is no way of checking the accuracy of the present prison population given by the Count—23,000. But since he himself confesses that as many as 1,500,000 persons are looked after by his own organization one has to accept the fact that at least 1,500,000 out of a total population of 25,000,000 are living in Spain to-day under the " protection " of the Patronage of Prisoners and Convicts. No political opponent of General Franco could make a stronger indictment of Franco's Spain.

Yours, &c.,

ANTONIO TORRES.

The engagement is announced between Hugh Roger Shaw, R.N., Thorncliffe Hall, Hollingworth, elder son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, of Stalybridge, and Florence Battle Gulick, only daughter of Mrs. Charles Lewis Gulick and the late Mr. Gulick, Woodland Place, South Orange, New Jersey, United States.

MR. F. C. GREGOR GRANT AND MISS H. M. S. HILL

The engagement is announced between Fergus Colesworthey Gregor Grant, younger son of the late G. F. Gregor Grant and of Mrs. Gregor Grant, 3, Grove Hill Gardens, Tunbridge Wells, and Helen Mary Stephanie Hill, 59, Bronwen Court, St. John's Wood, London, youngest daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Frank Hill, of Selsey.

MR. C. J. DUNCAN AND MISS R. WHEELER

The engagement is announced, and the marriage will take place shortly in Nigeria, between Colin John, elder son of Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Duncan, of 15, Chaldon Road, Caterham, and Ruth (Robin), only daughter of the late Mr. Arthur Wheeler and of Mrs. F. E. Wheeler, of 16, West Cromwell Road, London, S.W.5, and Eastbourne.

LADY GATER'S CANTEEN

The canteen for war workers run by Lady Gater at the National Gallery during the war is to be reopened to-morrow (October 16) at 12 o'clock at 12, Old Queen Street, S.W., for the benefit of Civil servants and members of his Majesty's forces.

A delegation of 10 Norwegian journalists has arrived in this country for a fortnight's visit as guests of the Ministry of Information.

THE TIME

ACROSS

1 Do its inhabitants live in house-boats? (8).
5 Not good looks (6).
9 The officers make a mess of it (8).
10 A slanting type (6).
11 They might be as unwary (8).
12 Utterly successful (6).

25 Mecca gastrono
26 They fi disturbin
27 Brought minster (

1 Cross w
2 A curren
3 They ca

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 11728

18 OCT 1945

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Registry Number Z 11728/233/41

FROM Sir V. Mallet, Madrid.

No. 470
102/63/45.

Dated 3rd Oct., 1945

Received in Registry 16th Oct., 1945

Publication of magazine "Voluntad", anti-British demonstrations at Santander.

Refers to Madrid despatch 423 (Z 9175/233/41). Transmits copy of Note Verbale from Ministry of Foreign Affairs No.777 of 14th September. Issue of magazine referred to in despatch under reference was withdrawn from circulation immediately, and persons who took part in demonstrations as above have been reprimanded. Instructions have been issued to Governments to avoid repetitions.

Last Paper.

Z 11725

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

Research Dept.

WHC 24/10

19/10

(Action completed)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

Z 11729

No. 470
(102/63/45)

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid presents his compliments to H.M.P.S. of S. for F.A. and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
MADRID.

3rd October, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:
Madrid despatch No.423 of 31st July, 1945.

Z9176/233

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
From: Ministry of F.A. Note Verbale No.777 of 14/9/45	Publication of magazine "Voluntad" and anti-British demonstration in Santander.

Z 11728
18 OCT 1945

COPY

206.

TRANSLATION OF NOTE VERBALE

No.777

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs present their compliments to H.B.M. Embassy and with reference to the Embassy's Aide-Mémoire of July 20th enclosing a specimen of the magazine "Voluntad" of Santander*, wish to inform them that the said issue was withdrawn from circulation immediately by the competent authorities, before receiving the said communication, on observing its contents, and the authors of the articles mentioned were punished and the publication of the magazine suspended. At the same time the persons who took part in an incorrect manner in the religious service celebrated in Santander have also been reprimanded, although from investigations made it appears that only the hymn "Cara al Sol" was sung and that no allusion whatsoever was made to England.

Instructions have also been issued to Governors so that they will take whatever steps they may deem necessary for the purpose of avoiding a repetition of such incidents.

The Spanish Government and all the authorities dependent upon it deeply regret these incidents which have taken place precisely due to the liberty and lack of previous censorship which has been a feature of many aspects of Spanish life and which, not being expressly prohibited by law, are difficult to avoid and correct by the governmental authorities. Official organisations do not tolerate such conduct by their members and these are punished in accordance with the seriousness of the offence, always deploring that they should take place.

San Sebastian, September 14th, 1945.

* Evidently an error for "Zaragóza".

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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

Group..... FO .....

Class ..... 371 .....

Piece ..... 49590 .....

Following document(s)*

~~retained in the Department of origin*~~

transferred to PRO Safe Room*

Z 11730 / 233 / 41

Z 11732

and closed until..... 1996 .....

*delete as necessary

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Z

Z 11729

18 OCT 1945

1945

SPAIN

Registry Number: Z 11729/233/41

FROM Sir V.Mallet, Madrid.

No. 475 (1/350/45)

Dated 8th Oct., 1945

Received in Registry 16th Oct., 1945.

Situation in Spain : conversation between Mr. Malley and Señor Seranno Suner.

Refers to Madrid despatch 474 (Z 11696/11696/41). Encloses copy of report of their conversation together with account of some remarks made by Senor Suner on his relationship with Lord Templewood.

Last Paper.

Z 11728

References.

Ref in Dept

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

Ldc Clwt 23/11

(Index.)

11/7

Next Paper.

Z 11730

(Minutes.)

Research Dept. WAC 19/11

F.O.P. 18/11

Suner's conduct is surprisingly sensible. Even the Spanish Press is open to the criticism made in this telegram. But we don't agree with Suner's opinions. But we agree that the present regime must be radically modified when the Belsize must go.

Suner is one of the better persons

21729
OCT 1905

220

28

from whom Lonsdale

listen wickedly.

H Hopkinson.

I'm glad Lord T.
himself Some 19.10
delivered
good crack!

Ch Mackay
7/11/x

Ab.
Oct. 22. 1905.

doomed to failure. The experience of the 1931-1936 régime clearly proved this. These steps, Franco was advised, must be taken without delay. The Army could be relied upon to keep order and there must be no political prisoners. Serrano Suñer could see no other way to endeavour to bring Spain into line with democratic Europe. He ended his letter to Franco on this note.

He did not think that there was grave danger of Spain desiring a Communist régime; but something had to be risked and if a move were not made quickly the Communists groups would gain strength, and their ranks would be swelled by the adherence of masses of Left Wing Falangists.

The objections to the scheme outlined above are obvious. Franco presiding over a plebiscite would, in European opinion invalidate it. A triumvirate of Generals would be considered a Fascist trick. The "legitimising" of the "National Movement" would be a waste of time; the civil war and all that its two periods (1936-1939) and (1939 - 1945) stood for must not be allowed to count in the public life of the country. I put forward these objections and Serrano Súñer replied that his suggestions to Franco were only tentative and would no doubt be fully discussed in the light of the judgment of the persons whom the Caudillo should consult. Finally, he said; "I myself have no ambitions of any kind. My political career is finished. I have made my peace with my brother-in-law. Family quarrels should not develop into feuds."

COPY

Coming to the present moment Señor Serrano Suñer said Franco had communicated to him - on September 11th - his desire to create a united front for the purpose of assuring the essentials of "orden y patria nada más". Without this, the Generalísimo said, it would be difficult for him to carry out his plan for guiding Spain back to its traditional régime the Monarchy. In reply, Serrano Suñer wrote to his brother-in-law on September 15th advising him:

> 1st. To dissolve the Falange as a National Party once for all; the individuals who survived would be free to form a group or Party and to seek candidates for parliamentary election in the same way as other Parties;
>
> 2nd. To seek the advice of Dr. Marañón, Sr. Pan de Soraluce, Sr. Cambó (the former Catalán Regionalist leader and Minister under Alfonso XIII), Sr. Chapaprieta (Prime Minister under the Republic) Sr. Ventosa (Minister under Alfonso XIII), a representative of the Church, also to consult others with more modest reputations who have no stain on their character and stand as far from the Extreme Right as from the Extreme Left. Marañon, for whom Serrano Suñer has always felt admiration, and Cambó, a man of high intelligence and supreme independence, have European reputations in their respective spheres and have no personal ambition. Ventosa and Chapaprieta are both sound statesmen. If Don Santiago Alba (Minister under Alfonso XIII and President of the Cortes under the Republic) were well enough Franco should also seek his counsel.

Speaking of Pan de Saraluce, Serrano Suñer said he should have been placed in charge of foreign affairs when Jordana died, and his advice to Franco was to appoint Pan to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as soon as the proposed consultations were over. Serrano Suñer advised Franco to propose to the gentlemen named above the immediate formation of a "Government of National Concentration" for the sole purpose of carrying out a national plebiscite. Three questions would be put to the people: 1) Do you desire a Constitutional Monarchy; 2) Do you desire a Constitutional Republic? According to the result of the plebiscite a Monarchy or a Republic would be proclaimed by a Council consisting of representatives of the Armed Forces, of the professions and of the workers. As soon as possible a General Election would be held. Thus the "constituent period" would be avoided and the National Movement would be "legitimised" at the close of its mandate. Under a Monarchy or a Republic, a new era would begin, the civil war and its aftermath would pass into history. A Monarchy without the support of Republicans could not live. Likewise a Republic antagonized by Monarchists was

doomed /

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No. 475
(1/350/45)

BRITISH EMBASSY,

SECRET.

MADRID.

8th October, 1945.

Z 11641-14

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 474 I have the honour to report that after giving Mr. Malley his account of events during his terms of office at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1940 to 1942, Señor Serrano Suñer turned to the present situation in Spain. I enclose a report by Mr. Malley of this part of the conversation, together with an account of some remarks made by Señor Serrano Suñer on his relationship with Lord Templewood.

2. The first enclosure, containing the gist of a letter which Señor Serrano Suñer recently wrote to Franco, is of particular interest since the advice tendered therein is surprisingly good. In view of the somewhat strained relationship between Señor Serrano Suñer and Franco it is doubtful, however, whether the latter will be influenced by the advice of his brother-in-law.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your most humble, obedient Servant,

Va Chapman

The Right Honourable
Ernest Bevin, M.P.,
Foreign Office.

P.S. I am sending copies of this despatch to Lisbon.

Z 11728
12 OCT 1945

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COPY

Enclosure to Madrid desp. no. 475.

Some of Serrano's reminiscences touching upon His Majesty's Embassy and its relations are, perhaps, worth recording. He asked me to remember the first interview with Lord Templewood which, he said, was one of the most awkward moments of his career. After that, with one exception, his personal relations with the British Ambassador were always characterised by courtesy and at times "con afecto". He, of course, felt sorry for Lord Templewood as the representative of a declining and almost defeated Power. The mission was a thankless task. But sometimes the "old lion" would shake his mane and on a certain day towards the end of June 1941, he let out a roar that roused the whole Ministry. It was after the stoning of the Embassy by a German-Falange mob with the police looking on. The Ambassador demanded to see the Minister at once and was received in the latter's private house. The Ambassador brought with him his entire diplomatic and service staff in uniform. After listening to the Ambassador's words of protest, the Minister said that no one regretted the matter more than he did; that he had no idea such an attack had been prepared. In the name of the Spanish Government, he tendered to His Majesty's Government a most sincere apology, promised that such an outrage would never happen again and offered to make full compensation for damages. The Ambassador, who, Serrano thought, did not expect that kind of speech, completely lost his temper and said in a loud voice: "Such things can only happen in a nation of savages". Serrano was beginning to say that as a Minister of the Spanish Government he could not tolerate such an expression, when the Ambassador turned on his heel and walked out. Afterwards, Serrano learned that his bodyguard composed of "good boys who had fought on many fronts and earned many medals but who did not understand the meaning of uniforms and swords of honour", had remained the whole time behind the curtained part of the room with pistols at the ready. Perhaps the most interesting piece of information in this story was the mention of the names of the organisers of the anti-British demonstrations. They were Manuel Valdés, now a member of the Junta Politica and a National Counsellor, and a Senior Under-Secretary of the Falange, and David Jato, also a National Counsellor who was head of the Falange police (Delegado Nacional de Investigación e Información) and later took over the Propaganda Department under Arrese. Both these men were highly paid servants of the German Embassy. Serrano may have known nothing about the preparations, but he may have said to the organisers "I know nothing" so as to guarantee them impunity. But the fact remains that neither was removed from office.

One of the first objections Franco made to Serrano in 1940 concerned the continuation of Pan de Soraluce at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the presence of General Vigón, the Caudillo said "Are you going to keep that man at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?" I warn you that he is anglophile and a highly placed Freemason". (Serrano Suñer explained that Franco always had Masonry on the brain). The Minister replied "As I am neither of those things, I see no danger". Subsequently he saw great qualities in Pan and kept him at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He attributes Jordana's success to the sound judgement of the Under-Secretary, and considers Pan head and shoulders above everybody in or out of the Ministry.

Serrano said he sincerely regretted the death of Mr. Yencken whom he liked personally. Although he looked like a sour-tempered man, he was just the opposite- when one knew him. He had a quiet, gentle manner but never gave way on principles and was never ruffled.

25th September, 1945.

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1945

Z

SPAIN

Z 11725

16 OCT 1945

2/4

Registry Number 11725/233/41

FROM Sir V.Mallet
Sans Sebastian.

No. 473 (1/345/45)

Dated 8th Oct,1945.

Received in Registry 16th Oct,1945.

Wage increases to Tranways Company employees in Barcelona.

Transmits copy of despatch 38 from Barcelona to Madrid of 28th September. Announcement of increase was made at mass meeting of employees when new Civil Governor Col. Baba spoke to the men. Gives analysis of speech which was well received. Workers are extreme left wing in their political views. It remains to be seen how far this increase will go to conciliate them.

Last Paper.

Z 11677

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)	(Index.)
Sdecwt 2/4	

Next Paper.

Z 11728

(Minutes.)

Research Dept
WHC 30/10

Forward 17/10

It is surely a new departure for a Civil Governor of Barcelona to hold this sort of language to a group of workers. It remains to be seen whether it is just an isolated outburst or the harbinger of a new policy of playing up to the Catalonian working classes.

P. Garran
22/X

Well it looks encouraging, anyhow.

M.
22.10

29082 F.O.P.

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No. 473
(1/345/45).

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Madrid,
presents his compliments to H.M.P.S.S.F.A.,
and has the honour to transmit to him the under-mentioned documents.

British Embassy,
Madrid.

8th October, 1945.

Reference to previous correspondence:

–

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
Copy of despatch No. 38 from Barcelona to H.M. Ambassador at Madrid, dated 28th September, 1945.	Wage increases to Tramways Company employees in Barcelona.

Z 11725
16 OCT 1945

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Despatch No.32
(M2/121/45)

British Consulate General,
Barcelona.
28th September 1945.

Sir,

It is a notorious fact that the employees of the Barcelona Tramways company were until last week perhaps the lowest paid workers in the city; their average wage was little higher than twelve pesetas a day, definitely below proper subsistence level. They have now been granted a new scale of wages which, although affording some relief, is still far from satisfactory when the rising cost of living and the extreme probability of a food shortage this winter are taken into consideration.

2. The announcement of the wage increases was made at a mass meeting of the employees last week when the new Civil Governor spoke at some length to the men, the majority of whom are, as one would expect, extreme left wing in their political views.

3. The following is an analysis of the speech which Mr. Vice Consul Dorehy has prepared at my request:

> "After confirming the increases in salary which have, at long last been granted to the Tramway worker he states: "I will tell you that in my opinion you workers of Barcelona are the best workers in Spain". He continued with a lucid appreciation of the workers rights stating that the new Syndicates were after all but the off-spring of the ancient Catalan Guilds which since the Middle Ages had defended the proper rights of the people. He went on: "You have every right to be properly governed, You have every right to rise step by step, grade by grade to the highest peaks, but to achieve this you must respect good social order and discipline". He praised their independent temperament, which was after his own way of thinking and added that he preferred to meet a man face to face, although they might disagree, than having to deal with disloyalty, adulation or fear. "You may be sure that your worries are also mine and that to-day I feel quite at home in your midst. Gentlemen (he used the expression "Señores not "Camaradas") I tell you this, and I also say it to the Directors of the Company, that from this moment we must more than ever live united and agree amongst ourselves by means of a peaceful understanding. The doors of my office are open to you all. You may be sure that, either through the recognised channels, or if necessary by yourselves personally, if you have anything reasonable to ask or remedy, you can come to me. I am happy to satisfy your

His Excellency
Sir Victor A.L.Mallet, K.C.M.G.,
C.V.O.,
British Embassy,
Madrid.

...just

215.
END.

just aspirations and to protect your interests". Here, apparently, there was genuine loud applause and shouts of "Long Live the Governor!"

He continued: "I have but one thing more to say - we must finish once and for all with this myth of "Reds" "Whites" and "Blues". We are all Spaniards and our duty is to serve Spain and Franco." Here again there was genuine applause. He then went on to say that the past should be left to the past and that the duty of all Spanish workers to-day was to help to rebuild and fortify this country against penury and famine which are menacing the greater part of Europe.

He finished as follows: "Catalan workers, from the bottom of my heart I ask your ample, loyal and most sincere collaboration. Let us suppress the past vain shouting which was given to those who could not walk down the straight path of facts" (this was taken as a direct attack on the late Civil Governor's habit of surrounding himself with Party yes men). "I wish you all to know that your Governor is prepared to do as much as any of you. Your new Governor fears nothing or nobody, what he wishes most is the happiness, peace and comfort of your wives and children in your homes in this Barcelona, of which I am now a part. Workers, Long Live Spain! Long Live Franco!"

4. It is reported to me that at the meeting not a single party flag or sign was to be seen; at the finish, no party anthem was played, nor were any party salutes given. And, in spite of the inadequate nature of the wage increases, the Civil Governor's speech was, I am assured, genuinely well received. Colonel Barbe, I am told, seems to have already acquired a degree of sympathy even from the more extreme section of the Barcelona workers. It remains to be seen, however, how long this personal popularity will last or how far it will go to conciliate them.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

H. A. HOBSON